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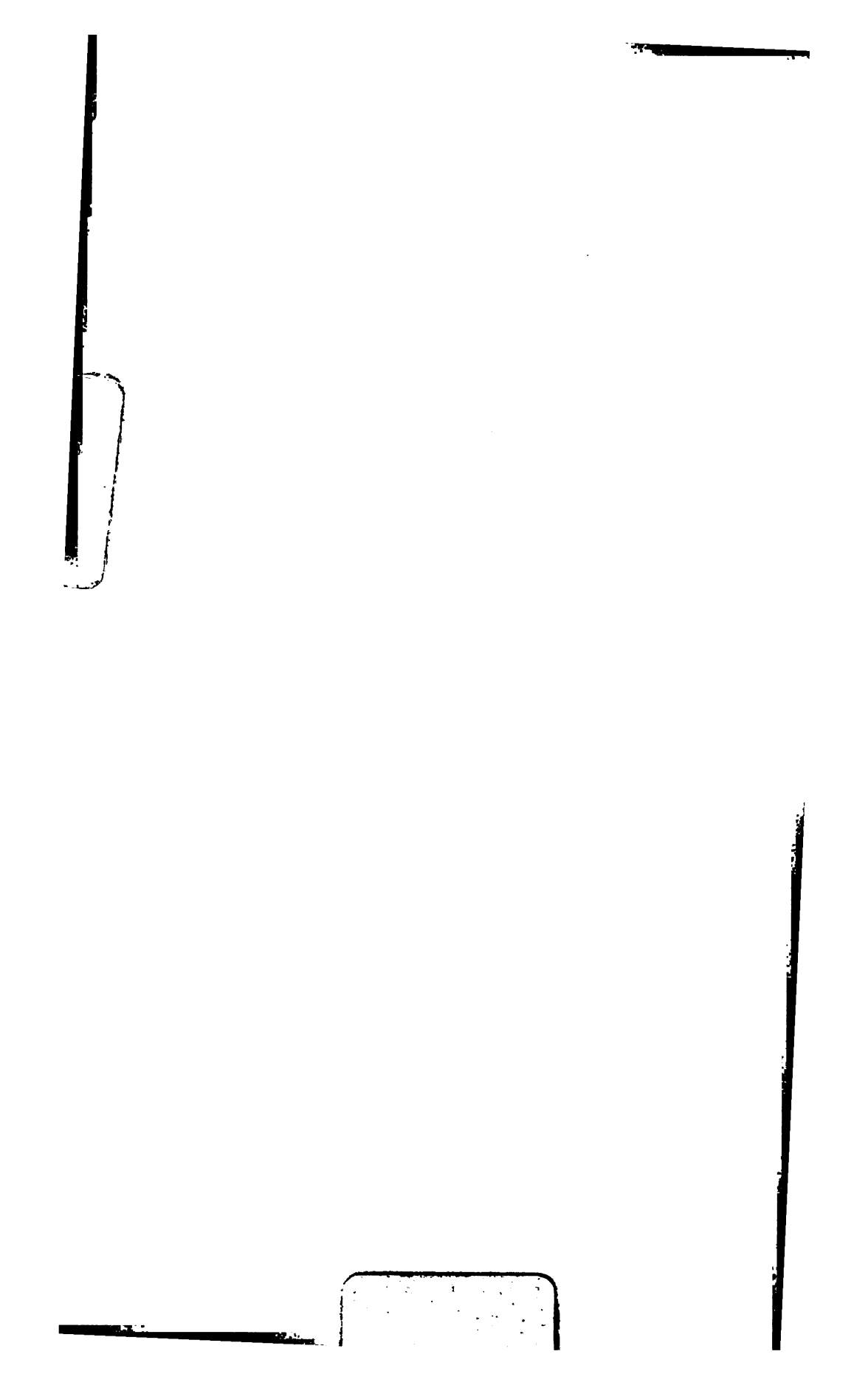

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND

FORMERLY

The Royal Historical and Archæological Association

OF IRELAND

FOUNDED AS

The Kilkenny Archæological Society

VOL. V.—FIFTH SERIES.

VOL. XXV.—CONSECUTIVE SERIES

1895

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PREFACE.

THE most marked feature of the Society's work during the year 1895, the period covered by the present Volume, has been the great increase in what has been aptly described as its "clinical" work. The Excursions, in which our Antiquities have been visited and examined as they lie, have been more numerous and more extensive than in any former year of the Society's existence. The accounts of these Excursions form a conspicuous part of this Volume.

The summer visit to Aran and Galway, with the sail round the bold north and west coast of Ireland, and the visits to Tory Island and Inismurray, with their quaint early religious remains, forms the subject of pp. 239–297.

An August Excursion to the Loughcrew Hills, now for the first time visited by the Society, afforded an opportunity of studying (though unhappily under very unfavourable weather conditions) perhaps the most remarkable series of prehistoric tombs in Ireland. They are described at pp. 303–316.

The September visit to Wexford (pp. 403–410) introduced many to new ground, containing several places of interest in Irish history.

In the province of Prehistoric Archæology, the Rev. Dr. Buick's very fully illustrated Paper on Irish Flint Arrow-heads (pp. 41–63) is one of special importance, affording the most complete and methodic system of arrangement of this class of objects which has yet been offered.

Mr. Day figures a Flint Spear-head (p. 176) found in Co. Clare, which is believed to be of a Danish type.

The remarkable Prehistoric Forts on the Aran Islands are described and illustrated in the account of the Excursion (pp. 250–278). Similar forts on the mainland of Clare are mentioned (p. 284). A good illustration of a well-poised Cromlech is furnished by Lord Annesley at p. 87. Mr. Wakeman continues his notes on the objects found in the mound at Old Connaught, Bray, Co. Dublin (p. 106).

The series of Papers in which Mr. Coffey seeks to establish his interesting theory of the derivation of the art motives of Prehistoric Ornament in Ireland from early Egyptian design, is continued (pp. 16–29, 195–211). Connected with this subject, Dr. Frazer offers evidence that some of the "Cup-markings," considered to be prehistoric ornament, owe their existence to action of small crustacea (p. 64).

This Volume contains several Papers on a subject which, in recent years, has not received much attention in our *Journal*—the study of Ogham Inscriptions. The Right Rev. Dr. Graves affords a careful study of the newly-found Inscription at Gortatlea, Co. Kerry (p. 1). Professor Rhys relates an interesting excursion in quest of the few examples reported to exist in Ulster. Rev. E. Barry contributes an elaborate study of the Ogham

Inscriptions in Co. Kilkenny (p. 348), with new readings, arrived at after careful examination, which differ materially from some of those previously accepted.

Early Christian Architecture and Ornament is largely illustrated in the account of the visit to Aran (pp. 250–274) and the other western islands—Tory, Inismurray, and High Island. The Roscam Round Tower is figured (p. 284).

Later Ecclesiastical Architecture and Antiquities are illustrated in Miss Hickson's description of the Franciscan House at Ardfert and its Tombs (pp. 30–40, 329–337). Accounts of Corcomroe Abbey, Clare Galway, St. Nicholas' Church, Galway, and the Religious Houses of Athenry are included in the description of the Summer Excursion (pp. 280–302). Mr. Westropp supplies a study of Ennis "Abbey" and its Tombs and Carvings (p. 135). Mr. Cullen has a Paper on the Churches of Wexford Town (p. 369); and the Cathedral and adjoining Priory at Ferns are described at p. 404. A Tombstone found in Kilkenny, read as commemorating a member of the Keteller family in the thirteenth century, forms the subject of Papers by Colonel Vigors and Mr. Egan (pp. 72–81). The Church of Glenogra, Co. Limerick, is illustrated on p. 378. Notice is directed to the Fresco-painting in the Church on Clare Island (p. 379). An Ecclesiastical Seal, used at Leighlin, is described and figured (p. 82).

The Mediæval Pavement Tiles found in Irish churches receive further attention from Dr. Frazer, who (p. 171–175) figures twenty-one additional patterns, making, in all, seventy-one patterns, which he has illustrated in the *Journal*. His Paper includes a bibliography of the subject.

The story of the great Anglo-Norman House of De Verdon is told by the Rev. Dr. Murphy (p. 317). The Genealogy of the Family of Fitz Gerald of Rostellan, traced by Mr. Fitz Gerald Uniacke, is printed (p. 163).

The study of more recent Antiquities is well illustrated in the continuation of Dr. Stokes' interesting Paper on the Antiquities from Kingstown to Dublin (pp. 5–15, 88–89). Rev. W. J. Latimer directs attention to a little used mine of material for social history of the 17th and 18th centuries in the Sessions-Books of Presbyterian Congregations (p. 130). Mr. Moore completes his Notes on the History of Navan (p. 155).

In the department of Folk-Lore, Mr. Mac Ritchie contributes a Paper written by the late Mr. Herbert Hore, which has come to his hands, on the Origin of Superstitions regarding Fairies and Banshees (p. 115). A note on Witchcraft in Aran should be noticed (p. 84); as, too, some Folk-Lore of Burren (p. 279); and the Cow Legend of Corofin (p. 227).

In Numismatics, Dr. Frazer contributes a Paper (p. 338) on the Coinage bearing the legend "Floreat Rex," and relates its probable origin, and its reappearance as a circulating medium in America.

Among Papers on special subjects may be noticed Rev. Mr. ffrench's account of an unusual type of early Spur found in Co. Wicklow (p. 202); an account and list of the Goldsmiths of Cork, by Mr. Woods (p. 218); and the description of a Wooden dug-out Canoe found near Lough Neagh, by Mr. Dugan (p. 224).

In conclusion, we believe that this Volume marks a distinct advance in our Society's work. We can point to some of its Papers which exhibit a thorough and

accurate study, or a more systematic marshalling of facts, which thus place the subjects treated of on a more sure basis than they have previously occupied. The visit of a number of our Members to out-of-the-way groups of antiquities is calculated also to bear good fruit. These visits stimulate the study of the origin, history, and art of the antiquities themselves; they encourage local interest in the remains; and by bringing them under outside observation, tend to protect them from some, at least, of the dangers to which unobserved antiquities are exposed.

CONTENTS.

VOLUME V., FIFTH SERIES.

1895.

PART I.

PAPERS:

PAGE

On an Ogam Inscription lately discovered near Gortatlea, Co. Kerry. By the Right Rev. Charles Graves, D.D., M.R.I.A., Bishop of Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe, *Vice-President*, ... 1

The Antiquities from Kingstown to Dublin (Three Illustrations). By the Rev. G. T. Stokes, D.D., M.R.I.A., ... 5

The Origins of Prehistoric Ornament in Ireland (*continued*). By George Coffey, A.I.B., M.R.I.A., *Fellow*, ... 16

Ardfert Friary and the Fitz Maurices, Lords of Kerry (One Plate and two other Illustrations). By Miss Hickson, *Hon. Local Secretary, Kerry*, .. 30

Irish Flint Arrow-heads (Fifty-seven Illustrations). By the Rev. G. Raphael Buick, LL.D., *Vice-President*, ... 41

On Cup-markings on Megalithic Monuments, due to *Echinus lividus* (One Illustration). By William Frazer, F.R.C.S.I., Hon. F.S.A. (Scot.), *Vice-President*, ... 64

The Keteller Monument, Kilkenny (Two Illustrations). By P. M. Egan, *Fellow*, ... 72

Keteller Stone, Kilkenny (One Plate). By Colonel P. D. Vigors, *Vice-President*, ... 79

Miscellanea—On an Ancient Brass Seal of the Diocese of Leighlin—Witchcraft in the Aran Islands—The Church of St. John Baptist at Kilmacduagh—An Ancient Seal—Discovery of an Artificial Cave at Oldbridge, Co. Meath—Cromlech near Castlewellan (One Plate and one other Illustration)—Social Life in Dublin a hundred years ago—Old Belfast, ... 82

Notices of Books, ... 90

PROCEEDINGS:

Annual General Meeting at Dublin, 8th of January, 1895, Annual Report of Council, and Election of Officers, ... 91

PART II.

PAPERS:

PAGE

Notes of an Ogam Hunt in the North of Ireland. By Professor Rhys, M.A., Principal of Jesus College, Oxford, *Hon. Fellow*, ... 101

On a recently-discovered Pagan Sepulchral Mound at Old Connaught, Co. Dublin (Four full-page illustrations). By W. F. Wakeman, *Hon. Fellow*, 106

Origin of the Irish Superstitions regarding Banshees and Fairies. By the late Herbert Hore. With Notes by David Mac Ritchie, F.S.A. (Scot.), *Fellow*, 115

The Old Session-Book of Templepatrick Presbyterian Church. By the Rev. W. T. Latimer, B.A., ... 130

Ennis Abbey and the O'Brien Tombs (One Plate and thirteen other Illustrations). By Thomas Johnson Westropp, M.A., M.R.I.A., *Fellow*, .. 135

Notes on the History of Navan. By Joseph H. Moore, C.E., *Hon. Secretary, South Meath*, ... 155

The Fitz Geralds of Rostellane, Co. Cork. By R. G. Fitz Gerald-Uniacke, B.A., *Fellow*, ... 163

Early Pavement Tiles in Ireland. Part III. (Five Plates). By W. Frazer, F.R.C.S.I., Hon. F.S.A. (Scot.), *Vice-President*, ... 171

Miscellanea—Danish Spear-head—The Seal of Emly—The Shamrock—A "Find" in Coolasluasty Lough, Co. Clare—Irish Kingdom of Dublin—"Find" in Co. Roscommon—The Boyne Obelisk, ... 176

Notices of Books, ... 182

PROCEEDINGS:

Second General Meeting, 1895, May 6th, at Kilkenny—Accounts and Report of Auditors, ... 187

Adjourned Meeting and Excursion at Waterford, ... 192

CONTENTS.

VOLUME V., FIFTH SERIES.

1895.

PART I.

PAPERS:

PAGE

On an Ogam Inscription lately discovered near Gortatlea, Co. Kerry. By the Right Rev. Charles Graves, D.D., M.R.I.A., Bishop of Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe, *Vice-President*, ... 1

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Ardfert Friary and the Fitz Maurices, Lords of Kerry (One Plate and two other Illustrations). By Miss Hickson, *Hon. Local Secretary, Kerry*, .. 30

Irish Flint Arrow-heads (Fifty-seven Illustrations). By the Rev. G. Raphael Buick, LL.D., *Vice-President*, ... 41

On Cup-markings on Megalithic Monuments, due to *Echinus lividus* (One Illustration). By William Frazer, F.R.C.S.I., Hon. F.S.A. (Scot.), *Vice-President*, ... 64

The Keteller Monument, Kilkenny (Two Illustrations). By P. M. Egan, *Fellow*, ... 72

Keteller Stone, Kilkenny (One Plate). By Colonel P. D. Vigors, *Vice-President*, ... 79

Miscellanea—On an Ancient Brass Seal of the Diocese of Leighlin—Witchcraft in the Aran Islands—The Church of St. John Baptist at Kilmacduagh—An Ancient Seal—Discovery of an Artificial Cave at Oldbridge, Co. Meath—Cromlech near Castlewellan (One Plate and one other Illustration)—Social Life in Dublin a hundred years ago—Old Belfast, ... 82

Notices of Books, ... 90

PROCEEDINGS:

Annual General Meeting at Dublin, 8th of January, 1895, Annual Report of Council, and Election of Officers, ... 91

PART IV.

PAPERS:

PAGE

The De Verdons of Louth (Five Illustrations). By the Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., LL.D., *Vice-President*, ... 317

Ardfert Friary and the Fitz Maurices, Lords of Kerry—*continued* (One Illustration). By Miss Hickson, *Hon. Local Secretary, Kerry*, ... 329

On the Irish "St. Patrick" or "Floreat Rex" Coinage, subsequently circulated in New Jersey; with reasons for connecting it with Lord Glamorgan's attempts to levy Troops in Ireland (Two Illustrations). By W. Fraser, F.R.C.S.I., Hon. F.S.A. (Scot.), *Vice-President*, .. 338

On Ogham Stones seen in Kilkenny County. By the Rev. E. Barry, P.P., M.R.I.A., *Fellow*, ... 348

The Ancient Churches of the Town of Wexford (Three Illustrations). By John B. Cullen, ... 369

Miscellanea—Report of Hon. Local Secretary, Limerick City (One Illustration)—Clare Island Fresco—Crosses at Kilbrecan, Aran—Killeen Cormac Inscribed Stones—Ancient Irish Cott—Some Old Galway Laws—Cinerary Urn found near Wexford (One Illustration)—Gold Fibulæ discovered in Ireland—"Archæologia Cambrensis"—Report on Photographic Survey—Index to Archæological Papers, ... 378

Notices of Books, ... 391

PROCEEDINGS:

Fourth General Meeting, 1895, 9th September, at Wexford, ... 399

Excursion in County Wexford (Three Illustrations), ... 403

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

☞ An asterisk prefixed indicates a Plate.

		PAGE
*View of Mount Pelier Parade. (Reproduced from *Walker's Hibernian Magazine*),	to face	7
View of Old Monkstown Church,		7
Old Stillorgan House,		9
Plan of Ruins of Ardfert Friary,		34
*Ardfert Friary—Interior of East Window,	to face	37
Tombstone in Choir of Ardfert Friary,		39
Irish Flint Arrow-heads:—		
FIGS.		
1.—Class I. (Leaf-shaped), Sub-class 1, variety *a*,		44
2. ,, ,, ,,		*ib.*
3. ,, ,, ,,		*ib.*
4. ,, ,, var. *b*,		*ib.*
5. ,, ,, ,,		*ib.*
6. ,, ,, var. *c*,		*ib.*
7. ,, ,, ,,		*ib.*
8. ,, ,, var. *d*,		45
9. ,, Sub-class 2, var. *e*,		*ib.*
10. ,, ,, ,,		*ib.*
11. ,, ,, ,,		*ib.*
12. ,, ,, ,,		*ib.*
13. ,, ,, var. *f*.		46
14. ,, ,, ,,		*ib.*
15.—Class II. (Triangular), Sub-class 1,		47
16. ,, Sub-class 2, var. *a*,		48
17. ,, ,, ,,		*ib.*
18. ,, ,, var. *b*.		*ib.*
19. ,, ,, ,,		*ib.*
20. ,, ,, var. *c*.		49
21. ,, ,, ,,		*ib.*
22. ,, ,, ,,		*ib.*
23. ,, ,, ,,		50
24. ,, ,, ,,		*ib.*
25. ,, ,, ,,		*ib.*
26. ,, ,, var. *d*.		*ib.*
27. ,, ,, ,,		*ib.*
28. ,, ,, ,,		*ib.*

FIGS.		PAGE
29.	—Class III. (Stemmed), ...	51
30.	,, ...	*ib.*
31.	,, ...	*ib.*
32.	,, Sub-class 2, ...	52
33.	,, ,, ...	*ib.*
34.	,, ,, ...	*ib.*
35.	,, ,, variety *a*, ...	53
36.	,, ,, ,, ...	*ib.*
37.	,, ,, ,, ...	*ib.*
38.	,, ,, var. *b*, ...	*ib.*
39.	,, ,, ,, ...	*ib.*
40.	,, ,, ,, ...	*ib.*
41.	,, ,, ,, ...	54
42A.	,, ,, ,, ...	*ib.*
42B.	,, ,, ,, ...	*ib.*
43.	,, ,, ,, ...	*ib.*
44.	,, ,, ,, ...	55
45.	,, ,, ,, ...	*ib.*
46.	,, ,, ,, ...	*ib.*
47.	,, ,, ,, ...	*ib.*
48.	,, ,, ,, ...	56
49.	,, ,, ,, ...	*ib.*
50.	,, ,, ,, ...	*ib.*
51.	,, ,, var. *c*, ...	*ib.*
52.	,, ,, ,, ...	*ib.*
53.	(Serrated), ...	57
54.	,, ...	*ib.*
55.	,, ...	*ib.*
56.	Unfinished Arrow-head, showing mode of manufacture, ...	58
	Tail-piece, ...	63
	Echini Cup-marks on Stone covering of Giant's Grave, Mount Prospect, Lough Melvin, ...	67
	Facsimile of Inscription on Tomb of Henry III. in Westminster Abbey, ..	73
	Window in Wall in Chapel-lane, Kilkenny, ...	75
*	"Keteller" Inscribed Tombstone, Kilkenny, ... *to face*	79
	Ancient Brass Seal Matrix, formerly used at Leighlin, ...	83
*	Cromlech near Castlewellan, Co. Down, ... *to face*	87
	,, ,, ,, ...	87
	Objects from Sepulchral Mound at Old Connaught:—	
	Clay Mould and other objects, ...	107
	Fragments of Pottery and other objects, ...	109
	Objects, ...	111
	Fragments of Pottery and other objects, ...	113
*	Ennis "Abbey," or Franciscan Convent—General View, ... *to face*	135
	,, Ground Plan, ...	139
	,, Chapter-house, ...	140
	,, View of Abbey, *circ.* 1780, ...	141
	,, Church, looking east, ...	142
	,, Cloister Arcade, restored, ...	143
	,, Window in North Chapel in Transept, ...	144
	,, Details of "Royal Tomb,"	147
	,, ,, ,, ...	149

PAGE

Ennis "Abbey," or Franciscan Convent—Canopy of Inchiquin Tomb, .. 150
,, Foliage on Inchiquin Tomb, ... 151
,, Corbels of Belfry, ... 152
,, Screen and Details, ... *ib.*
,, Figure of St. Francis, ... 153
,, "Ecce Homo," .. .. *ib.*

Early Pavement Tiles in Ireland :—

*Figs. 1– 4, Floral Designs, ... *to face* 171
* ,, 5– 8, ,, ... ,, 172
* ,, 9–12, ,, ... ,, 173
* ,, 13–14, ,, ... ,, 174
,, 15–16, Geometric Designs, ...
* ,, 17-21, ,, ... ,, 175

Flint Spear-head of Danish Origin, found at Scarriff, ... 177

Origins of Prehistoric Ornament in Ireland :—

Figs. 36. Funeral Urn found in Crete, ... 204
,, 37, 38. Bronze Sword-hilts—Hungary, ... 205
,, 39–44. Details Spiral Ornament—Denmark, &c., ... 206
,, 45–48. Details Half-circle Ornament, ... 207
,, 49. ,, ,, ... 208
,, 50–51. Urns, ... 209
,, 52. Urns, ... 210
,, 53. Details, ... *ib.*

Goad-Spur found near Tinahely, ... 212
Heel-guard of Spur. Pattern in Niello work, ... 213
One-piece Boat found at Maghery, ... 224
Carrick Castle, Elizabethan Front, ... 232
Tory Island—St. Columba's Cross, Church, and Tower, ... 240
,, Doorway of Round Tower, ... 241
Clare Island, from the Mainland, ... 244
,, Grania Uaile's Castle, ... *ib.*
,, Tomb of O'Maille, ... 245

Aran Islands :—

Diagram of Inishmore, ... 250
Inscribed Stone, "VII. ROMANI," 251
Inscription—"BRAN THE PILGRIM," 252
Inscribed Stone, "CI BRECANI," .. .. *ib.*
Cross at Temple Brecan, ... 253
Temple Brecan—General View, ... *ib.*
,, Cross, now prostrate, ... 254
,, St. Brecan's Bed, ... 255
Clochan-na-Carraige, ... 256
Dun Ængus—Chevaux de frise, ... 257
,, General View, ... *ib.*
,, Doorway, ... 258
Temple mac Duach, ... 259
,, Doorway, ... 260
Sketch Plan of Primitive Stone Houses at Baile-na-Sean, ... 261
Holed-stone, ... 262
Arkin Castle, Killeany Bay, ... 263
Map of Iararna, ... 265
Plan of Dun Conor, Middle Island, ... 267

	PAGE
Aran Islands :—	
Kilcananagh Doorway,	268
,, General View from East,	*ib.*
,, East Window,	269
,, View from West,	270
Teampull Choemhain,	273
,, Doorway,	*ib.*
View of Corcomroe in 1837,	281
Oughtmama,	283
Roscam Round Tower,	285
,, ,, Doorway,	286
,, Holed-stone,	*ib.*
Clare Galway Priory in 1870,	287
Church of St. Nicholas, Galway, in 1870,	293
Franciscan Friary and Castle, Athenry,	297
Dominican Friary, Athenry, from S.E.,	298
,, ,, N.E.,	299
,, ,, S.W.,	*ib.*
Loughcrew Hills :—	
Inscribed Stones in Cairn "L,"	307
,, ,, "T,"	309
Fragments of Earthenware Urns from Cairn R_2,	312
,, of Pegs made from Tines of Antlers,	313
Objects from Slieve-na-Caillighe,	315
Clonmore Castle, Co. Louth,	318
Roch Castle, Co. Louth,	320
Tower of Franciscan Convent, Dundalk,	321
Seal of Theobald de Verdon,	324
Tombstone of George Verdon at Kilmallock,	327
Tombstone in Ardfert Priory Church,	331
"Floreat Rex" Coinage,	339
Kilkenny Confederate Coinage,	341
Tower of Abbey Church of SS. Peter and Paul, Selakar,	372
St. Patrick's Church, Wexford,	373
St. Mary's Church, Wexford,	374
Glenogra Church—East Window,	378
Urn found in Cairn on Forth Mountain, near Wexford,	384
Augustinian Monastery, Ferns,	404
Crosses at Ferns,	405
Ferns Castle,	406

THE JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

OF IRELAND,

FOR THE YEAR 1895.

PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS—PART I. FIRST QUARTER, 1895.

Papers.

ON AN OGAM INSCRIPTION LATELY DISCOVERED NEAR GORTATLEA, COUNTY KERRY.

By the RIGHT REV. CHARLES GRAVES, D.D., M.R.I.A.,
Bishop of Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe, Vice-President.

In the autumn of 1893 a stone bearing an Ogam inscription was discovered in the outer ring of a rath on the land of Mr. J. B. M'Quinn, about a quarter of a mile from the Gortatlea station on the railway between Tralee and Killarney. (Ordnance Survey, Kerry, Sheet 39.) When found, it was projecting inwards from the western side of the embankment. But there is every reason to suppose that it originally stood upright. I was not informed of its existence until the summer of 1894, when Dr. Frazer kindly drew my attention to it. I lost no time in visiting the monument, and received in the examination of it valuable assistance from Mr. M'Quinn, near whose house it had been placed. Since then my friend the Rev. Patrick Sweeny has furnished me with a pen-drawing, an excellent rubbing, and paper casts, which enable me to pronounce a decided opinion upon the reading of the inscription.

With the exception of a small portion of the stone broken off at the top, which may have contained characters representing, at the most, three or four letters, the inscription is complete and perfectly legible, except a

single stroke about which some doubt might be entertained. It consists of two lines written from the bottom upwards, which are to be read thus :—

1. NIOTTACOBRANORA . . .
2. DUMELI MAQI GLASICONAS.

The second line is complete. The first may, perhaps, want a few characters following the one which I have set down as A, but which may have been any other vowel. There would have been room on the edge of the stone for about ten strokes between that A and the final S of GLASICONAS. The vowel preceding the second R may have been an A.

I now proceed to deal with the first line of the inscription, after calling the reader's attention to a point in the transliteration which deserves his notice. I allude to the duplication of the T in NIOTTA. This is in accordance with a practice not uncommon in Ogam writing, the doubling of a consonant generally denoting, according to my view, that it was to be modified in some way. Thus the name *Carthach* might be spelt as CARTTAC. So again TOGITTACC would be the Ogamic representation of *Toigthach*.

NIOTTA appears to have been equivalent to the later Irish *Nia*, or *Niadh*, or *Niath*, explained in dictionaries and glossaries as—(*a*) meaning a *hero* or *champion*, and also used (*b*) as an adjective with the signification *fierce*, *strong*. We find it, moreover (*c*), as a proper name, *e.g.* Nia, son of Cucongalt,[1] Nia, son of Cormac,[2] and (*d*) as an element in compound proper names, *e.g.* in Nia Sedhamain,[3] Crimhthann Niadhnair,[4] Enna Niadh,[5] Nia Mor,[6] and in a form closely resembling Niotta, in Niothfruich,[7] Niothfer.[8]

In the form *Neta* or *Netta* it occurs in six other Irish Ogam inscriptions, viz. :—

Neta Segamonas (Ardmore).
Neta Segemon (Island).
Neta Tirenalugos (Monataggart).
Netacari Netacagni (Castletimon).
Nettacu (Topped Mountain).

To these should be added the Bridell (Welsh) inscription, which contains the name *Nettasagru*.[9]

We are not in a position to discuss the question whether the person commemorated by this monument was a professional champion. I find in M. de Jubainville's article in the Revue Celtique[10] no mention of

[1] Annals of the Four Masters, A.D. 771. [2] *Ib.*, A.D. 178. [3] *Ib.*, A.M. 4881.
[4] *Ib.*, A.M. 5193. [5] *Ib.*, A.D. 241. [6] Book of Ballymote, fol. 142.
[7] Book of Armagh, fol. 15. b. 1 ; Stokes, Trip., p. 331.
[8] Book of Armagh, fol. 14. a. 1 ; Stokes, Trip., p. 325.
[9] Reading very doubtful. See Hübner, Inscr. Brit. Christ., p. 37.
[10] Vol. vii., pp. 11-20.

such champions having been employed in the judicial duels carried on by the ancient Irish under the regulations prescribed by the Brehon Laws. So far as I know, no express treatise on the subject has come down to us. In other countries during the Middle Ages the *Campiones*[1] were regarded as infamous, and were refused Christian burial.

As to the rest of inscription (1), it is impossible to speak with certainty, owing to the loss of the final characters; but it appears to contain the name COBRAN. Two saints of that name are commemorated in the Martyrology of Donegal, viz. Cobran of Cluain, on July 19th, and Cobran of Cluain-Cuallachta, on August 2nd. According to the Treatise *De Matribus Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, as it appears in the Book of Leinster,[2] Cobran was the name of one of the sons of Minchloth, sister of S. Columba; and in the same treatise[3] we find the name in a compound form, Aedchobran, one of the sons of Bochra and Fidlin.

The second inscription is quite perfect, and presents no difficulty as to reading. It contains two names, each of which is found on another monument in Kerry.

DUMELI is manifestly identical with *Ddumileas*, which occurs preceded by *Maqi* on one of the inscribed stones in the Cave of Dunloe; and it shows beyond doubt that the first four Ogam strokes of the name in the latter inscription are to be read as DD, and not as C.

GLASICONAS, preceded as here by *Maqi*, occurs in one of the Ballintaggart inscriptions. It was imperfectly read, or misread, by Ogamists who have previously noticed it, but the inscription now before us completely demonstrates the accuracy of my reading, with which it agrees in every letter.

Glascon would be the regular genitive of *Glascu*. The I is merely euphonic. The AS I take to be an Ogamic termination, added either through pedantry or more probably to disguise the name, inasmuch as the character was a cryptic one. Of a genitive in *on* without the suffix *as*, from a nominative in *cu*, we have an example in the case of the remarkable monument bearing the inscription *Moinena maqi Olacon*, where *Olacon* is the genitive of Olchu, the name of S. Brendan's grandfather.

Maqi Glasiconas stands for a Tribe name, which we meet with in the *Tain Bo Dartada*.[4]

"They then took leave of the King [Ailill], and set out on their way to their own country. Eochaidh encountered the three sons of Glaschu of Irris Domnann[5]; seven score champions was their number. They tried battle with him. They met at Inse na Conchada in Meath,

[1] Ducange, s.v.
[2] Page 372, col. 1.
[3] *Ib.*, p. 372, col. 2. (See my Paper on the recently discovered Ballinvoher Ogam, *Proc. R.I.A.*, 3rd series, vol. iii., No. 2.)
[4] "Prey of the Cows of Dartad," p. 2—from O'Curry's Translation.
[5] Irros Domnann is now the Barony of Erris, county Mayo.—Reeves, Adamn., p. 31, *n.*; Annals of the Four Masters.

and there Eochaidh Beg, the son of Carpry, fell, and his forty fostersons along with him."

In the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick[1] we read of Glaisiuc, one of the saint's household. This may be regarded as equivalent to Glaschu, just as Milchu, the name of St. Patrick's master, appears as Miliuc or Miliucc.[2]

I have not attempted to identify the names contained in this inscription with any individuals. The monument exhibits no cross.

The reader will observe that I have not attempted to deal with the end of the first line, which is unfortunately incomplete. I had hoped that Mr. M'Quinn would be able to recover the portion of the stone which was broken off at the time when the monument was moved from the position in which it was discovered.

Or, followed by some vowel, and, perhaps, two or three more letters, may have formed a separate word, or may have been an additional element entering into composition with *Cobran*. But I advise Ogamists not to suppose that we have here *ora* or *orait*, meaning "pray" or "prayer." *Or ar* or *Or do* always appears at the commencement of the ancient Irish inscriptions into which it enters.

Conjecture in such cases is as likely to mislead as to guide.

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[1] Stokes, Trip., p. 162.

[2] Book of Armagh, fol. 2. b. 1 (Stokes, Trip., p. 275); fol. 9. a. 2 (Stokes, Trip., p. 302); fol. 15. b. 1 (Stokes, Trip., p. 330).

THE ANTIQUITIES FROM KINGSTOWN TO DUBLIN.

By REV. G. T. STOKES, D.D., M.R.I.A.

(*Continued from page* 356, *Part* 4, *Vol. III., Fifth Series*, 1893.)

There is a famous well in Monkstown called Juggy's Well. This, doubtless, was the ancient water supply of the cottagers of Carrickbrenan, but whence its name has been derived I know not.[1] The immediate district, however, between Monkstown, Blackrock, and Stillorgan abounded with wells which have left their traces in place-names and townland denominations, and some of which still exist. Tipperstown, or Ballytipper, is the ancient Celtic name for the townland where Stillorgan Station stands. I do not know where the well in that case was situated, though it is now very well represented by the Vartry Reservoir. Tobberbawn, or Clear Well, is the name of a townland between Upper Kill-of-the-Grange and Cabinteely, where a beautifully clear limpid well exists to this day, and is to this day used as a holy well; and if any persons wish to see how near to the city of Dublin the use of holy wells still prevails, just let them take a walk to the village of Kill, and ask for Tobberbawn and the holy well, and there they can see a sacred well whose Celtic name indicates its hoar antiquity, and there, too, they can see an aged thornbush covered with votive rags, a sight which will raise for the inquiring archæological mind some curious questions—as, for instance, what is the meaning and object of the rags? Professor Sayce told me he had found the same custom of offering rags at sacred wells among the Mahometans of Arabia and Egypt. Tobberbawn then will help an intelligent antiquary to connect together the farthest East and the most distant West. Perhaps some of our members will be able to throw light on this point of holy wells near Dublin, and tell us to-night if there is any sacred well, still used as such, nearer to the city than Tobberbawn.[2]

There is another well, however, which lies still more directly in the line of our archæological investigations. After the traveller leaves Monkstown or Salthill[3] station the train next carries him to Seapoint. Then

[1] It has been suggested to me that the name Juggy's Well was simply a corrupt form of the Latin words "Jugis aqua," the "ever-flowing or perennial well." Others, however, who are acquainted with the district, declare with more probability that Juggy was the name of an old woman who, in the early years of this century, used to sit here and, in an unlicensed manner, sell whiskey which was used with the water, as at Killarney. The well has been lately closed for public use.

[2] I understand that thirty years ago there was a holy well still used at Milltown, near the Dodder. Dalton, in his "History of the County Dublin," has more on this point.

[3] The name Salthill is no mere fancy one, but embodies in itself an historical fact, *i. e.* that down to the year 1833 salt was made in salt-pans on the shore at the spot

when Seapoint station is left behind, the train passes under Tobernea-terrace. This is the third Tober or Tipper, the Irish word for well, which occurs in the district under review. It is no fancy name given for no particular reason whatsoever, but it is an ancient name derived from an ancient well of special purity and coolness, celebrated in times when woods and forests covered the whole country up to the Three Rock Mountain, as Tobernea, or the Well of the Deer, the well where the wandering deer of the Dublin mountains and forests came to quench their thirst. That well is still flowing, is still used, and will be found enclosed in the grounds of Newtown House, the residence of my friend and parishioner Mr. Arthur Andrews.

This well, too, proved attractive to animals of a higher type than deer. In the later years of the eighteenth century, say about the year, 1780, Seapoint was a thoroughly rural spot, with just two or three demesnes around. A large boarding-house was therefore built close by Tobernea well, which served as the water supply so needful for such an institution. This boarding-house lasted till well within living memory, when it was pulled down, and then, largely with its materials, the present Tobernea-terrace, overlooking the railway, was built by the late Captain Betham. And now let me show you a picture of what we may call a modern antiquity. This boarding-house was kept in the year 1808 by a Mrs. Medlicott, and fashionable balls were there given during the summer season to select parties of visitors. And now behold one of the ball tickets for an assembly held in the summer of 1808, and note well the details given upon that ticket:—

MRS. MEDLICOTT,

RESPECTFULLY announces that (by particular desire) her

BALL,

At SEA-POINT NEW-ROOMS, BLACK-ROCK,

WILL BE ON

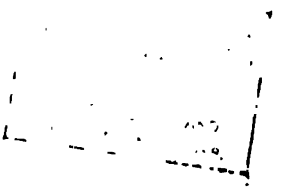
MONDAY, 25th JULY, 1808,

On which occasion she takes the liberty of soliciting the honor of your interest.

GENT. Half-a-Guinea, LADIES Three-half-Crowns, } *each, for Ball, Negus, and Refreshments.*

I have said that about 1780, Seapoint and the adjoining streets and

where, in modern days, the ladies' bathing-place stood, and where now the sewage works are being erected. The Rev. Maxwell Close informs me that he remembers seeing the salt-pans there in the summer of 1833.



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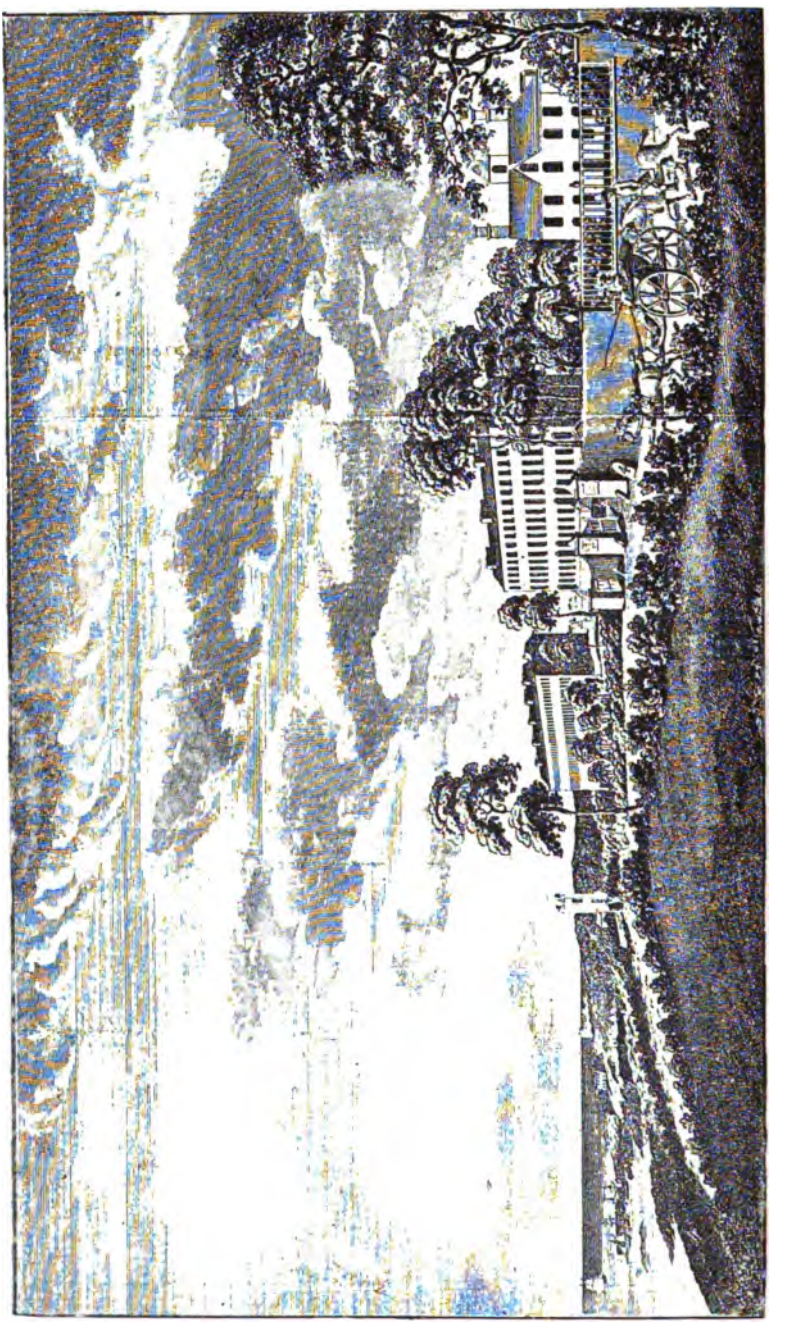
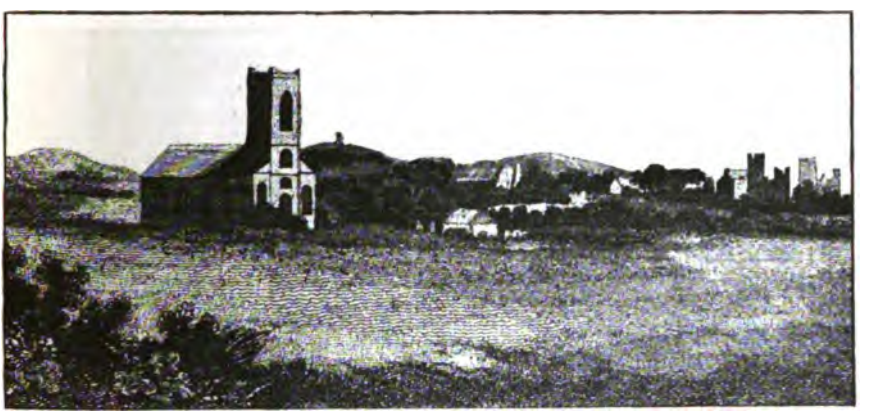


View of Mount Pelier Parade. (Reproduced from a Plate in *Walker's Hibernian Magazine*, March, 1802.)

squares and roads was a perfectly rural district without the slightest indication or symptom of that crowd of habitations now forming Monkstown. Belgrave-square, Alma-road, Eaton-square, and all that neighbourhood were fields where the cows browsed and fed, and supplied milk for the Dublin market. When the Act of Union was passing, a spirited individual, Mr. Molesworth Green, determined to make a beginning of building in this locality; and so about the year 1798 or 1799 he began the erection of a terrace of houses, which still exists and commands a splendid view. Montpelier-terrace was then erected, and the picture which I shall now show you of that terrace as it then was, was published in the year 1802. Those who are acquainted with the locality of Temple-hill will at once recognise it. You will notice that there are no houses north or east of Montpelier-terrace till Monkstown Church is reached, and you will further notice that the church there depicted is the old one which



View of Old Monkstown Church.
(Reproduced from a Plate in the *Sentimental and Masonic Magazine*, Sept., 1793.)

stood in the churchyard of Monkstown Church. I may mention that in the letterpress attached to this print of Montpelier-terrace, in "Walker's Hibernian Magazine" for 1802, there is a very high-flown description of the vast advantages which the dwellers in the rural retirement of Montpelier-terrace will enjoy, as contrasted with the noise and dust and vulgar confusion of the Blackrock. But the scribe waxes eloquent above all else upon the special blessing which the good people of Montpelier-terrace will enjoy in the near proximity of Seapoint boarding-house, and the select balls and assemblies so frequently held in that fashionable resort of the upper ten thousand.[1]

[1] If anyone wishes to see a list of the residences in this neighbourhood, one hundred years ago and more, he should consult the *Postchaise Companion for Ireland*. The inquiry has, indeed, been made more difficult by the wretched habit of changing the

And now we arrive in Blackrock, or Newtown on the Strand by the Blackrock, or the Black Stone, as it was anciently called.[1] But I have to ask myself, how long am I going to keep you, or perhaps better, how long will you stand me and my lengthened story? Here I am, and I proposed to describe the antiquities between Kingstown and Dublin, and yet after forty minutes we have only just arrived at Blackrock. If I am to enter upon the subject of Blackrock, and Stillorgan, and Booterstown, and Merrion, and Thorncastle, and Simmonscourt,[2] and all the other places in the same minute manner, I must ask you to stop here till twelve o'clock,

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ancient names of places. Thus one hundred and ten years ago a certain Mr. Myers lived at Myersville, near Stradbrook. The same house remains there still, but within the last few years the name has been changed to Wynberg. Mount Malpas again is an ancient residence belonging to a family who lived in our neighbourhood from the time of Elizabeth to the early part of this century. It has now been made Rochestown House, though old people still call it Mount Malpas. Seapoint Manor again was of old called Newtown Castle Byrne. It was once, doubtless, the residence of the Byrne family, and is a noted point in all Old Dublin car fares by distance. It was in the last half of the eighteenth century inhabited by a well-known poet and M.P. of that time, Captain Jephson. I had great difficulty in identifying his residence in Blackrock till I looked in the *Dublin Directory* for 1837, the first one which printed a list of suburban residents. It was then still called by its ancient name, which was, however, soon after changed to that of Seapoint Manor. Jephson was a famous man in his day. For notices of him the reader may consult Wills's *Illustrious Irishmen*, *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1803, Part I., p. 600, and *Recollections* of Lord Cloncurry.

[1] Blackrock was called Newtown on the Strand down to the year 1700. It is so called in the Crown Rental of 1706, now in the Record Office. About 1750 it was called Newtown Castle Byrne. Thus we read in *Pue's Occurrences* of August 5, 1755, of the drowning of Alex. Boswell, attorney, at Newtown Castle Byrne; while again in *Pue*, October 18th, 1757, we read of a sale of lands in Newtown on the Strand, lately called Newtown Castle Byrne. Doubtless this latter name was invented and used after the Cheevers' property had passed to the Byrnes, say about 1700 A.D.

[2] Since the former part of this Paper was printed, Mr. Mills has read and printed a Paper on "the Cantreds near Dublin," p. 160 of the *Journal* for 1894, which illustrates these names. On p. 167 he shows that the portion of Stillorgan, from the Church down to the sea at Blackrock, was, in the 12th century, called Argortin. This would exactly correspond to Stillorgan Park and Lord Carysfort's property, which was Wolverston property in the sixteenth century. It is curious to note what illustrations of ancient history local inquiry and knowledge may sometimes afford. We have an instance of this in the case of Stillorgan House and the Wolverstons, who obtained this property on the dissolution of the monasteries, and kept it till Cromwell's day, when they lost it for the following reasons. In the volumes of Depositions touching the murders of 1641, there are two which deal with the county Dublin. They tell how the Rector of Kill-o'-the-Grange was killed at his own door, and how his wife and children escaped across the bogs to Stillorgan House to Mr. Wolverston, who refused to give them shelter, and hence lost his property, which, though restored under Charles II., ultimately passed to the Allens, whence it came to the Probys and the Carysfort family. But it is not to trace the devolution of the Stillorgan Park Estate that I have introduced these details, but to note an illustration of the unchanging character of natural features. The account of this unhappy incident always puzzled me. I said, how could the fugitives escape across the bogs to Stillorgan, when there is not a trace of a bog between Kill-o'-the-Grange and Stillorgan. A chance circumstance explained it all to me. Two or three years ago my friend and parishioner, Edmund Darley, Esq., of Hollyville Park, Newtown Park, was making various improvements in his grounds, when he found that one of his fields was simply a reclaimed bog, some three feet deep at least, and this was a field which lay in the direct line for fugitives seeking shelter at Stillorgan, and flying from Dean's Grange. This chance discovery showed the local accuracy of the depositions, and proved that bogs existed 280 years ago where rich and fertile meadows now produce weighty crops.

or perhaps still better, postpone the remainder of this Paper till another occasion. I am very much afraid this latter is the course which I must pursue. The famous people alone who in the last century lived in Blackrock would take up a considerable amount of time to enumerate and describe, together with the houses where they lived, such as old Stillorgan

Old Stillorgan House, pulled down some years ago. (Reproduced from an old water-colour Painting.)

House.[1] I shall therefore make no attempt to deal with this part of my subject, but will end with showing you one notable feature in Blackrock street-scenery and telling you a tale which hangs thereby.

[1] Lord Edward Fitzgerald lived at Frescati; Lady Arabella Denny, granddaughter of Sir William Petty, at Lisaniskea; Sir Nicholas Lawless, afterwards Lord Cloncurry, at Maretimo; Captain Atkinson, a well-known poet of the day, at Melfield, Newtown Park; Sir Boyle Roche at Rockfield; Captain Jephson, another poet and playwright, at Newtown Castle Byrne; Lord Clonmell at Neptune, now known as Temple Hill; Sir Harcourt Lees and his ancestors from 1760, at Blackrock House. A curious description of this last, in 1825, can be read in the *Dublin and London Magazine* for 1825, pp. 237, 308. All these places remain in much the same state as 100 years ago. As an illustration of fashionable life in one of these houses, a contemporary account of an entertainment at Lord Clonmell's house, Neptune, in 1797, is printed in the "Miscellanea" of this Number.

Stillorgan House, indeed, with its splendid mantelpiece, representing the judgment of Solomon, disappeared about the year 1880. I present my readers with a picture of it through the kind help of the family of a gentleman, Mr. Verschoyle, who lived in it early in this century. It is the only picture of the outside which survives. This plate shows the front of the house, with its miniature theatre, stables, &c., in the wings, built, as it was, in a style much in vogue in the last century, when Viscount Allen, who was of Dutch descent, lived in it. The obelisk at Newtown Park was erected apparently by the family of Allen, as the present Obelisk Park originally formed the Deer Park attached to Stillorgan House. Mr. Darley, of Grange, Stillorgan, possesses a picture of the interior of the drawingroom.

This is the famous cross of Blackrock. The Town Commissioners of Blackrock are now threatening us with a bill in Parliament to remove some of the ancient features of that venerable town. They wish to widen streets, round off sharp corners, and remove several other antique features of old Blackrock.

Perhaps these things are necessary for an advancing age, but I always view with regret the removal of any ancient features or the change of any ancient names. There was, for instance, a venerable hostelry dating from an early period in the last century at least, which stood at the corner of George's-avenue, Blackrock. A few years ago it was taken down because declared dangerous to the public, but no photograph was taken of the curious building, or of its still more curious kitchen, and its ancient fittings and benches. I hope that all the old buildings which may be removed in the course of these improvements will be carefully photographed, and above all that the ancient cross will be scrupulously respected. And why? Simply because the cross marks a point of the greatest historic interest for the inhabitants of Dublin and its neighbourhood.

If you will take up the histories of Dublin by Harris in the last, or by Walsh and Whitelaw in the beginning of the present century, or better still, if you take up Mr. Gilbert's first volume of Dublin Corporation Records you will find there narratives telling how the ancient Corporation of Dublin, headed by the Lord Mayor on horseback, rode the franchises or municipal bounds of the city and its precincts. Let me just suggest that Lord Mayor Shanks,[1] as he has revived one old custom at his inauguration, should also revive a still older one. Let him, and all the Aldermen, and all the Town Councillors and Corporate officers revive the ancient custom of riding the franchises. Let them go in state and on horseback all along the by-ways, and field-paths, and sea-strands where the old Corporators rode, and I am sure they will make a brave show and will receive a hearty welcome. We Dublin people like shows, and have got far too little of such things. The narrative begins by telling how the solemn procession having assembled within the walls, doubtless at the Tholsel opposite Christ Church, used to issue, in God's name, out of the Dames gate, ride past the Priory of All Saints, now Trinity College, to Ringsend. Thence they advanced to Clarade, near to the present Poolbeg, where they sent a yeoman to fling a dart into the sea to mark the admiralty jurisdiction of the Corporation. From this point they rode across the strand to the Black Stone,[2] and the Blackrock cross marks the spot where they used to stop in this direction. There the city sheriffs of that day used to hold a Court, and to this day the St. Stephen's-green division of Dublin extends out to the

[1] This Paper was read before the Society early in January, 1893.

[2] I have endeavoured to ascertain the exact locality of the Black Stone in a little guide-book called "Hill's Guide to Blackrock," published at Hill's Warehouse, Blackrock.

cross of Blackrock. According to this ancient custom, dating back to King John's day, all the householders, for instance, on the seaside of Blackrock and all along the Rock-road into town voted at the last election in the city, while the electors residing on the opposite side of the road or street voted in the county. From the cross of Blackrock the equestrian company of corporators proceeded along the line of the present road till they came to Merrion chapel and churchyard, where they turned up into the fields and made their way to Simmonscourt, along upon an ancient mear which ran by the well of the Blessed Virgin, and so they came to Donnybrook. This is a brief analysis of the ancient account. Now here I have a story to tell which illustrates several important points in practical archæology. It shows for instance the vast importance of personal inspection and of local knowledge. You will often be told things have vanished which are still in existence and which can still be found, lying hidden and waiting to reward the diligent investigator. Again, my story will show the conservative character of popular tradition and local practices. Popular usage will often retain the memory of ancient rights of way which have almost vanished and of ancient customs which few can explain.[1] In last Christmas week I determined to see whether I could not recover the ancient route of the worthy Mayor and Aldermen of four hundred years ago. I have been always puzzled to know how they got from Blackrock to Donnybrook. All the ancient accounts mention that the mearings or bounds of the city run from Blackrock along by the well of the Blessed Virgin. Where, then, was this well? My first step was this: I consulted a splendid map of the county Dublin, made about 1820 by a man named Duncan. He marks the well plainly enough in the fields of what then was called Simpson's nursery, which is now the French College farm, at the back of Ailesbury-road. If I desired to be extremely exact I should locate the well of the Blessed Virgin Mary, or Lady Well, just at the back of the house now occupied by our new Honorary Fellow, the late Lord Mayor of Dublin, the Right Hon. Alderman Meade. This map at once fixed for me the line which the Corporation pursued. I then consulted the Ordnance Survey Map,[2] and I found that the parliamentary boundary passed along the very same spot, so that the boundary for parliamentary purposes now represents the line of the ancient franchises of Dublin. Then I proceeded to make the actual experiment to see whether I could follow the route. On December 27th, 1892, in company with my son, and on the following Thursday, 29th December, in company

[1] Ancient rights of way are very often merely the ancient roads of the country, and might, if properly identified and explored, be most helpful in tracing the course of an invading or retreating army.

[2] What a great pity it is that our public libraries should be superseding the original Ordnance Survey Maps by the modern issue. I went lately to consult the original Ordnance Maps of fifty years ago, and I was presented with the maps of 1886, which have omitted vast numbers of the ancient features and landmarks which existed half a century ago, but have now disappeared.

with our learned friend and acute antiquary, Mr. James Mills, I proceeded to survey the ground commencing with the cross of Blackrock. We followed the line of the franchises over to Merrion churchyard, where lie the mortal remains of so many brave soldiers who lost their lives, one wintry night, November 17th, 1807, when the Rochdale transport, *en route* with reliefs to the Peninsula, and the mail packet the "Prince of Wales," from Parkgate to Dunleary, were dashed to pieces on Blackrock sands, with all the souls on board.[1]

We then penetrated up the lane and entered Mr. Justice Madden's back gate, where we traced an ancient road, which led us through the midst of Nutley estate, all along by the back of the blind asylum, formerly Merrion Castle. This is the very line described in the ancient documents of 1480, and 1603, in Mr. Gilbert's book. We then found ourselves in the grounds formerly called Simpson's Nursery, and now the French College farm. It lies just behind Ailesbury-road and Dr. Meade's house. Here I summoned to my help two distinct sources of information. I first of all tried a labourer on the spot. I often find that the populace know of traditional routes and long-descended customs which lie hidden from the more educated. They know of them, though they understand not their meaning. So I told my labouring friend what I was at. I told him I was looking for the well of the Blessed Virgin. I showed where the ancient path ran from Merrion churchyard across the fields into Donnybrook, and enlisted his historical curiosity —for every Irishman is by nature an historian—telling him how the Corporation used to pass that way into Donnybrook. "Why, sir," he cried, in jubilation, "the people pass that very road to the present day, when taking a short cut from Merrion to Donnybrook. All the old stiles," said he, "have been built up, but they climb the walls and then pass over this field to the far corner (pointing me to a clump of trees), and there you will find an old

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[1] This notice of the wreck of the "Rochdale" has led Mr. Wakeman to communicate to me an interesting story which illustrates the vast period of time which can be covered by a few long lives. The last survivor of the passengers who embarked in November, 1807, has only passed from our midst within the last few years. Mr. Wakeman discovered this fact in the following manner. He was looking at the sexton digging the grave in the Monkstown old churchyard for the sailors who perished with heroic Captain Boyd in February, 1861. The sexton as he dug flung up an old-fashioned shoe, which Mr. Wakeman picked up, remarking that it doubtless belonged to some ancient monk; whereupon the sexton told him that probably he (the sexton) knew the original owner, as the bodies of those lost in the transport had been deposited in this spot, adding that he himself had been on board the fated transport. Mr. Wakeman challenged his statement, alleging that all on board had perished; whereupon the sexton, whose name was Argue, explained that all on board indeed perished, but that, just as the ship was weighing anchor, the officer commanding the troops had sent him back to Holles-street to look for a box of valuables left behind. When he returned to Dunleary the ship had sailed, and his life was thus preserved. He was soon after appointed sexton at Monkstown churchyard, which office he retained till the ground was closed for burials, some time subsequent to the year 1870. His children were, down to a few years ago, still in the neighbourhood of Kingstown.

double ditch, with a path along the top, which brings them into Seaview-terrace at Donnybrook." I was delighted with my cowherd, whom I had summoned from the stables. He had given me the abiding rural tradition, and rural tradition is the most tenacious of all records, as I have again and again noticed in the course of my historical investigations. I then summoned to my assistance the personal recollections of Mr. Mills, who had known the locality since he was a child. He said he quite well remembered a double ditch, with a pathway on the top, which ran along behind and parallel to the present Ailesbury-road. We went together, examined the spot, and there we found considerable remains of the double ditch, cut away in large part by modern and daring innovators, but leading over to the public path which still remains, conveying us into Seaview-terrace, and thence to Simmonscourt Castle, as the ancient records expressly state. I must confess one point: we failed to find the well of the Blessed Virgin. But this is no wonder; modern farmers have had but little reverence for ancient sacred wells, and have remorselessly covered them up. We found, indeed, where the spring must be. The map of 1820 expressly marks the well in or beside the double ditch at the back of Alderman Meade's, and there is at that spot a stream still flowing, showing where the spring exists, though this ancient landmark has disappeared from view.

Let me here throw out a suggestion: this ancient path from Donnybrook across the fields to Merrion churchyard, may it not represent an ancient prehistoric road of Ireland. Dr. Petrie in his great work on Tara tells us that one principal road from Tara led through Dublin to Wicklow, passing through Booterstown, which was thence called Ballybother, the town of the road. Now, the present Blackrock-road did not exist between Ball's Bridge and Merrion one hundred and fifty years ago. There was no bridge at Ball's Bridge, and therefore no road. The road from Dublin to Blackrock and Dunleary ran through Donnybrook, and thence to where now stands the House of Rest near Merrion. Now, have we not an interesting survival? May we not conclude that the line of the city franchises, the bounds of St. Stephen's-green division to this day, represents a still more ancient road, the road used by King Leary himself in the days of St. Patrick when he wished to inspect his fleets, or organise his invading hosts of Scoti, or when, perhaps, he wished to take the fresh air, and drink, according to ancient Irish custom, health-giving draughts of salt-water drawn from the shores of Blackrock, Dunleary, and Kingstown, in days when they must have been much more bright and wholesome than at present. I throw out this suggestion, and would advise anyone in search of a real rural excursion within easy reach of the city to make a trial such as I have made. The first frosty day that comes, or the first fine dry spring day, set out and trace the franchises of Dublin between St. Stephen's-green and Blackrock. Read beforehand Mr. Gilbert's "Ancient Records of Ireland," with its

account of the doings of the Mayor and Corporation four centuries ago, and you will be astonished to find how very fixed are those features, the boundaries of fields, the lines of roads, the sites of ancient cemeteries and chapels upon which the city bounds depend. And here let me say in conclusion that as you start upon your wanderings from Donnybrook, supposing that, though an archæologist, you condescend to modern prejudices and usages and travel out so far in a tram, you will meet at Donnybrook one thing worth your observation as an antiquity hitherto unnoticed. You all know the immense quarry hole filled with a lake of water at the back of the Donnybrook tram station and stables. I remember well how that in my rambles out from college, thirty years ago, I used to stand and wonder how such an excavation was formed. That quarry hole saw the franchises of Dublin ridden in all the pride and panoply of Corporation glory. That quarry was opened in the days of Henry VIII. at least. How do you know this? you may ask. The answer is easy. Three hundred and thirty years ago Christ Church Cathedral fell down; that was in the year 1562. There was a very clever architect among the members of the Chapter of that day. Sir Peter Lewis, as he was called, was not merely an ecclesiastic but a mighty builder. He built for the Lord Deputy Sydney the celebrated old bridge of Athlone, and the *disjecta membra* of the ornaments Sir Peter Lewis placed upon it are still in the vaults of the Royal Irish Academy.[1] And Lewis was entrusted with the rebuilding of Christ Church, which he carried out in the manner we have all seen remaining till the days of Mr. Roe's restoration, and he has left us the details of the work, the prices he paid for materials, the places where he obtained the stones, in a manuscript Book of Christ Church, now preserved in the library of Trinity College. That book Mr. Mills is preparing for future publication by our Society. It is a lamentable fact that the only body in Ireland which now publishes ancient Irish records is the one body which does not enjoy one penny of public help, though multitudes of works are lying in manuscript which would well repay publication, and our Society manages to do such work through the public spirit of its members, who freely contribute their time, talents, and knowledge for this special purpose.

Now, in this book of Christ Church, as Mr. Mills has pointed out to me, there are numerous notices such as these:—"11th October, 1564; we began to take stones at the Cory of Mylton by Dodder." Again, "13th November; this day I was with the masons in the Corry of Dodder. Henris and two masons and ten workmen turning off the water and making of dams," showing us that three hundred years ago, and more, it was hard work to keep the flood under which inundated the quarries

[1] They are now displayed on the walls of our National Museum.

of Donnybrook, and that it is no wonder that such an immense flood still exists there.[1]

I have now finished the present portion of my task. Let me cherish the hope that it may stir up our Members throughout Ireland to direct particular attention to their own localities. I cannot see why our members in every good-sized town throughout the country should not meet a couple of times during the winter. Derry, Enniskillen, Sligo, Athlone, Limerick, Clonmel, and such like places could gather local knots of our Members to read Papers on purely local topics. The local press will gladly report their essays, while such of them as are of permanent and general interest might be afterwards forwarded to the central meetings of the Society when they had been first tried on a local audience. In that way we should diffuse a wider interest in our Society and its studies; we should help to cultivate what Ireland so much needs, social intercourse, intellectual development, and kindly feeling among Irishmen, too long separated by political causes, and help to transmit to the men of the twentieth century a truer and more perfect idea of Ireland in the nineteenth century than the men of the eighteenth century have transmitted to us of the Ireland of those days. I must now apologise for my very lengthened Paper, and can only hope that though I have as yet succeeded in getting simply from Dunleary to Blackrock, you will not have been so utterly weary of my subject as to be unwilling to accompany me in the further journey we hope some other time to take from Blackrock *via* Booterstown, Merrion, Donnybrook, Ball's Bridge, and Baggotrath to the famous city of Dublin.

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[1] The quarry used by Lewis was more probably on the Dodder at Milltown, but there is good reason to know that the quarry at Donnybrook was still older. A charter by Robert Bagod (from whom Baggotrath is called), made in 1314, is enrolled on a Plea Roll (No. 144). It conveyed Donachbrok to Fromund le Brun, but reserved to the grantor "the quarries (*lapidicina*) on the land to dig and carry stone to build and enclose my manor of the Rath near Dublin."

THE ORIGINS OF PREHISTORIC ORNAMENT IN IRELAND.

By GEORGE COFFEY, A.I.B., M.R.I.A., Fellow.

(*Continued from Vol. IV.* (1894), *page* 379.)

VI.

One of the most interesting chapters in Professor Boyd Dawkins' "Early Man in Britain" is that on the Prehistoric Trade-routes of Europe. Extending with fuller details and references, the important discussion at the Prehistoric Congress, Stockholm, 1874,[1] it forms a valuable summary of the subject.

The evidence turns chiefly on the amber and tin trades. Since the publication of "Early Man in Britain" (1880), important contributions have been made to the subject of the tin-routes by Mr. C. Elton and Professor Ridgeway, especially as regards the identification of the Cassiterides.[2] We shall have occasion to refer to these writers when discussing the identification of the Cassiterides—for the present it will be sufficient to give Professor Boyd Dawkins' general summary of the Trade-routes from the Mediterranean to the North and West of Europe. Four routes are distinguished, which I extract, with trifling abridgment, in Professor Dawkins' words. Though necessarily open to revision in details their main lines are generally accepted by archæologists.

I. Starting from Hatria (at the head of the Adriatic Sea), by the Valley of the Adige, past Verona, Roveredo, and Trient, over the Brenner Pass into the Valley of the Inn, crossing the Danube at either Linz or Passau. Thence over the Bohemian Mountains into the Valley of the Elbe to the amber coast of Schleswig and Holstein. This route was probably connected with that passing up the Danube, and down the Rhine, as well as that which crossed the Danube lower down at Pressburg.

II. From Hatria, taking a line eastward of the previous route, by Trieste, by way of Laibach, Gratz, and Bruck, across the basin of the Leitha to Pressburg, thence to the line of the Upper Oder, past Breslau, to the Lower Vistula, to Elbing, and ultimately to the amber coast of Samland.

III. From the Greek settlement of Olbia, on the Black Sea, up the Dnieper, thence in a north-westerly direction to the line of the Lower Vistula, and so joining the main trade-line from the Adriatic Sea.

IV. From the Greek settlement of Massilia (Marseilles), up the Rhone,

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[1] "L'Origine et le Commerce de l'Ambre Jaune dans l'Antiquité.—Hjalmar Stolpe: "Cong. Préhist., Stockholm," 1874.

[2] "The Origins of English History," C. Elton, 1882. "The Greek Trade-Routes to Britain," W. Ridgeway, "Folk-lore," vol. i., 1890.

afternoon drive, what these were, she explained them to me. The tower is said to have fallen in those cylindrical masses during a great storm in 1771.

There is now no statue in the ruined Friary, but a well-known one, popularly but absurdly called St. Brendan, stands in the old cathedral. It is said to have been dug up there about sixty years ago, when it was placed in the niche where it stands. Can this figure, apparently of a fourteenth-century bishop in *alto relievo*, have been the same that Archdall saw in the friary in 1780–6? It is for reasons to be given hereafter, extremely unlikely that any bishop of Ardfert but one was ever buried in the friary; their proper burial-place would of course be in their cathedral church. Yet the transference of a statue from the friary to the cathedral in old times is not unlikely to have taken place. When the Protestant church was built in 1670 at the south-east side of the cathedral, the whole of the fine fifteenth-century window in the transept of the friary church was transferred to the new edifice, and remained there for more than a century, when John Crosbie, last Earl of Glandore, who died childless in 1815 (bequeathing his estates to his sister's son, the Rev. John Talbot, of Mount Talbot, on condition of his assuming the name and arms of Crosbie), with commendable good taste, had it taken down and restored to its original position. He was a nobleman of cultivated and accomplished tastes, and is said to have done all in his power to preserve the friary ruins, and to have felt a great interest in them. He was a child when his grandmother, Lady Anne FitzMaurice, daughter of the 21st Lord and 1st Earl of Kerry, died, and he was through her the direct descendant of the founder, as is his grand nephew, the present Mr. Talbot Crosbie, D.L., now owner of Ardfert.

Ardfert Friary is in many respects like that at Mucruss (or *Oirbheallach*) near Killarney; but as the latter was occupied by the Franciscans until 1641, and probably again between 1660 and 1688, while their brethren at Ardfert were wholly dispossessed in the sixteenth century, Mucruss Friary is of course in a far better state of preservation.

The following notes on the Ardfert Friary have been kindly given to me by Mr. W. F. Wakeman, *Hon. Fellow*, and are peculiarly valuable as recording the judgment of one of our very highest authorities, the friend and fellow-labourer of O'Donovan, Petrie, and the Rev. James Graves, a skilled archæologist and artist, on the architecture and antiquities of a beautiful ruin of which, strange to say, we have hitherto had no full account. In July last Mr. Wakeman came specially from Dublin to examine the Ardfert Friary, and sketch the most interesting portions of it, as well as a very curious old round castle near it in Clanmaurice, built in the twelfth or thirteenth century by the Fitz Maurice Lords of Kerry or one of their feudatories. In company with Miss Rowan, *Member*, and myself, he spent two days examining the friary and making

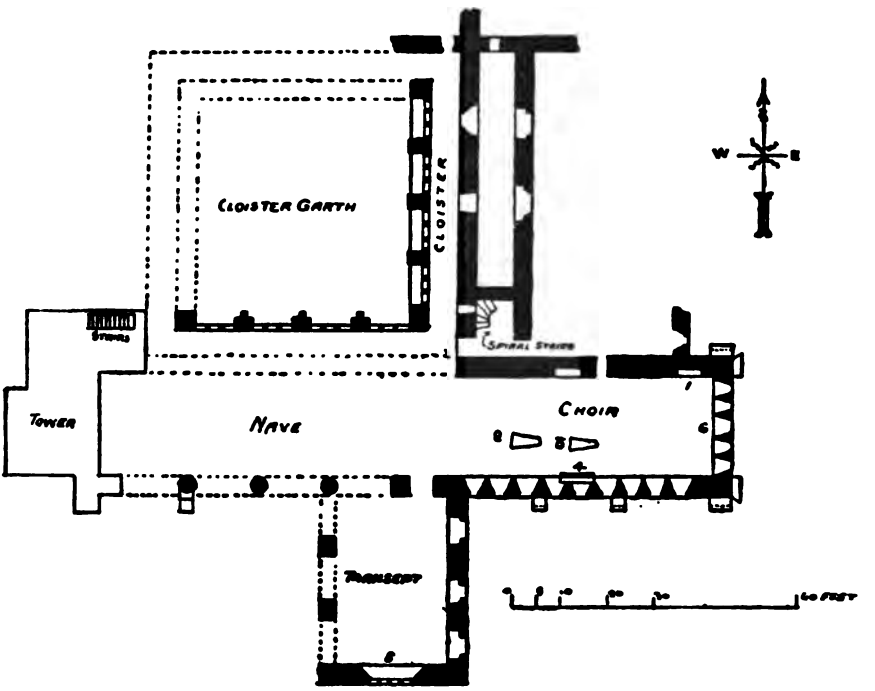
several sketches, two of which—a view of the interior of the Choir, and a sketch of a tombstone—accompany this Paper. His notes on the ruin are as follows :—

"The Priory of Ardfert, like most structures of its kind in Ireland and elsewhere, exhibits unmistakeable evidence of having been remodelled from time to time to suit the architectural tastes, or perhaps necessities, of a long line of occupiers. The oldest, probably the only original portion of the ruins, consists of a lofty and beautifully proportioned chancel, having at its eastern end five slender lancet lights, separated from each other by widely splaying piers of solid masonry, and in its southern wall an array of similar opes, nine in number. The northern wall, which is not pierced by any window, was probably overshadowed by a screen of domestic buildings, very few traces of which remain. The style of this chancel clearly belongs to the close of the twelfth or earlier half of the thirteenth century. It is pure and impressively simple, and heralded the grandest phase of so-called "Gothic" design, *i.e.* the second pointed. There is some reason to believe that at an early period the nave extended westward, and that the plan of the church was cruciform ; but we have no evidence that here a tower ever rose above the intersection. True it is that in the great majority of our monastic churches a campanile appears, supported on two or four arches, placed at the junction of nave and chancel, but such features are generally detected as additions. Notable examples of such supplementary towers are easily observable in Sligo Abbey, and in that of Mucruss, near Killarney. Further, it seems to have been a common practice during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and even somewhat later, to attach to the western end or angle of a twelfth or thirteenth-century church a tower more or less strong and lofty. This served as a belfry, as well as a place of security for the ecclesiastics, and within it were doubtless deposited the treasures of the community. In all likelihood it was often used as a dwelling-place for a considerable number of the officiating clergy. Perhaps the finest examples of this class of towers are those of Bective Abbey, in Meath, and St. Patrick's in Dublin. The tower at the west end of the nave in Ardfert Friary church is another good specimen of what may be considered as the successors of the *cloictheach* or round tower belfry of the old Irish Church. From the luxuriance of the ivy by which it is enshrouded but few details reward the search of an architectural student, but enough remains exposed to indicate an age probably about two centuries later than that of the chancel. It is, perhaps, contemporaneous with the beautiful arches of the cloister, which still remain to excite the admiration alike of the artist and antiquary. Those arches are strikingly like those at Mucruss and Sligo, which there is every reason to believe date from about A.D. 1400 or later. It was probably in the earlier years of the fifteenth century that

the northern wall of the nave, and possibly a side aisle adjoining, were removed to make room for a portion of the cloister. The opposite side of the nave presents a beautiful array of arches, which no doubt opened into a side aisle, long swept away, of which no trace is now visible. The work here is certainly less ancient than the chancel, and is earlier than the cloisters, but by no great length of time. From the southern side of the church, near the junction of the nave and chancel, extends a transept which presents all the appearance of having been used as a separate chapel. Its gable window presents a very pleasing example of very late fifteenth-century design. It would be very hazardous to pronounce an opinion as to the age of the other opes of this transept. The walls of it have evidently been largely tampered with, and the majority of the windows can hardly be said to suggest any recognised style of ecclesiastical architecture, but they have a very suspicious post-Reformation look."—W. F. WAKEMAN.

Thus far Mr. Wakeman, on the architecture of the friary, or abbey, as it is incorrectly called, the Franciscan houses' right name being friary or convent. The community settled at Ardfert by Thomas FitzMaurice, 1st Lord of Kerry and Lixnaw, was of the Conventual Rule, much less strict than the original one of St. Francis; but in the year 1518 the community conformed to the Observantine Rule, becoming Franciscans of the Strict Observance, more nearly resembling that enjoined by their saintly founder. The tower at the west end of the nave was certainly enlarged and strengthened in the sixteenth century, so that it presents the appearance of a small keep or military castle rather than a church tower. In my early days I remember ascending the steep and dilapidated winding-stairs that led to its summit; but even then it was esteemed dangerous to go more than half-way upward. I believe, however, these stone stairs have of late been repaired and strengthened by Mr. W. T. Crosbie, who like his granduncle, Lord Glandore, is very careful of the fine ruins. The length of the chancel and nave, from the east window to the base of this tower, is 132 feet, the width of the chancel rather more than 24 feet. Mr. Wakeman's supposition that the tower was used as a residence by successive occupants is proved true by history. After the dissolution the tower was turned into a barracks (the rest of the building being also taken up for secular uses) for the accommodation of Colonel Zouche, a very distinguished officer in the Elizabethan army, and his soldiers. During his iron rule the 16th baron of Kerry died at Lixnaw, and his body was brought to the friary, to be interred in the before-mentioned tomb of his ancestors, near the high altar. Zouche, unmindful of the reply of a great soldier to someone who urged him to destroy the tomb of a fallen enemy, "we war not with the dead!" refused to permit the funeral to enter the friary; and the 16th baron was laid to rest in the old cathedral.

The motives of Zouche's ungenerous conduct will be given hereafter when I come to deal with the romantic and adventurous life of this 16th baron, and the life of his heir, whose long and desperate rebellion was caused by this insult to his dead father, just as much as by the covetous designs of Zouche and Captain Ralph Lane against his inheritance. After the English troops left the friary tower it was occupied by



Plan of Ruins of Ardfert Friary.

(Reproduced from Plan made by George A. E. Hickson, C.E.)

1. Altar Tomb of the founder, Thomas Fitz-Maurice, 1st Lord of Kerry, *ob.* 1280.
2. Incised Cross on gravestone of Edmund, 10th Lord of Kerry, *ob.* 1543, a lay brother in the Friary.
3. Gravestone, with incised figure of Gerald Fitz Maurice, Grand Prior of the Knights Templar, crosier and spear, or lance pennon.
4. Tombstone with incised floriated Cross.
5. Window, removed to church in the village in 1670, but brought back to Friary by the last Earl of Glandore, *circa* 1800.
6. Site of High Altar under east window.

the two first Protestant bishops of the See, and probably during their residence the transept was used for divine service, and received those "suspicious post-Reformation" alterations and additions touched on by Mr. Wakeman. There is a tradition that many years ago, when the surface of the ground in this transept was being smoothed and renovated,

a flag covering the entrance to a large vault was discovered, which vault contained an immense quantity of human bones. It may have been the common burial-place of the friars minor, and of English soldiers killed in battle after 1579, when death had stilled their strife and enmities. Or as is more probable, this vault may have been the burial-place of the powerful younger branch of the Fitz Maurices, known (*vide* "Archdall's Lodge," vol. ii., p. 185) as the Tanist House, owners of Kilfenora, close to Fenit, and of Liscahane, between Fenit and Ardfert, attainted and deprived of their lands and castles after 1584. The ruins of a mediæval church exist at Kilfenora, and the Tanists' forfeited castle of Liscahane was occupied by Edward Grey, son of Lord John Grey of Groby in 1597, and remained until 1641–9, but not a vestige of it I believe can now be traced on the farm of Liscahane (portion of Sir Robert Arthur Denny's estate). This Tanist branch descended, according to Archdall, from Gerald Fitz Maurice, younger brother or younger son of Thomas Fitz Maurice, 1st Lord Kerry, the founder of the friary. The honours and estate certainly descended according to the English law of primogeniture from the 14th century, but as the barons of Kerry, unlike their cousins, the Desmond earls, almost always married wives of the native Irish race, the tanistry custom, though deprived of practical effect, had a certain influence, and the claimants under it were held in great respect until 1584–1600. On the 27th September, 1597, George Isham of Wexford, gentleman, had large grants of forfeited lands in and around Ardfert, including Farranwilliam, forfeited, the Queen's Letter says, by "Shane Oge Mac Shane Mac Thomas (Fitz Morris) of Kilfenora attainted." Farranwilliam is marked on the Ordnance map (sheet 20) a little to the south-west of the friary.

On a stone in one of the "beautiful array of arches," which Mr. Wakeman describes as having probably opened into a southern side aisle of the friary, long swept away, is the inscription which Archdall in 1780, and Smith, in or about 1750, read as containing the date 1253, marking the year the friary was founded. Neither, however, gives the words of the inscription. Since Archdall wrote, four antiquaries of repute have given four different readings of it, and which to accept as the true one, is a matter of no small difficulty. In my first series of "Kerry Records," printed by Hazell, Watson, and Viney, London and Aylesbury, in 1872, I gave a reprint of my father's old friend Richard Sainthill's letter in the *Kilkenny Archæological Journal* (now this *Journal, R. S. A. I.*) for 1852, in which he says he read the inscription as follows in 1831, and sent it to the "Gentleman's Magazine" of May in that year:—

"DONALDUS FITZ BOHUN HOC
DORMITOR FECIT H. O. US (*Hoc Opus?*)
ORATE PR' EO. A° MCCCCLIII."

Subsequently Mr. Sainthill sent another copy of the inscription to Sir Richard Colt Hoare, the well known English antiquary, who gave his solution of the puzzle in the following note.

"STOURHEAD.

"SIR,—I send you the best solution I can of your inscription, but it is not quite satisfactory to me. I cannot make anything of the letters H-E-N-D, but if read thus it would be somewhat intelligible:—'Donaldus Fitz Bohun, heic dormitor, fecit hoc opus, Orate Preco. A° MCCCCLIII.'

"Your obedient servant,

"R. C. HOARE."

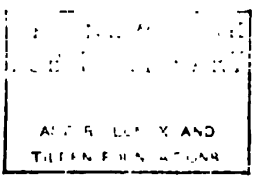
In or about 1850 Mr. Hitchcock, the most accurate and painstaking of observers, who did so much in searching for, and discovering, Ogham stones in Kerry, and whose Papers on west Kerry ruined castles were published in the *Journal* of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, edited by Rev. James Graves, examined this Ardfert inscription, and read it as follows:—

"DONALDUS DIGEN OHEN . . . C
DOR . . . . . R FEC . . . HO . . O . . U
ORA . . P . . O: A: D: M: CCCC: LIII."

In 1879, Sir Samuel Ferguson visited Ardfert and examined the stone, taking a cast of the inscription, and spending much time attempting to decipher it. He came to the conclusion that it originally ran:—

"DONALDUS NIGER OHEA
A FRATER MINOR FECIT
HOC OPUS, ORATE P EO,
A.D. 1454.

When I examined the stone in a very cursory way in 1880 or 1881, my attention then being absorbed by the far more interesting tombs in the chancel wholly overlooked by antiquaries, all I could make out of the inscription was the date, which seemed to me to be 1543. But I believe that this my hasty reading is incorrect, and Sir S. Ferguson's equally so. I feel sure that either Mr. Sainthill's or Mr. Hitchcock's reading is the correct one. They have a certain support in history and genealogy, and it is to be remembered that they were made long before Sir S. Ferguson's, when the letters were more legible. In a pedigree of the Carew nephews and grand nephews of Raymond Le Gros, given in the "Life and Times of Sir Peter Carew," by Sir John Maclean, one of the most accurate of genealogical and historical writers, and a Fellow of this Society, he says on the authority of ancient records in the Heralds' College, and Lambeth Library, that Nicholas Carew, fifth in descent from Odo, the brother of Raymond, married Avice, daughter and heiress of ( ) Digon, baron of Idrone, in Carlow county, and left a son John, Baron of Carew and Idrone, who died in 1324, having married Joan, daughter of Sir Gilbert Talbot. Lynch, in his "Feudal Dignities of



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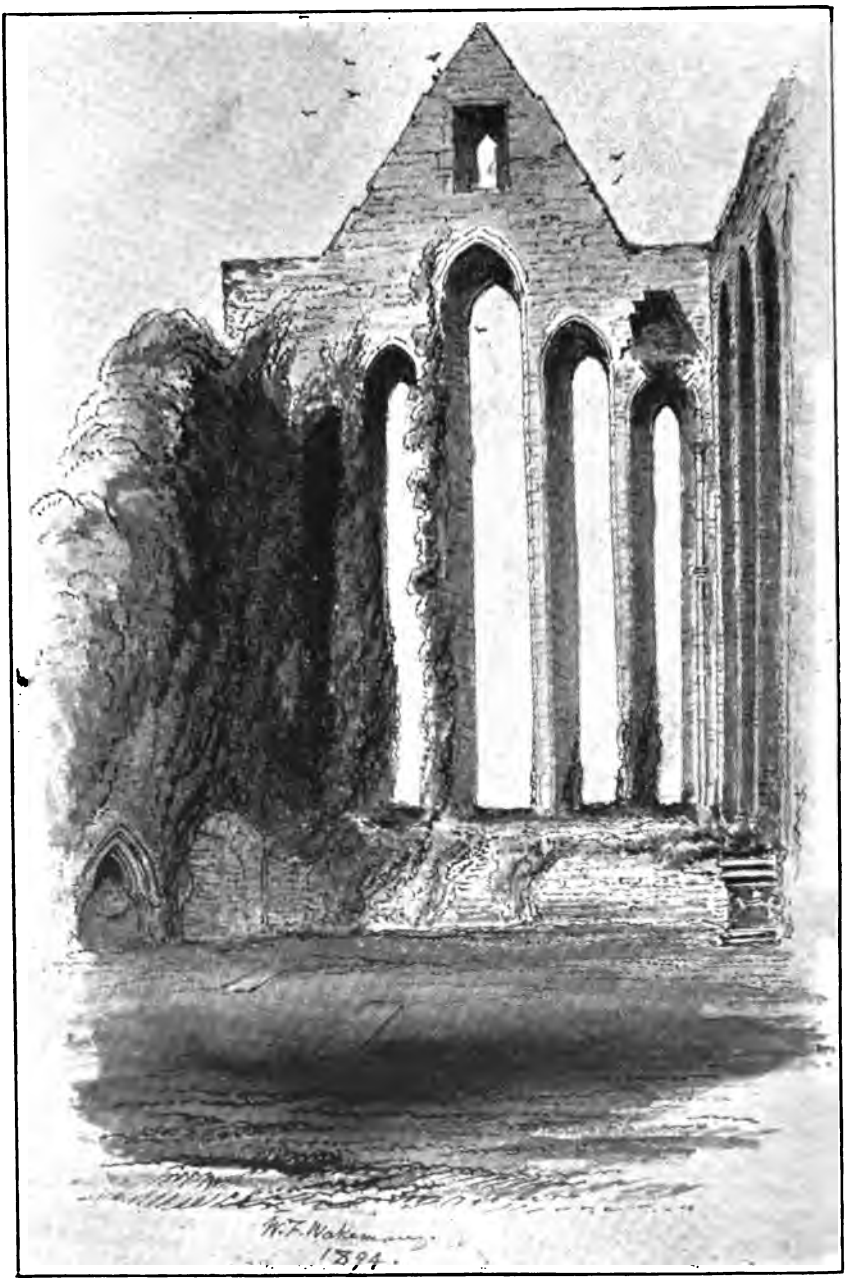


ARDFERT FRIARY—INTERIOR OF EAST WINDOW.

(From a Drawing by William F. Wakeman, *Honorary Fellow*.)

Ireland in Early Times," says that in Ireland in early times a writ of summons to parliament as a baron gave no hereditary title (legally) to such baron's descendants, so that the Digons, barons of Idrone, were probably only barons by writ, or else sub-feudatories of Strongbow's heiresses (*v.* "Lynch," pp. 134, 157). No doubt, however, such titular barons were accounted magnates, and men of noble birth, and they were often of far more ancient and honourable descent than many whose loftier titles date from patent grants of the fifteenth century. Raymond Le Gros had lands in Carlow, and it is probable that his brother Odo's descendant's marriage, *circa* 1300, with the Digon heiress from that county, brought some of her relatives and namesakes to Kerry. The name of Digen or Diggen is still found there, but in some cases it may be a corruption of the Irish Duggan, or, indeed, the Duggans may have sometimes assumed the old English name. The Bohuns also had lands near Raymond's Leinster grants, and after 1390 the Fitz Maurice lords of Kerry, had a plentiful share of the De Bohun blood in their veins, through the marriage of the sixth lord with Lady Joan Fitz Gerald, daughter of Gerald, fourth Earl of Desmond (the poet earl who haunts Lough Gur), and great granddaughter of the Lady Elizabeth Plantagenet, daughter of Edward I., by her husband, Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Essex and Lord High Constable of England. That Digons and De Bohuns should be inmates of the friary founded by a Fitz Maurice, Lord of Kerry, seems therefore very natural.

Perhaps the most interesting portion of the friary to the historian as well as to the genealogist for reasons to be more fully given hereafter, is the north-east side of the fine chancel, close to the great east window and high altar, where Lodge and Archdall, and traditions from time immemorial, tell us the founder of the friary, Thomas Fitz Maurice, first Lord of Kerry, was buried in 1280. On a similar spot, as we know, and under a similar canopy, or ogee arch, the White Knight, the alleged founder of the Kilmallock Abbey, is believed to rest. This north-east wall of the Ardfert chancel, probably as Mr. Wakeman says, the oldest portion of the ruin, began to fall inward some thirty or forty years ago, during Mr. Crosbie's absence from Ireland, and either through the fall of the wall, or the well-meant but ignorant attempts of country masons to restore it, all traces of the ancient Fitz Maurice tomb (probably an altar tomb) were swept away. The masons, however, built two arches of limestone, like a modern rural bridge, in the wall, in imitation of the ancient canopy, with recesses under them. In one of those recesses a monumental tablet to the memory of Mrs. W. T. Crosbie has been placed with a graceful modern canopy of grey marble over it, and a huge ivy-tree happily veils the new mason work. There was probably a double canopy over the vanished Fitz Maurice tomb; the accompanying sketch by Mr. Wakeman of its site as it now appears, and of the east window, gives a faithful representation of both. In a future

Paper I hope to be able to give an account of the two remarkable incised gravestones in the chancel, and to lay it before the next quarterly meeting with Mr. Wakeman's sketches of them. One of these (coffin-shaped), on which the stems of palms are twisted and interlaced so as to form the upright and transverse portions of a long cross, nearly 6 feet in length, while from the emblem of suffering thus formed springs, as in the natural tree, graceful clusters of palm branches, emblems of peace and triumph, is singularly beautiful in conception and execution. It is, Mr. Wakeman's notes say, "in many respects unlike anything to be elsewhere seen in Ireland, or perhaps in Europe." I have very little doubt as to who the great personage was, who preferred that no other symbols than those of the cross and the palm should mark his last resting-place.

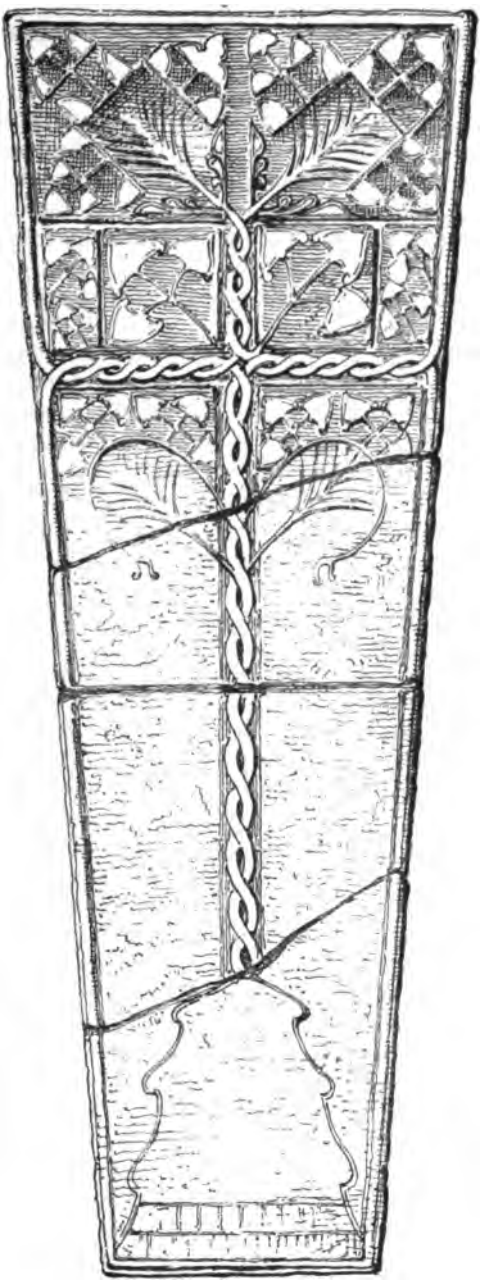
After the foregoing was written, finding that it could not be published in the *Journal* until March, 1895, I think it best to append in full Mr. Wakeman's note on this beautiful gravestone, and to let it appear with an engraving of his etching of the same, as well as his etching of the east window of the friary and the founder's tomb, and the ground-plan of the whole ruin:—

"Within the chancel are preserved two fairly perfect monumental slabs, and fragmentary portions of several others. The more remarkable of the former is, in many respects, unlike anything to be elsewhere seen in Ireland, or, perhaps, in Europe. It is shaped like the lid of a stone coffin, broader at one extremity than the other. It bears no heraldic device, and on account of its originality, is very tantalising to the archæological inquirer. It is useless to speculate on the exact period of this unique work, which, however, cannot be older than the end of the thirteenth, or later than the early part of the sixteenth, century. The monument was, doubtless, intended to commemorate some great personage, but whether layman or ecclesiastic, it is difficult to determine."—WILLIAM WAKEMAN.

This slab (p. 39) is fully 6 feet long, and 25 inches wide at the head, narrowing at the end, as in a coffin. Stothard says:—"The earliest tombs of this country, since the Conquest, appear to us in the shape of the lid of a coffin. These seem to have been placed even with the pavement, having, in some instances, foliage fancifully sculptured upon them, and in others crosses . . . these were carved in exceeding low relief. Effigies are rarely to be met with in England before the middle of the thirteenth century."[1]

The Rev. Denis O'Donoghue, P.P., of Ardfert, who accompanied us to the ruined Friary, was of opinion that the rope or cord-like twisted pattern, forming the cross, as shown in the accompanying sketch, was intended to symbolise the cord of St. Francis, but Mr. Wakeman was

[1] Stothard's "Monumental Effigies of Great Britain," pp. 3 and 4. See also his fine engravings of the coffin-shaped lids of Queen Matilda's tomb at Caen, and Roger Bishop of Salisbury's tomb in Salisbury Cathedral.



Tombstone in Choir of Ardfert Friary.

(6 ft. in length, by 25 in. width at top.)

disposed to think it was the old Celtic tracery usual on many ancient Irish monuments and in MSS. I should have ventured to suggest that both gentlemen were right, though apparently disagreeing on this interesting point, and that an Anglo-Irish sculptor had applied the Old Celtic interlaced ornament to represent the mediæval Franciscan cord, but that a young Roman Catholic Irish peasant-girl, to whom I showed the sketch, and who at once recognised the beauty of the palm-stems and foliage forming the cross, and its meaning, said: "Oh! but St. Francis's cord is triple and this cord is only double, you see!" The young devotee's criticism seems certainly sound, as her perception of the beautiful idea underlying the sculpture was instantaneous and intelligent. When we remember that the period to which Mr. Wakeman assigns this beautiful incised cross, between 1299 and 1525, was one popularly believed to be full of civil strifes, in which the art and literature of ancient Ireland was well-nigh extinguished, especially in the wild West, one is forced to conclude that that popular verdict is wrong. No Celtic or Anglo-Celtic semi-barbarian ever conceived or executed this lovely piece of Christian sculpture. Compared with the floriated crosses in Boutell's "Monumental Brasses," and incised slabs existing in English churches, the latter are far inferior in beauty, some quite ugly and fantastic when placed side by side with this monument at Ardfert Friary. For reasons to be fully given hereafter, it is certain that this slab marked the grave of Edmund Fitz Maurice, 10th Baron of Kerry, who, between 1530 and 1540, when the great changes in religion were pending under Henry VIII., resigned what were, no doubt, for many reasons, political and religious, his burdensome and perilous honours, title, and estates, to his eldest son Edmund, 11th Lord, and became a lay brother in the Franciscan Friary. He died there in 1543, just after the Act for the complete suppression of all the Irish monasteries passed the Irish Houses of Parliament. It was, doubtless, the intention of his son, the 11th Lord, and of the friars, to place an inscription and heraldic device on the pedestal, shaped like a shield, on which the foot of the long cross rests, so as to distinguish his grave, in the chancel near his ancestor, the founder's altar tomb, from those of his humbler brethren in religion. But the times made the insertion of inscription or arms dangerous for the interests of the friars, and Edmund, the 11th Baron, who was endeavouring to temporise and pacify the King. He succeeded, as we shall see, to a certain extent, for Henry created him Baron of Odorney, and Viscount of Kilmoily, limiting, however, those honours to the heirs of his body, by Catherine Zouche, the first wife of English name and lineage ever taken by a Fitz Maurice, Lord of Kerry. The King still further to secure the loyalty of the 11th Baron, granted to him and his male issue "several abbeys, friaries, and their appurtenances" (*v.* Lodges' "Peerage of Ireland," revised by Archdall, vol. ii., p. 190, ed. 1785), with a reversion in case of failure of said male issue to the Crown. Those grants procured a brief respite for the Monasteries in Clanmaurice.

IRISH FLINT ARROW-HEADS.

By the REV. G. RAPHAEL BUICK, A.M., LL.D., Vice-President.

In a collection of Irish antiquities, the department which usually attracts most attention is that containing the arrow-heads. This in itself is not to be wondered at. The variety in the forms displayed, the graceful outlines, the numerous shades of colour, running up from snowiest white through graduated tints of grey and yellow to brilliant red or deepest black, the marvellous differences in detail, despite the general similarity which obtains, and the chipping, bold and free, or delicate and constrained as the case may be, appeal alike to the eye and imagination of the visitor.

Yet, strange to say, no detailed description of these beautiful and interesting objects, save the somewhat imperfect and meagre one given by Sir William Wilde, in the Catalogue of the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, has hitherto been attempted. I propose, in this Paper, to supply, so far as I am able, the want; believing, as I do, that the time has come for a revision of our information regarding them, and that such a revision, however incomplete, being written from the standpoint of to-day, will not be without its uses either to ourselves or to others who are interested in the antiquities of our native land. Even should the attempt on my part do nothing more than induce some other and better qualified person to do the work more thoroughly, I shall have my reward in the satisfaction of feeling that I have not laboured altogether in vain.

Ireland is the country *par excellence* of arrow-heads. Sir John Evans, in his "Ancient Stone Implements, Weapons, and Ornaments of Great Britain" justly says, "in comparing the arrow-heads of Great Britain with those of what is now the sister kingdom of Ireland, we cannot but be struck with the far greater abundance found in Ireland, especially in its northern parts." Nor is our island behind in this respect when compared with other countries. America alone, perhaps, is superior, which is not saying much for it after all, considering its vast extent of territory and the comparatively late period during which weapons of stone continued to be employed by its inhabitants. I have made a rough estimate of the number of arrow-heads in the public and private collections throughout Ireland known to me, and find that, all told, they amount to something like ten thousand. At least as many more must have been taken out of the country, and when we add to all this the further fact that almost every day others are being turned up from the soil, we get a vivid idea of their phenomenal abundance. Evans finds himself in a difficulty when he tries to account for this. It may be due

"to their use having come down into later times." Or, it may result from "the character of the country," largely made up as it is of morass and bog, both favourable to the preservation of such articles. Or yet again, it may be owing "either to the nature of the game pursued," or "to some peculiar custom among the early inhabitants." He refers to all these, but leaves the point undecided. Possibly, the true answer will be found in the comparative abundance of the flint out of which the great majority of our arrow-heads are made, though, of course, one or more of the causes suggested, in particular the last, may have contributed to swell the quantity.

Of stone arrow-heads, *other than flint*, there are comparatively few. So far as I can make it out from such statistics as are at my disposal the proportion is about one in every hundred. The majority of these are either of pitch-stone, or of a close grained basalt. A few are of Lydian stone, and I have seen one at least, the material of which is chalcedony. In the neighbourhood of Bundoran, County Donegal, arrow-heads of chert are to be found, but they are not at all numerous. I do not know of any similar finds elsewhere in Ireland.

As regards distribution, arrow-heads of flint are much more abundant in the north than in the other parts of the country. The counties bordering on Lough Neagh are specially prolific. This is only what might be expected, since it is in the north-east corner of this district that the flint bearing strata abound and are most accessible. "No flint arrow-heads were found in the Shannon excavations near Athlone; and very few, if any, in the works of the Drainage Commission beyond the limits of the flint formation of Ulster." In Antrim, of which alone I can speak with anything like accuracy, having collected some seven hundred specimens found in its fields, there are particular districts famous for the large numbers which they yield: such as the whole valley of the Bann from Lough Neagh to the sea; the King's Moss near Ballyclare; the mountain district of Ardamagh near Glenwherry; Ballynashee in the same neighbourhood; the Glens; Killyless in the parish of Ahoghill, a notable locality for triangular arrow-heads; Glenhue, in the same parish; Clough, in the barony of Kilconway; the mountain of Aura; Armoy and the district round Loughguile; and Lough Mourn and the Commons of Carrickfergus.

In size they run from about four inches to an inch in length. I have a few which measure about half-an-inch, but examples so small are extremely rare. Many of the larger specimens—three inches and over in length—must have been spear or javelin points; but, as all are popularly called arrow-heads, I do not think it necessary to attempt a division. Indeed, I do not see how it is possible to separate the one class from the other, or in many instances to say positively which is an arrow-head and which is not. A medium size is from one inch and a-half to two inches long. Arrow-heads of this size are the most numerous of all.

The workmanship on the bulk of our arrow-heads is something wonderful, considering the nature of the material of which they are made. Of course many are to be met with, the chipping of which has been roughly and carelessly done, but these are the exceptions rather than the rule. The majority have been fashioned with care and skill, and exhibit a fineness of surface-chipping and a correctness of outline which could not well be surpassed. When examining some of the smaller examples, one often finds himself wondering how the maker manipulated them so that they remained intact during the process of manufacture. The "fluting," too, on some of the larger specimens is quite as good as anything to be seen on the finest examples of Egyptian or Danish work. Our ancient arrow-head makers were evidently "born artists." At any rate, they had deft fingers and a keen eye for beauty of form.

Arrow-heads divide readily into three great classes: the leaf-shaped, the triangular, and the stemmed.

I do not see that anything is to be gained by adding to these. Sir William Wilde classifies them in five divisions—the triangular, the indented, the stemmed, the barbed, and the leaf-shaped. I venture to differ with him. I regard the simpler arrangement as preferable, not only on account of its simplicity, which of course is a matter of some moment, but because it seems more in line with the process of development out of which the typical forms have grown.

I. The Leaf-Shaped.

To this class belong some of the largest, and many of the thinnest and most delicately worked, of our arrow-heads. I have before me, as I write, specimens so thin and translucent that it is possible to read my own handwriting through them when laid upon it. Yet all of them are exquisitely fashioned, the chipping running right over them, indicating on the part of the makers both delicacy of touch and thorough knowledge alike of what could be done, and what could not be done, with such a difficult material to carve as flint. The typical arrow-head of this class is broad and rounded at the base, and tapers gradually to the point fig. 1.

Of leaf-shaped arrow-heads there are two sub-classes: the leaf-shaped proper, and the leaf-shaped modified.

(1). *The leaf-shaped proper.* The bulk of the arrow-heads shaped like a leaf belong to this sub-class. Of these, in turn, there are four varieties:— (*a*). *Those which, when a line is drawn across them at their broadest part, or from shoulder to shoulder, have more of the arrow-head above this medial line,* i. e. *towards the point than below it or towards the base.* Figs. 2 and 3 are good examples. In these instances the base is more or less pointed instead of being rounded. The arrow-head, too, represented by fig. 3 has its upper edges slightly concave in outline. Both forms are common.

(*b*). ***Those which have as much below the medial line as above it,*** **fig. 4.—** This variety includes a large percentage of those which are lanceolate

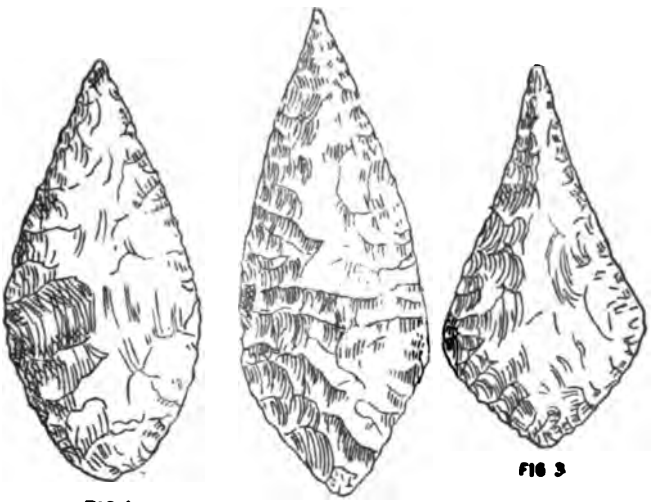


FIG 1. FIG 2 FIG 3

in form, *i.e.* those leaf-shaped arrow-heads which are comparatively narrow, and equally sharp, or nearly so, at both ends. With regard to many of these it is impossible to say which end is the point, and which the base. Fig. 5 is taken from one with the base somewhat more pronounced, so that here there is no difficulty in distinguishing between the two.

(*c*). ***Those which have more below the***

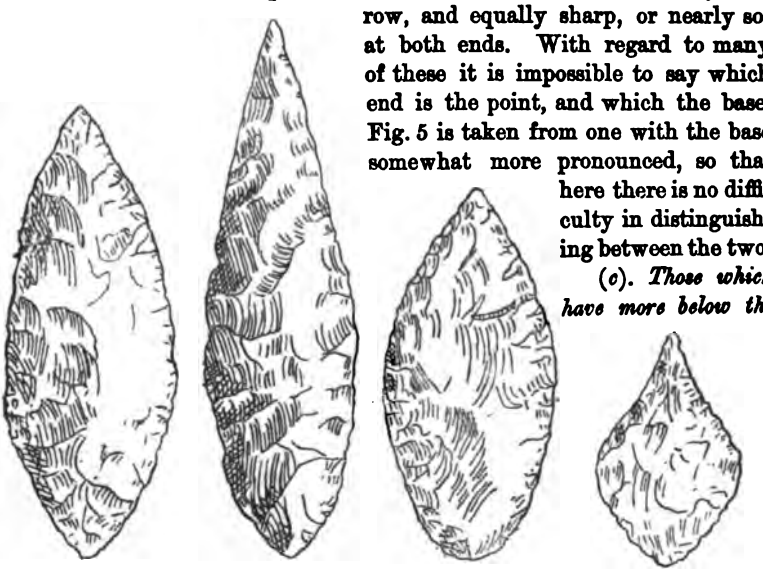


FIG 4 FIG 5 FIG 6 FIG 7

medial line than above it.—This is by no means a numerous variety. Still, there are sufficient specimens to entitle them to be distinguished

from the others. The leading characteristics can best be understood from the illustration, fig. 6. They are a prolonged and, more or less, rounded base, and a sharp point comparatively near the shoulders. The

FIG 8

FIG 9

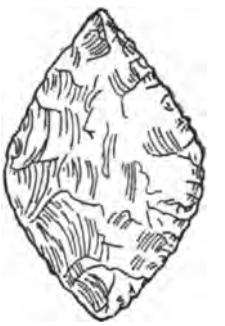


FIG 10

title obovate has been suggested for them. Sometimes, but rarely, the outline from the shoulders to the point is ogival, fig. 7. Out of some thirty examples of this variety which I possess only two assume this ogival form.

(*d*). *Those which are nearly circular*, fig. 8.—Arrow-heads of this description are by no means numerous. They seem to be wasters more than anything else. Or, it may be that their circular shape has arisen from the re-pointing of an ordinary leaf-shaped arrow-head, such as that represented by fig. 1, after the original point had been broken off.

FIG 11

FIG 12

(2). *The leaf-shaped modified.*—Here we find only two varieties, the lozenge and the kite-shaped.

(*e*). *The lozenge-shaped.*—Evidently this has been derived from the ordinary leaf-shaped by simply straightening the outlines, fig. 9. The passage from the one to the other is clearly marked by the occurrence of a considerable number of intermediate forms. Fig. 10 represents one of these. When dealing with arrow-heads of this description with a view to classification, it is by no means easy to determine under

which division the particular example should be placed, whether under that of the leaf-shaped proper, or that of the leaf-shaped modified. The majority of lozenge-shaped arrow-heads are sharp at both ends; the remainder have the base, or portion intended for insertion in the shaft, slightly rounded, or blunted, as in the case of the one represented by fig. 11. Fig. 12 shows one of this sort which has all its edges concave, an exceedingly rare form. From the fact that many of the larger specimens with the base blunted, or rounded off, show unmistakeable signs of wear-and-tear on the edges which run up to form the point, taken in connexion with the further fact that the portion bounded by these edges is, as a rule, shorter than the remaining portion forming the base, I conclude that they were used, not as arrow or javelin-heads, but as knives.

FIG 13

FIG 14

(*f*) *The Kite-shaped*, figs. 13 and 14. This shape would seem to be the result of simply chipping away the edges of a leaf-shaped arrow-head from the shoulders to the point, until the outlines, instead of being convex become decidedly concave, thus leaving the portion which remains narrow and sharp. The base, as will be seen from the two examples figured, is sometimes left pointed, and sometimes trimmed to a semicircular shape. Many of the larger specimens of this variety, irrespective altogether of the form of the base, are polished on both the faces. This has been done

to make them thinner and lighter; these polished heads are peculiar to Ireland. I have noticed that when, as the result of the chipping, the head is sufficiently thin, there is no attempt at polishing. Some of the larger examples measure as much as seven or eight inches in length. Very graceful and beautiful they look; the perfection of workmanship in flint. They must have been used as spear or javelin tips. Those over two and a-half inches long could not have been shot from an ordinary bow either with ease or effect. I have also noticed that yellow or red flint seems to have been specially sought after for the smaller specimens of these kite-shaped heads. Unfortunately for us, what was thus gained in appearance was lost in durability. A great many of them are broken. A friend who has given a good deal of attention to the subject, and to whom I happened to mention the matter, tells me that yellow or red-coloured flint is more brittle than the grey or commoner kind.

II.—The Triangular.

Arrow-heads of this class, though rare in England, are common with us. In any large and representative collection they are quite as numerous as either the leaf-shaped or the stemmed. The only other European countries in which they abound to a similar extent are those included in the Scandinavian area. America can show a goodly number also, but they do not preponderate. I am inclined to think that the large number of arrow-heads of this description found in Ireland is due directly, or indirectly, to Scandinavian influences. If I am right in this conjecture, light is thrown alike upon our racial history, at least here in the North, and on the age of the arrow-heads themselves.

Of triangular arrow-heads there are two sub-classes: those which have the base straight and unbroken, and those which have it notched, or indented. The majority belong to this latter sub-class.

(1). *Those which have the base straight and unbroken*, fig. 15.—This form is by no means abundant; the base, while straight, is sharp, and, more or less, chisel-shaped. Occasionally, it has been formed by the natural fracture of the flake. In this case it is worth noting that the maker reserved the thicker portion of the original flake as the part out of which to shape the point. By doing so he saved himself a considerable amount of trouble. It is just possible that some of these straight-based heads were fastened by the point to the arrow-shaft after the fashion of the chisel-ended form in use amongst the ancient Egyptians. The example figured has the outlines of the two sides, or edges, slightly convex. Others have them perfectly straight, or noticeably concave.

FIG 15

(2). *Those which have the base notched, or indented.*—Of these there are, at least, four varieties.

(*a*). *Those which have the base only slightly hollowed.*—The indentation here is either curved, or triangular, *i.e.* bounded by two straight lines meeting at the centre. Fig. 16 represents the one, and fig. 17 the other. Those which have the notch, or indentation, triangular are excessively rare. Fig. 17 is drawn from a fine example found near Maghera, county Derry. In both these examples, it will be observed, the indentation runs from the extreme point of the base on one side to the corresponding point on the other.

FIG 16

FIG 17

(*b*). *Those which have a curved notch, leaving broad barbs, or wings, of the same breadth, or nearly so, throughout*, fig. 18.—In some instances the notch is little, if anything, broader than the barb remaining on either side. In others it is three or four times broader than the barb. Many of the smaller and medium-sized arrow-heads of this latter sort have it so deep that but little of the flint remains to form a body. Fig. 19 is an example, though the illustration hardly does justice to the original, as it represents the barbs slightly broader than they actually are. The arrow-head from which it was drawn looks as though it were nothing but barbs. What advantage was gained by thus cutting away

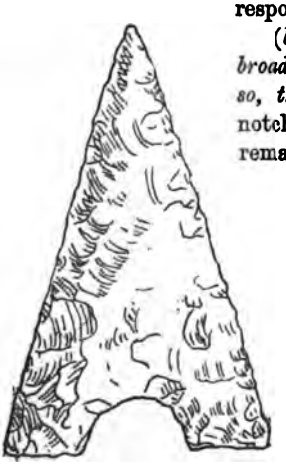


FIG 18

FIG 19

so much of the central portion it is somewhat difficult now to determine. When it was attached to the shaft the wood must have reached quite to the extreme point of the tip. Perhaps the intention was to make it come away all the more easily from the shaft when it had penetrated the flesh. Extraction was thus rendered more difficult, and the wound more dangerous.

(*c*). *Those with a rather deep circular notch, and the barbs more or less trimmed.*—This trimming differentiates them from the variety just dealt with. When it has been done to the barbs on the inside edge, the form is that of fig. 20, or that of fig. 21, according as the outline is left curved or straight. When the trimming has been done to the outside edge, as well as to the inside one, the form is that of fig. 22. In this case more has been taken off the barb on the outside than on the inside, and the point of the head itself has been slightly rounded, so that all the outlines are decidedly convex. Many of the arrow-heads belonging to this division, however, have straight sides. A somewhat unusual form is that in which, while the edges are straight, the outer corner of the barb has been cut away

FIG 20

FIG 21

FIG 22

so as to give the appearance shown by fig. 23. It is but right to say, though, that this particular form may have been derived, at least in some instances, from a leaf-shaped piece of flint with a semicircular base by simply chipping a notch out of the base.

A still more uncommon arrow-head is that represented by fig. 24. It has the ordinary large notch at the base, and, in addition, a small indentation at the extremity of each barb—three circular notches in all. It was recently found near "The Battery," famous as the house where the first meetings of the "Hearts of Steel Boys" were held in the last century, on the road leading from Ballymena to Larne, Co. Antrim. I have seen a number of other examples approaching to this type, but they are "few and far between." Before leaving this particular variety it should be noted that in general the sides, or edges, are perfectly straight, or only exhibiting a slight convexity, which, generally, is most noticeable

towards the point. To this rule, however, there is one remarkable exception. A few arrow-heads are to be met with which have the outline concave. This hollowing out of the sides, as well as of the base, gives a boldness and sharpness to the barbs which otherwise they would not have, fig. 25. It seems to have been done with a view to this. The

FIG 23 FIG 24 FIG 25

one figured is not so large, or so pronounced in these respects, as others which I have seen; but it belongs to myself and is therefore most readily available for exact representation.

(*d*). *Those which have the notch, or indentation, straight in outline.*—Fig. 26 shows the commonest form. It has been formed from a straight based

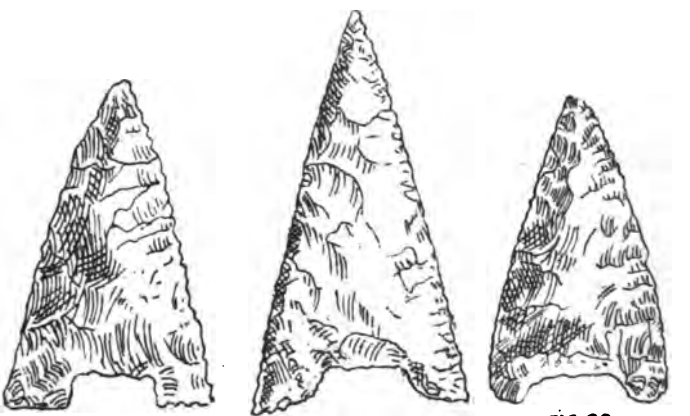


FIG 26 FIG 27 FIG 28

triangular piece of flint by the removal of a small portion from the base, leaving the barbs without any further trimming. But, oftentimes, the barbs are trimmed. In some examples the inner corner of each barb is cut back, so as to give it greater sharpness, fig. 27. In others the barbs are slightly rounded, in which case the form assumed is that of fig. 28.

III.—The Stemmed.

Of all our arrow-heads these are the most attractive. I have put them last, not only because they are the most highly specialised, but also because I believe that it is possible to trace, by means of intermediate forms, their development from either the leaf-shaped or the triangular. Suppose an arrow-head of the former class has its two edges, or sides, partially chipped away, leaving a shoulder on each, the result is an approach, at least, to a stem, figs. 29 and 30. Or, suppose a triangular arrow-head, with a straight base, has two notches chipped out of this base, at equal distances from the sides, it becomes at once a barbed arrow-head, with a stem between the barbs, and of the same length, fig. 31.

FIG 29

FIG 30

The advantage of the stem in both these instances is apparent. In the case of the first the shoulders served to prevent the head from being driven back in the shaft when

FIG 31

in actual use; in the case of the second the notches served the same purpose, assuming of course that the arrow-shaft was lapped with cord, or sinew, at the point of junction, and at the same time the barbs gave the additional advantage of greater difficulty in withdrawing the head from the body of the victim when the arrow armed with it had "found its goal" in man or beast. Modern savages in Africa, and elsewhere, capture the larger game by first shooting barbed arrows into their hind-quarters, which, holding fast, produce by their every movement intense pain, and thus compel the animal to come to a standstill, after which it is easily despatched by other and more efficient weapons which are only available at close quarters.

Stemmed arrow-heads may all be grouped, like those of the other classes, under two sub-classes: those without barbs, and those with them.

(1). *Those without barbs.*—The bulk of these are of large size, ranging from about two and a-half inches in length to three and a-half, or four inches. The stem is usually about one-sixth of the entire length and nearly half as broad as the body of the arrow-head. In all cases it is thinned down at the free end, so as to admit of easy and neat insertion in the shaft. In the example figured as 32 it is long and straight in outline throughout. Fig. 33 shows one in which it is neatly rounded off, and at the same time abnormally broad. A rare form is that in which it assumes a gable shape, fig. 34.

FIG 32

(2). *Those which are barbed.*—Of these there are three varieties:—(*a*) those which have the stem and barbs the same in length; (*b*) those which have the stem longer than the barbs; and (*c*) those which have the stem shorter than the barbs.

(*a*). *Those which have the stem and barbs of equal length.*—The majority of the arrow-heads answering to this description are small, running from three-

FIG 33

FIG 34

quarters of an inch in length to an inch and a-half. They are popularly known as "three-toed elfstones." The term, however, is given to some of the other varieties as well. They have been formed, as we have seen, from triangular pieces of flint, out of the base of each of which two narrow notches of the same size and equidistant from the sides, have been chipped; fig. 31 shows a typical example. A less common form has the edges perfectly straight. Often, the outline is even more convex than in this instance, more especially close to the barbs, fig. 35. The latter, too, are often rounded off. Occasionally, the outlines are ogival, which gives a sharper point, fig. 36. The stem is usually of the same breadth, or nearly so, throughout. The barbs sometimes assume the form of a hook,

tig. 37. This is done by rounding off the outer corner, and making the notch encroach somewhat on the barb at the neck. This variety is both quaint and attractive.

FIG 35 FIG 36 FIG 37

(*b*). *Those which have the stem longer than the barbs.*—Under this heading come almost all the large barbed arrow-heads, and many of the smaller ones. The general outlines differ as much as the sizes. Some are short

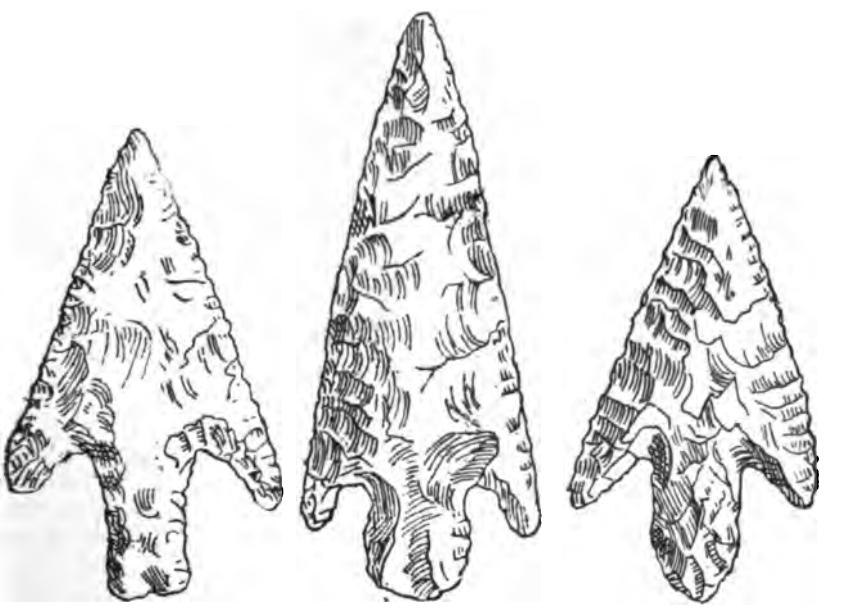


FIG 38 FIG 39 FIG 40

and broad, others long and narrow. Some are unmistakeably triangular in form, others more or less ovate. Some have the edges convex, others have them concave or hollowed. As a rule, the larger examples have the

stem of the length already mentioned as obtaining in the unbarbed class, *i.e.* about one-sixth of the entire length. These are much handsomer to look at than those of the same size, or thereabouts, but which have the stem only a trifle longer than the barbs. Figs. 38, 39, and 40 bring out the contrast fairly well. The remarks already made with regard to the shape of the stem apply here also. There is this, however, to be added, that in some instances the stem tapers gradually to a point, as shown by fig. 41, whilst in others the free end is more usually rounded off and the edges decidedly hollowed near the junction with the body, so as to give it the appearance of a head and neck, fig. 39. And occasionally it is abnormally broad, in which case it is, as a rule, of the same breadth throughout and simply rounded off at the free end. Figs. 42 (A) and 42 (B) are instances.

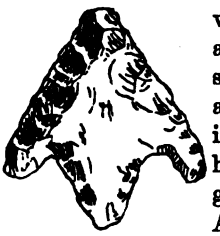


FIG 41

The barbs, also, differ considerably. Sometimes they are sharply pointed, sometimes slightly rounded off. Fig. 43 shows a somewhat rare

FIG 42 (B)

FIG 42 (A)

FIG 43

form, with the barbs slightly trimmed. Fig. 44 is from an arrow-head with one barb sharp and the other rounded off: both are comparatively long, whereas in the cases of the example, fig. 45, they are comparatively

short. In some instances they are parallel to the stem, or nearly so; in others they stand out from it at an angle of something like 45 degrees. In rare cases they are more or less hooked.

FIG 44

FIG 45

Unsymmetrical forms are not uncommon among the arrow-heads of this class. A goodly number have one barb very much larger than the other, figs. 46 and 47. Others, again, have only one barb, figs. 48 and 49. This want of symmetry is not the result of the accidental removal of a barb, or part of a barb. No alteration whatever, has taken place in the shape of the arrow-head since it was made, for it will be observed that in all these four instances the stem occupies a position much nearer to one side than the other. Either the maker miscalculated the relative proportions, or else some defect in the material of one side led him to chip away more of the flint there than he originally intended, so necessitating the disappearance of the barb altogether, or its reduction to a mere fragment. The examples thus produced destitute of one barb are the only single winged Irish arrow-heads I am acquainted with. What were formerly called by this name are really knives. See my Papers on this subject in the *Journal* of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland, vol. viii., Fourth Series, Nos. 73 and 74, and the "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland," vol. x., New Series.

FIG 46

FIG 47

Another form of unsymmetrical arrow-head belonging to this variety has the stem set somewhat to the one side, so that it is not in line with the longer axis of the arrow-head. Fig 50 is a good example. I do not

FIG 48

FIG 49

FIG 50

find that examples of this sort are at all abundant. This indeed might be expected. Arrow-heads of this description would be more troublesome to adjust properly to the shaft than those of the normal type which have the stem in a line with the longer axis.

(*c*). *Those which have the stem shorter than the barbs.*—These are much the rarest of all the varieties of arrow-heads included in this class. Out of a collection of two hundred examples with stem and barbs I find I have just nine which answer to this description. All, with one exception, are of small size. The stem in the smaller ones is reduced to little more than a mere point, fig. 51. A larger specimen is represented by fig. 52. It is a most beautiful arrow-head. The stem is more pronounced than in the others, and is gable-shaped: the barbs have the inner corners cut away in order to give a sharper point; the body

FIG 51

FIG 52

is of thin flint, exquisitely worked all over, the edges are finely serrated, and it will be observed that the outlines throughout are straight, except at the junctions of the barbs with the stem. Such examples of the ancient arrow-maker's skill are extremely rare. In France, I understand, they are much more common. Four arrow-heads of the same general appearance but with stems tapering gradually to a point, instead of being gable-shaped, are figured by M. Alexander Bertrand in his "La Gaule Avant Les Gaulois." They were found in tumuli-dolmens and in association with bronze.

In all the three classes thus described are to be found examples possessing a distinguishing feature just alluded to, viz. that of being serrated on the edges. The most uncommon of these is the serrated leaf-shaped. Among both the triangular and the stemmed they occur frequently. The serration itself is of two kinds—primary and secondary. The primary is much the finer and more delicate of the two. It is the

FIG 53

FIG 54

FIG 55

direct, though perhaps unintentional, result of the chipping by which the arrow-head showing it has been shaped. When this has been done by taking a flake, or chip, first from the one face and then from the other, and so on all along the same edge, the edge so operated upon takes necessarily a serrated form, owing to the alternate ridges and hollows made by the several flutings. The secondary form of serration has been intentionally produced, and is altogether independent of, and apart from, the original flaking. It is accordingly, as might be expected, much more pronounced than the other form, and is the one generally taken notice of. Figs. 53, 54, and 55 are examples taken from the different classes.

With reference to the manufacture of arrow-heads generally, little can be said that is not, more or less, conjecture. I dare say, different methods were followed in different districts. And it is tolerably certain that the bulk of them must have been formed by flaking, that is chipping produced by pressure applied by means of a bone or horn tool, such as that in use among the Esquimaux, and not by a succession of slight blows, struck

with a stone hammer. Sometimes the point was the part first wrought, sometimes the base. Not seldom, the thickest portion of the flake operated upon was chosen as the part from which the point was fashioned. Oftener perhaps, it was the reverse, more especially in the making of the larger examples. Sometimes one side was finished before the other was commenced. At other times the faces were dressed alternately chip about. Evans says that, as a rule, in England[1] "barbed flint arrow-heads were finished at their points, and approximately brought into shape at their bases, before the notches were worked to form the central tang and develop the barbs." An interesting example, showing that a different method of procedure was adopted in this country, has just come under my notice. It is represented by fig. 56. It is the half of a split pebble, with the bulb of percussion on the face and the weathered surface on the back. At the thin end a tang and two barbs have been carefully worked on both sides. The portions designed for the body and point are still untouched. Unfinished arrow-heads of this sort, or indeed of any sort, are by no means abundant. From those which I have examined no general rules as to the method of procedure can be deduced.

FIG 56

Only two examples have as yet been met with in Ireland of arrow-heads attached to their shafts. One was found on a wooden togher, or road, along with a bone pick in the bog of Ballykillen, barony of Coolestown, King's County. The shaft was of briar wood, and a portion of the gut tying was attached to it. It is figured by Wilde in the Catalogue of the Royal Irish Academy, page 254, fig. 164. The second was found by a man named William M'Fetridge, when cutting turf in Kanestown Bog, in the townland of Carnalbanagh, about half-way between Glenarm and Ballymena in the Co. Antrim. It has been described and figured by Mr. W. James Knowles, M.R.I.A., in the *Journal* of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland, No. 63, July, 1885. In this instance also the shaft was bound round with gut, or sinew, for several inches below the head. Mr. Knowles is of the opinion that the latter was secured in its place by some kind of cement, or glue, as well.

Of arrow-heads found in association with other antiquities much might be written. They sometimes occur in burial urns of the so-called Bronze Age. In the *Ulster Journal of Archæology* for January, 1856, there is a

[1] "Ancient Stone Implements, Weapons, and Instruments of Great Britain," p. 344.

record of the discovery of an urn containing burnt bones, and two flint arrow-heads at Ballynehatty, adjoining the Giant's Ring, Co. Down. No description of them is given.

In the new issue of the same Journal for January, 1895—just come to hand whilst this Paper is being revised—Mr. William James Knowles, M.R.I.A., gives details of the finding of three stemmed arrow-heads, with barbs in a burial urn at Fenaghy sand-pit, near Cullybackey, Co. Antrim, and of one leaf-shaped arrow-head, which he was informed had been obtained from a sepulchral vessel discovered at Kells, in the same county.

A writer who styles himself "A Cornish Man," informs us in the course of an article on Irish Antiquities, contained in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology* for October, 1857, that he saw an urn containing burnt bones and a flint arrow-head, which had been found near Drogheda.

In the same Journal for April, 1885, Mr. James Carruthers figures seven, found by himself in a field in the townland of Kilmakee, near Dunmurry, Co. Antrim, where a short time before three urns had been dug up. He describes them as "of a rare shape"; but if we are to judge them by the illustrations, it is questionable whether they are arrow-heads at all in the proper sense of the term.

Three instances have come under my notice of their having been met with in stone cists, or close beside them :—

(*a*). In 1858, Rev. A. T. Lee, D.D., opened a tumulus at Bella Hill, Carrickfergus, and found "several rude specimens of flint arrow-heads" in the clay just outside the cist in which the interment had taken place—*Ulster Journal of Archæology*, No. 22, for April, 1858.

(*b*). Some years before his death, the late Canon John Grainger, D.D., examined the Ticloy Cromlech, Co. Antrim, and found in the chamber a leaf-shaped arrow-head. Unfortunately it cannot now be identified.

(*c*). Mr. Rotherham met with the half of a stemmed arrow-head without barbs in a cairn on the Lough Crew Hills, Co. Meath. In a letter to George Coffey, Esq., who has kindly sent me an extract from it, he says, under date 28th November, 1893 :—"I tried if anything was to be had in Cairn U (see Conwell's Map), and found a bit of a broken arrow-head of black flint in the west chamber, and fragments of an urn in the north chamber. The floor of the chamber was covered with small broken stones, and at the point indicated was a hollow among them containing the bits of urn which were ornamented with parallel curved lines, made, I should think, with the finger nail."

They have also been found in association with bronze alone, or with bronze and iron together. The Rev. S. A. Brenan, Rector of Cushendun, recently sent me an arrow-head, stemmed and barbed, over three and a-half inches in length, but somewhat injured, and accompanying it a beautiful bronze blade, five and a-half inches long and two broad at the base where there are five rivet holes for attachment to the handle, four

of which still retain the rivets. The two were found together on Carrymurphy Mountain, near Garron Tower, Co. Antrim, at a depth of five feet in peat, which had previously been cut over for fuel.

Also, the Rev. James O'Laverty, M.R.I.A., records in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology* for April, 1857, the finding of a large number along with bronze weapons of various kinds in the bed of the Lower Bann at Portglenone during the progress of the public works undertaken some years before in order to improve the navigation of the river. Little attention has been paid to his observations, yet they are of considerable importance. He says: "The original bed of the Bann, at the place mentioned, consisted principally of a whitish clay, over which, in process of time a quantity of sand and small stones, rolled down by the water, had formed a stratum varying in depth from six to fourteen inches: in this were deposited a vast number of ancient weapons and other objects of antiquity, the depths at which they were found corresponding, it may reasonably be concluded, with the relative ages of the classes of antiquities to which they belong. Arrow-heads made of a light grey flint were, as a class, found at the greatest depth. These were of two kinds, the barbed and the lozenge-shaped; but each exhibited an equal skill in their manufacture. Specimens of both kinds were found in great abundance. However, I should say that the lozenge-shaped arrow-heads were more numerous. I have mentioned that the grey flint arrow-head was, as a class, found at the greatest depth. To this I saw one very marked exception, where a thin triangular piece of bronze, a javelin head, or the blade of a knife, having three holes, by which it was secured to the shaft, and weighing half-an-ounce was found with a cruciform weapon of grey flint; near this, but in a higher stratum, were deposited several barbed arrow-heads of flint.

"The brass and bronze articles were found in a stratum immediately above that of the flint arrowheads. They were mostly military weapons, consisting of leaf-shaped swords, and a few swords partaking of the nature of a dagger, a bronzed scabbard, bronze *skians*, and a great number of spear-heads, some of which had lateral loops, and others rivet-holes; and in the sockets of many of them portions of the wooden shafts still remained, but greatly decayed.

"The black cuneiform stone hatchets, and a kind of rude spear-head of red flint, according to the evidence afforded by their position, must be the most modern of all the ancient weapons previous to the introduction of iron. Many of them were found on the surface of the river's bed, and *none were found* below the bronze articles."

Then, too, in the course of the investigations conducted by myself at Moylarg Crannog, a triangular arrow-head, of the sub-class, indented or notched, was found in conjunction with a variety of articles in bronze and iron. See *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. iii., page 27, Fifth Series.

Arrow-heads are still regarded by many of our peasantry as the missiles of elves and fairies. They are also used, just for this very reason, I suppose, to cure cattle which are looked upon as bewitched. Cows in this condition give milk which will not yield butter, no matter how much it is churned. Nothing but froth comes to the surface. The spae wife, or some other person, who can work the charm, usually called the "gentle doctor," is sent for. She brings with her an arrow-head or two. Water is boiled in a pot into which these have been put. Soot, salt, meal or bran, and other ingredients are added; and when the bewitched animals have drunk the preparation, "and well-licked the elfstones," the cure is complete. And in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred it really is; the explanation of the whole affair being just this that the abnormal state of the milk is due to the action of a particular plant, which when eaten and assimilated acts injuriously upon it, and by altering its constituents renders it incapable of yielding butter. The ingredients of the pot neutralise this action and restore the milk to its normal state. What the plant is I do not know. I have tried to find it out, but have failed. That it is a plant, however, which produces the disordered condition of the milk I am referring to I am certain. The person effecting a cure invariably enjoins the owner of the cattle treated by him to change the pasture, or else to keep either a donkey or a goat. The reason for this is clear. The plant, whatever it is, grows in some pastures, not in others; and the donkey or goat will eat it readily and without any bad effects following, thus removing it out of the way of the milk cattle.

Not long ago an arrow-head which had been thus used for curing cows came into my possession. It was given me by a woman in my neighbourhood, on her dying bed. Her mother had handed it down to her. Aware that she had it, and knowing something also of its history, I had several times hinted to her that I should be glad to have it as an addition to my collection. She took little or no notice, however, of the hints thus given, until I went to see her just before her death. Then she sent her daughter to fetch it, and put it, carefully rolled up in a piece of grey silk, into my hand. At the same time she assured me she had often seen it used, and described the mode adopted, which was the same as that already stated, only that in addition to the soot, salt, and meal put into the water boiled in the pot in which the arrow-head had been previously placed, there was also put in "a handful of soil which had never been dug with a spade, from the root of a tree which had never been planted by the hand of man." It is a leaf-shaped arrow-head, two and a quarter inches long, and an inch broad, well worked all over, and slightly curved longitudinally. Fig. 1, p. 44, is a representation of it.

In Dr. Wilson's "Prehistoric Annals of Scotland," we are told:—"The elf-arrow was almost universally esteemed throughout Scotland as an amulet or charm, equally effectual against the malice of elfin sprites

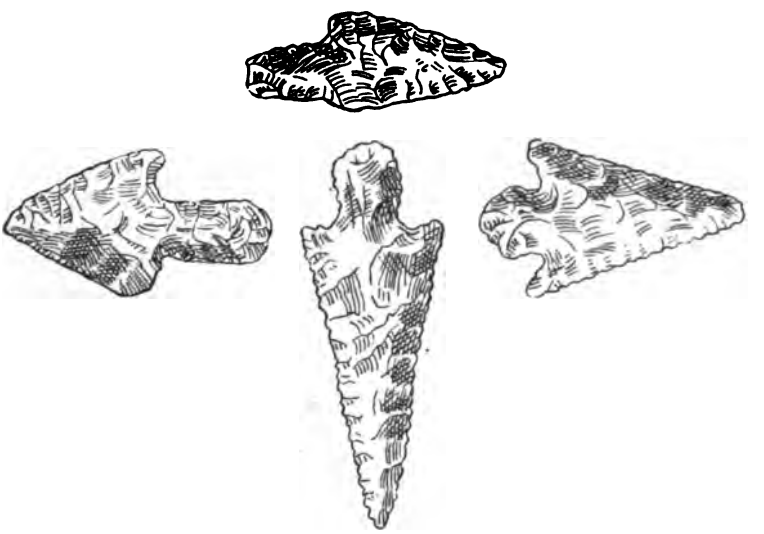
and the spells of witchcraft. Dipped in the water which cattle were to drink, it was supposed to be the most effectual cure for their diseases; while, sewed in the dress, it was no less available for the protection of the human race; and it is still occasionally to be met with perforated, or set in gold and silver for wearing as an amulet. Like other weapons of elfin artillery, it was supposed to retain its influence at the will of the possessor, and thus became the most effective talisman against elfish malice, witchcraft, or the evil eye, when in the hands of man." The same might have been written of Ireland.[1]

One other fact concerning arrow-heads remains to be noted:—"It is curious that bows and arrows are very seldom mentioned in our old writings; and the passages that are supposed to refer to them are so indistinct that if we had no other evidence it might be difficult to prove that the use of the bow was known at all to the ancient Irish." So says Dr. Joyce in his *Irish Names of Places*, Vol. II., page 174. Modern writers are not so reticent. Spenser, for one, writing of the Irish broad swords of the Scythian form, as described by Olaus Magnus, informs us that the short bows and little quivers, with short bearded arrows used in his time in Ireland were, "very Scythian, as you may read in the same Olaus." And he adds:—"The same sort of bows, quivers, and arrows are at this day to be seen commonly among the Northern Irish Scots, whose Scottish bows are not past three quarters of a yard long, with a string of wreathed hemp, slackly bent, and whose arrows are not much above half-an-ell long, *tipped with steel heads, made like common broad arrow-heads*, but much more sharp and slender, that they enter into a man or horse most cruelly, notwithstanding that they are shot forth weakly." Several interesting questions at once present themselves suggested by this statement. Taken by itself alone, one naturally asks, what has become of all the *steel-heads* here referred to? Of what material were *the broad arrow-heads made?* Is Spenser speaking of what was common in England only? And, taken in connexion with the silence, just alluded to of the older authors, native to the soil, were bows and arrows really unknown in this country in the times of which these authors write? Are we to assign our flint arrow-heads to an age long anterior to that of which they treat? Or, must we regard them as

[1] In the Descriptive Catalogue of the collection of Antiquities and other objects illustrative of Irish History, exhibited in the Museum, Belfast, on the occasion of the Twenty-second Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, September, 1852, the writer says in a footnote: "When one of the arrow-heads falls from the turf which burns on the peasant's hearth, it is immediately understood to have been shot down the chimney. These playful, but revengeful deities, are said to take pleasure in ravelling the housewife's yarns, and exercising their nocturnal merriment on the unlucky weaver. They strike with their darts the cattle in the fields; but, happily, there are what are called 'gentle doctors,' who undertake to cure the mischief inflicted. These professional gentlemen cause their patients to drink a draught of running water into which they have thrown one of these elf-stones, three pieces of copper, a silver sixpence, and a fire-spark from the eave thatch."

belonging to the more modern times intervening between the periods to which our earlier annals take us back, and the reign, say, of Queen Elizabeth? Want of space forbids my entering upon the discussion of the possible answers. Perhaps, in the future, I may have an opportunity of dealing with them.

Meanwhile, let me say, that in the preparation of this Paper, I have been greatly assisted by Miss Maggie Knowles, and Mr. George Raphael, one of our Members. The former has drawn with great care, and close attention to my directions, the illustrations which accompany the letter-press; whilst the latter not only permitted me to draw largely for information on his stores of accumulated experience, but very kindly placed at my disposal his fine collection of arrow-heads, that I might be the better able to study them carefully, and to compare them with those in my own possession. At least the half of the examples illustrated are from his collection. They, and the others, are represented here the actual size.



ON CUP-MARKINGS ON MEGALITHIC MONUMENTS DUE TO *ECHINUS LIVIDUS*.

By WILLIAM FRAZER, F.R.C.S.I., Hon. F.S.A. (Scot.), Vice-President.

In the month of August, 1890, when visiting the county Leitrim, I discovered on the south side of Lough Melvin some remarkable early stone monuments that are not described or represented on the sheets of the Ordnance Survey maps. A few years previous, near the same spot, was a well-marked dolmen of considerable size. It was, I regret to say, destroyed, the owner being unaware of its archæological importance.

The rude stone remains still preserved are fine examples of so-termed "Giants' Graves," or "Beds of Grania and Diarmod," consisting of two parallel rows of stones decreasing in size from a large terminal head-stone, placed transversely at the upper end, to the lower part; and originally covered over by huge slabs. Most of these are overthrown and scattered, but the arrangement of the boundary walls was sufficient to show their original design, and the class of ancient monument they belonged to.

In addition to the "Giants' Graves" still remaining, I believe others must have been destroyed to permit the erection of two residences (one of which has fallen into ruin, and only a portion of the kitchen left) on the lands; for fragments of blocks of stone, marked by the "cups" I am about describing, are to be found scattered in the fields, and stone fences, and even paving an outyard. They are easily distinguished from ordinary loose stones obtained from the surface of the ground in abundance, and without trouble. This entire district abounds in blocks of stone on the surface of the fields, so that the erection of numerous stone boundary fences affords the simplest means of disposing of them.

Many of the great blocks of stone employed in the construction and covering of these graves were of huge size. One I measured was 9 feet in length, 6½ feet broad, and 4½ feet in thickness; another was 7 feet in length by 6½ feet broad; a third stone was 10 feet long by 5 feet in breadth; and a fourth stone was 8 feet long by 6 feet across, and 2½ feet thick.

It would appear this locality must, in early ages, have been selected for the favourite burial-place of a primitive race, of whose life-history our records fail to give us sufficient information to connect the tombs with their occupants in a satisfactory manner, and even tradition affords little assistance. These "Giants' Graves" too yield no osseous

remains to exercise the skill of the anthropologist. They contain neither urns nor traces of interments, and afford no weapons of bronze or stone for the museum; indeed, they are seldom observed unless in a broken and damaged condition, their covering-stones, however huge and heavy, overthrown and displaced, and their contents, if any, completely scattered and destroyed, though this class of tomb is found extending from Cork and Kerry in the South of Ireland to our Northern shores.

The scene of those primitive interments on the borders of Lough Melvin was striking in its beauty. They were situated on elevated ridges of land rising along the southern shore of the lake, having as a back-ground precipitous rocks of the Leitrim range of mountains. In front lay the waters of Lough Melvin, beyond which was seen a broad strip of land reaching from the river Erne, and the falls of Ballyshannon westward. On the sea-shore, about five miles distant, lay Bundoran, concealed from view by higher lands between it and Lough Melvin. Further off, like a second lake, was the Bay of Donegal, with the lofty ranges of the mountains of Donegal defining the northern limits of the prospect. Such was the chosen resting-place of these ancient people, looking over land and sea towards where ocean received the setting sun; and, with infinite labour, to it they had conveyed large and heavy masses of stone from the distant seashore to cover the remains of their dead, for, I believe, there can be no doubt those stone constructions are sepulchral. The situation well deserves its name of "Mount Prospect."

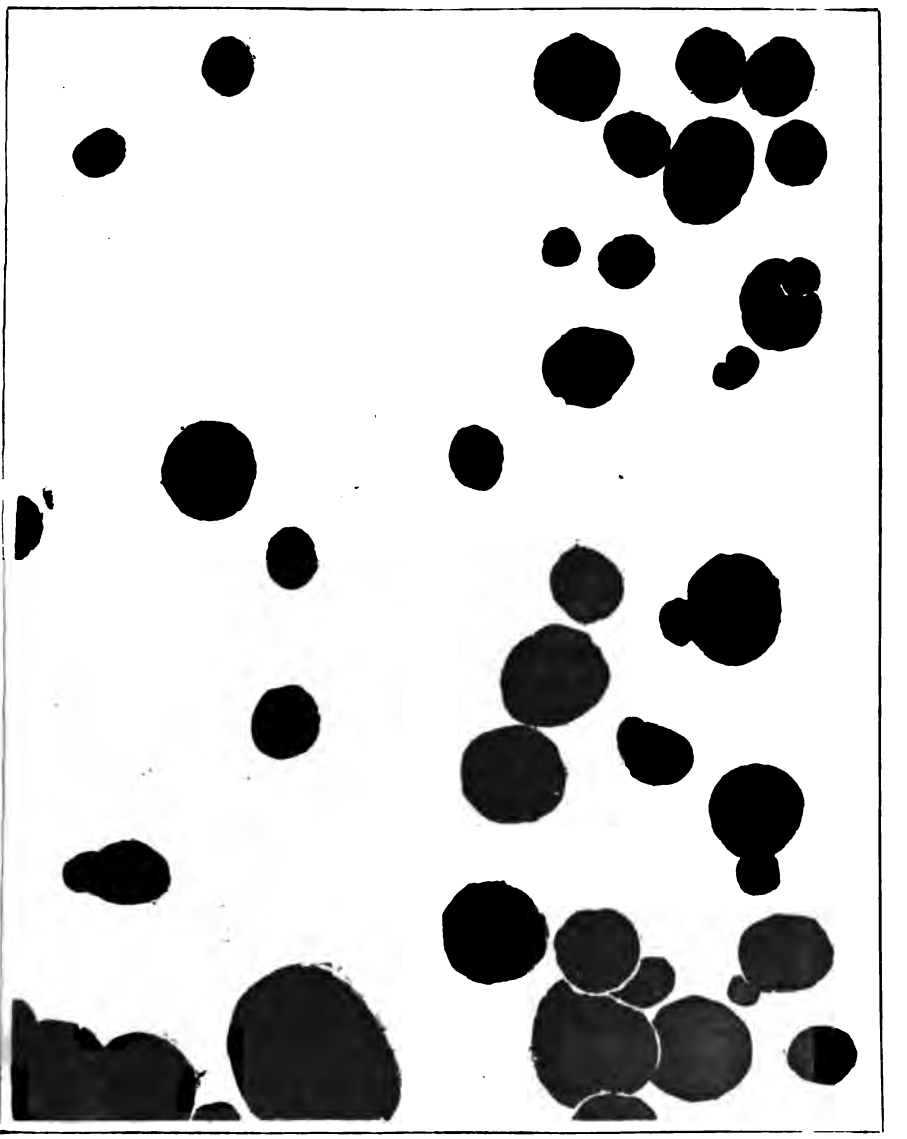
If the north-western portion of Ireland has undergone distinct elevation since those tombs were formed, Lough Melvin must have once been an arm of the sea, like a Norwegian fjord; and the lowland at its western extremity, where now the Drowes river yields its salmon to the fisherman, was the estuary through which its waters flowed. There are strong reasons for believing in such a change, which I need not enter upon at present.

Numerous cup-like depressions scattered irregularly on the exposed surfaces of these monumental stones attracted my special notice. It appeared at first they were undoubted typical examples of the so-termed "Cupped Stones" of archæologists, of which we have representations engraved in most of our journals in connexion with rude stone monuments; but another more probable explanation of their source than ascribing them to human workmanship occurred to me, and the more I have considered this solution, the wider I believe will be found its application in accounting for many of these cup-markings. As for the large blocks of stone, it was evident they bore traces of long exposure to the action of water, for their surfaces were worn and abraded in a manner identical to that of masses of similar rocks now found *in situ* along the coast-line at Bundoran.

These depressions may be described as cups, like segments of an egg, ranging from an inch and a-half to about three inches in diameter, and sometimes assuming an elongated ovoid form. Their perfect shape and uniformity of character confirmed my opinion that some uniform origin must be sought to explain their occurrence, and it was also obvious that they were not produced by detachment, through exposure to the atmosphere and subsequent weathering, of imbedded nodules of harder or softer material in the rock itself, which was homogeneous.

I recalled to my memory, having read some years since a communication published in the "Annals of Natural History," by M. Valenciennes, in which he described the remarkable property possessed by a certain form of Echinus (then known as *Echinus lividus*, but by recent writers re-named *Strongylo-centrotus lividus*) of excavating hollow cup-shaped cavities in solid rock surfaces, where they were able to reside and resist the powerful disturbing force of sea waves beating in storm against the granite rocks of Brittany. The Paper, of which I append an abstract, is contained in vol. xvii., N.S., page 46 of the "Annals." These Echini are capable not alone of attacking and hollowing out granite rocks in localities along the Bay of Biscay, they are found excavating their homes even in rocks of Old Red Sandstone. It appears that this peculiar faculty becomes developed under the influence of special circumstances dependent on locality, such as frequent exposure to stormy seas and the beating of heavy surf; for in the more tranquil waters of the Mediterranean they seem to lose their power of excavating stony habitations. I was also aware of a Paper by Professor E. P. Wright and J. Reay Green, "A Report on the Marine Fauna of the South-west Coast of Ireland made to the British Association in 1858," which is as follows:—"We think we have discovered the 'first appearing' on the south coast of *Echinus lividus* on some sunken rocks out at sea, and it appears to us that a curious relation exists between the vertical and geographical distribution of the species in question, since the higher the latitude in which it is found the shallower the water it would appear to frequent. At Dingle, for example, it lives and thrives far up in the littoral zone, whereas about the Cape Clear district it loves the deep rock pools, where it is only exposed to view at the very lowest tides, and even then with ten or fifteen feet of water always over it."

Next day I went to the sea-shore at Bundoran, and was happy to find, *in situ*, similar rocks to those forming the "Giants' Graves," also perforations in those rocks, and the Echinus itself lodging in them. This, I believed, was the first time it was noticed so far north along our coasts. It is now well known, and in the January number of the "Irish Naturalist" for 1895 is published a representation of the cup-like depressions and their inhabitants, taken from a photograph by Mr. R. Welch, of Belfast. I owe to Professor Scharff specimens of the hollowed rock cavities and of the Echinus which he obtained from Bundoran.



Echini "Cups" on a portion of Stone Slab covering a "Giant's Grave" at Mount Prospect, Lough Melvin.

(Reduced to one-fourth its linear measurements.)

The present results of scientific observation about this family of Echinoderms can be referred to in the British Museum Catalogue published in 1892. The following will afford a brief abstract of their natural history and distribution:—

Two varieties of the sea-urchin named *Strongylo-centrotus* are described, one of which has all its spines of nearly equal length, termed *S. droebachiensis*. This is an inhabitant of circumpolar seas, ranging as far south as the coast of France, and recorded as occurring in Massachusetts Bay, Vancouver's Island, and the Sea of Okhotsk. In Scotland it lives in the Shetland Islands and Cromarty Frith.

The second species or variety, *S. lividus*, has spines of varying size, the primary series being distinctly longer than the secondaries; this is the sea-urchin that burrows on the rocks at Bundoran and elsewhere round the coast of Ireland, as at Malin Head, the coasts of Galway and Clare, the Aran Islands, and Cork. Its distribution extends south to the Canaries, Brazil, and Mediterranean Seas. It is, therefore, widely spread over the ocean shores, and must have excavated cup-shaped hollows on its rocky habitations in remote ages as well as in our own days.

The important bearing of these observations and deductions is obvious, for they must apply to many localities where similar cup-like markings are recorded, and numerous woodcuts representing them are contained in the Publications of the Royal Archæological Association of Ireland, and other kindred societies. The depressions, as might be expected, occur scattered irregularly over the surface of their stony beds, though sometimes a series may be noticed disposed close to the edge of the block in apparently an orderly plan, varying in size and depth according to the bulk of the original tenant. Some that I measured ranged from ¼ of an inch across, to even 4 inches. It will be found, where the blocks containing such cups form portions of rude stone monuments, that they are sometimes placed in situations not exposed, or intended by their builders to be exposed, to observation, though far less often than they are seen in uncovered places.

I would claim for illustrations of these "Echini" markings several of the cupped stones figured in Sir James Simpson's classic work on "British Archaic Sculpturings": for instance, Plate III., which represents a megalithic block from the circle at Rothiemay, Banffshire. This stone, an immense oblong, measuring 13 feet long, 6 feet high, and about 4 feet in thickness, has on one side of it between fifty and sixty cups; two of these cups are described as surrounded by definite circles. These may be due to human workmanship, but the other simple depressed cupules, I consider, are not. If future observation should confirm the co-existence of ring-like additions to the Echinus markings, it will be a decided gain to our knowledge; and now that attention is pointedly directed to their possible occurrence, they ought to be recognisable

without difficulty or doubt. One possible source of error does exist, and is easily guarded against; in certain shaly, arenaceous, and schistose rocks, long-continued exposure to atmospheric influence produces, by exfoliation of the rocky surface, a deceptive appearance of concentric arrangement around the cups. This appears to have occurred on rocks figured Nos. 1 and 2 on Plate XI. of Sir J. Simpson's work, being the two upper figures of that plate. They are described as belonging to Yorkshire; and I have examined an arenaceous grit in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy that admits of a similar explanation. In this example considerable scaling from weathering has taken place around the cups, and over the surface of the block, which was brought from a rude stone monument in the county Fermanagh.

Again, on referring to Plate IV. of Sir James Simpson's work, three stones are represented—obtained respectively from Thorax, from Moncrieff, and from Dunbar—which I consider are good illustrations of Echinus pittings. The first of these stones is composed of a hard granitic or syenitic material. It was obtained from a stone circle in Banffshire. No. 2 belonged to a small, but complete, megalithic circle a few miles south of Perth. It is said to have been removed from the centre of this circle many years ago, and now lies a few feet outside of it. The stones of this circle are described as being apparently secondary trap rock. No. 3 is a fine monolith, near Dunbar. All these stones present distinctive cup markings.

Several localities on the Continent also afford examples of stones employed in megalithic monuments pitted in a similar manner. Let me refer to one in Portugal for an illustration. A good representation of it is given in M. Cartailhac's volume on "Les Ages Préhistoriques de l'Espagne et du Portugal," page 176. The woodcut is that of a "Pierre Couverture de l'allée de l'anta de Paredes avec ses ecuelles." This large block presents on its surface groups of irregularly disposed hollows or "cupules" of varying size, and rounded shape, "not less in number than twenty-five." They are described as seldom attaining a greater depth than 5 centimetres, with a breadth of 8 centimetres, measurements which approximate closely to the Echinus depressions I noticed on the stones at Lough Melvin. In construction the allée couverte has close similarity to the parallel stone walls and their covering blocks of our "Hags' Beds," "Beds of Grania and Diarmod," or "Giants' Graves," whilst the Anta answers rather to our dolmen, or, perhaps, to the larger terminal chamber of the giant's grave. I would refer to M. Cartailhac's work for further references to similar cup-shaped depressions on stone in other localities, in some of which he mentions that the "cupules" must have been present on the stones before these were deposited in the situations they now occupy.

If we admit that the ancient races who erected these great megalithic

constructions, as is quite probable, entertained either special veneration, or placed some peculiar value on stones marked by cups or pitted with Echinus holes, it would not be drawing too much on our imagination to suppose that their descendants may have endeavoured to imitate what their forefathers prized. At present I have no positive proof such was the case, beyond the occurrence on several of these stones of secondary rings, the undoubted work of man. After considerable research, I am obliged to state that almost without exception the simple "cupules," or egg-shaped hollows, on our rude stone monuments are to be attributed, not to man, but to that wide-spread inhabitant of our seas, which still flourishes, from the Mediterranean, at least, to the north of Ireland, the very ancient excavator *Echinus lividus*, or, as it is now named, *Strongylo-centrotus lividus*.

ABSTRACT OF OBSERVATIONS ON ECHINI PERFORATING THE GRANITE OF BRITTANY. By M. VALENCIENNES.[1]

"The attention of naturalists has always been awakened by the curious habit of many mollusca and zoophytes of excavating cavities for their habitations in rocks of great hardness, and of very different natures. It was at first supposed that these perforating animals only attacked the calcareous rocks, which led several people to think that the erosion required to form the hole was assisted by the action of some acid. It has been admitted of necessity, however, that in particular cases the animals only employed mechanical means, as the *teredos* and the *pholades*, and even the *sipunculi*, were found to pierce wood. Of late years naturalists have observed felspathic rocks burrowed by mollusca. M. Caillaud, of Nantes, sent to the Academy specimens of granite from Pouliguen, in the Bay of Croisic, perforated by *pholades*. Granite altered by sea-water was more easily attacked.

"More recently M. Eugene Robert exhibited to the Academy a block of old red sandstone obtained from the shore of the great Bay of Douarnenez, which was perforated with numerous holes, evidently formed by the Echini, which were lodged in them. Each rounded cavity is in exact proportion, both as to size and form, with the body of the Echinoderm.

"M. Lory, of Grenoble, has begged me to exhibit several specimens of perforating Echini which have taken up their abode in the granite of the Bay of Croisic, not far from Piriac. It is the same granite as that from Pouliguen, and in the same state of alteration. The primitive rock is there perforated by mollusca and Echinodermata for an extent

[1] "Comptes Rendus," November 5th, 1885, page 755; and "Annals of Natural History," vol. xvii., page 46, New Series.

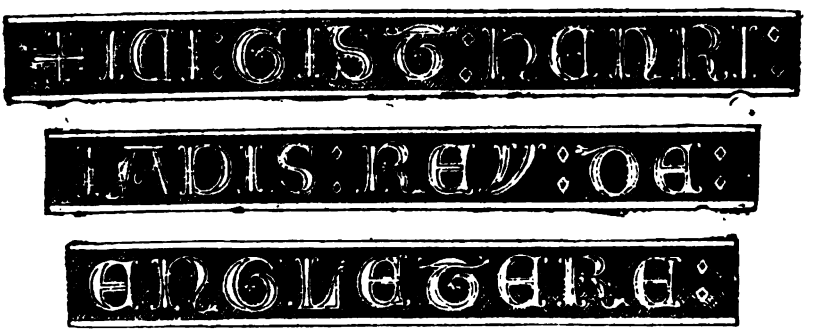
of several kilometres. These which M. Lory has discovered are certainly of the same species as the Echini which burrow in the old red sandstone of the Bay of Douarnenez. They closely resemble the Mediterranean Echinus mentioned by Lamarck under the name of *Echinus lividus*. It is one of the most abundant Echini on the coast, and in the market of Marseilles, whence Lamarck obtained his specimens, I have never heard that these individuals possessed perforating habits, and probably a careful examination of living specimens of the Echinus from the coast of Brittany may show that it belongs to a distinct species, notwithstanding its apparent identity with that belonging to the Mediterranean. In this case it might be called *Echinus terebrans*."

THE KETELLER MONUMENT, KILKENNY.

By P. M. EGAN, Fellow, Hon. Local Secretary, Kilkenny City.

One of the most historic monuments which time in its tardy revelations has presented to the Irish Archæologist, very lately left its hiding-place of many centuries, as if to bewilder us by the volume of quaint story, which it recalls through its numerous ancient associations. A small public-house in the west of High-street, at the corner of Chapel-lane, about 80 yards north of St. Mary's Church, Kilkenny, is the scene of the discovery. Last year this house was burned down, and while rebuilding in the summer of 1894, the workmen dug up this stone slab, which appears to be about five-eighths of a whole tomb-stone, from a position quite close to the pathway, within 2 feet or less of the surface. The house being the property of Messrs. E. Smithwick & Sons, Brewers, the stone was brought down to the brewery yard, where it still remains for inspection. The numerous inquiries made concerning it, proved at least that if the querists were not solely inspired by archæology, they had received a very considerable thirst for information, at least through curiosity. The stone is of a very flinty character, which has rendered it more easily defaced, and by a strange coincidence this quality tells worst upon the part where the surname is inscribed. The inscription is in Norman French, and to any person not acquainted with the formation of the letters of the period, it is rather difficult to translate. The R was the letter which created most difficulty. There are two R's, but there are also two K's, which are almost similar to the R's, except that the turning stroke of the R is from the top of the line, while that of the K springs about a quarter of an inch below the top of the perpendicular stroke. It was the reading of these four letters as R's, which made it impossible for most of the experts at first to decipher the inscription. The K being the initial letter of the surname, rendered this difference between it and the R all important, and it is the distinction between these two letters that supplies the whole key to the enigma. The upper portion of a simple inscribed cross with ogee ornaments on the arms, is surrounded by the inscription, which runs close to the edge. It begins at the top right-hand side of the cross, and finishes with the word "vas." The other side commences where the stone has been broken off at the base, with the word "trespasa" (deceased). I offer no opinion upon the 22nd to the 26th letters. An illustration of the stone is given on Plate facing p. 79. To illustrate the style of tomb

inscription of the period to which this belongs, I present a facsimile of part of the legend on the tomb of King Henry III. in Westminster Abbey, of exactly the same period, 1275–1291, and which is universally allowed to be the best model in existence of the letters of the thirteenth century :—



Facsimile of Inscription on Tomb of Henry III. in Westminster Abbey.

The similarity between the Kilkenny letters, and the punctuation of the inscription, as shown on the Plate (p. 79), with that of Henry's monument is most remarkable. My reading of the Keteller Monument Inscription is as follows :—

Ici gist Jose de Keteller . . . . . .
Dist tu ki ci bas . . . . . .
trespasa l'an de grace mil et
cc et quatre bins.

Here lies Jose de Keteller
Say thou who here passest (or see'est this) . . .
who died the year of grace one thousand and
two hundred and four twenties (eighty).

"Keteler" is indeed a very ancient and a still more famous Kilkenny family name. I do not know if there is anyone of the name at present here, though some years ago a man named "Kelter," a sawyer, lived on the Dublin-road, which doubtless is the same patronymic. The name, however, brings us back to the first notable and historic event which made Kilkenny famous, viz. to the early part of the fourteenth century (1324), when the celebrated trial of the Kilkenny Witch, Lady Alice Kyteler took place, she being charged with sorcery. In the Patent Roll of Edward I. (1302) there is mention made of a William le Kiteler, who would probably be the brother of the lady sorcerer, and this is the first local acquaintance history has made with the name

till our monument was discovered, which takes us back an age earlier to 1280. Dame Alice lived, it is believed, in the house in King-street, next the Market Gate. She is a world-famed and historic character. She had four husbands, all of whom she was charged with poisoning, though not put on trial for it. The first husband was William Outlawe, a wealthy banker. He must have died before 1302, as the second, Adam le Blound of Callan, was then living. This fact enables us tolerably well to ascertain the relation between the witch and Jose de Keteller of the monument. In 1302, after burying her first husband, she would probably be 27 or 30 years, as the average period of married life allotted to the other spouses was 10 years. Now Jose de Keteller of the monument died in 1280, so that Alice would be about 10 years of age at the time of his death. Here we have almost an undeniable proof of the historic notability attached to this simple slab unearthed in 1894, viz. that the history related upon it refers to no other person than the father of the celebrated witch, Lady Alice. Friar Clynn, in his famous annals, which he wrote at the Franciscan Abbey, near where the monument is now placed, says her trial took place in 1324. She had then also buried the third husband, Richard de Valle, in 1311, and the fourth husband, John le Poer, in the same year as her trial, 1324.

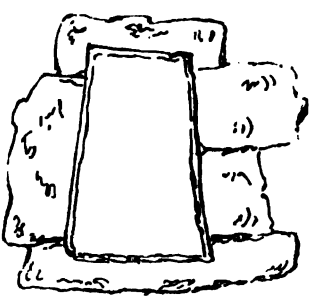
The story of this *cause celebre* has been so often related that few readers are unacquainted with the facts.

The original site of the Keteller monument of 1280, discovered under a public-house, I fear must remain for ever a subject of conjecture. No doubt the position is one offering many suggestions. First, was the place ever a grave-yard? Second, did St. Mary's Church graveyard extend so far? Third, was it an ancient Irish graveyard adopted by the Normans after their entry? A strange fact here steps in to set us thinking. Within a few feet of the spot where the monument was found, and in line with it, though in a different house, are two other monuments under the foundation of Messrs. Power & Son's warehouse. A report on the appearance of these two monuments was made to the Kilkenny Archæological Society in 1854, by the late Mr. J. G. A. Prim. He said: "The piers of the old archways were found, and these rested upon ancient tombstones, one bearing a floriated cross in relief, and the other an incised cross." This latter was probably of the same age as the Keteller tomb.

These two tombs could not be disturbed without endangering the house. There is no doubt a graveyard existed here. Quantities of bones have been found in the surrounding grounds by the late Alderman Thomas Power, J.P. A chapel too must have existed on the spot, where Messrs. Power & Son's machine works are situated. Of this there is considerable testimony.

To begin with, the existence of a chapel most probably gave rise to the passage up to it, called "Chapel-lane," which many centuries later became the passage to what we now call old St. Mary's, which stood at the town rampart between Chapel-lane and James's-street. If a chapel existed on the spot, was it merely a private chapel of the mansion which stood here; or did it take its date from far earlier origin? The latter supposition seems established by all the facts at our disposal. One of the several city mansions built in the sixteenth century in Kilkenny occupied the site of the publichouse, and of Messrs. Power & Son's warehouse. But it was separated from the old building at rere by what was known as Coffee-house-lane, down to a late period, the ecclesiastical remains being still visible in the machine works. In Chapel-lane, upon the gable of this building, there yet appears, through the many changes which the masonry has undergone, the pointed jamb of a window, and inside are two small alcove openings pointed, not splayed, which are plainly ecclesiastical. But there are other strange remains in the same wall which we believe have never yet been noticed by any archæologist, and this even in Kilkenny, where everything has been so well described. There are two pairs of doors and windows in a continuation of the same wall in which the two alcove windows are. The whole length of this building in which these remains are is 80 feet, and breadth 40 feet. As before stated, it was separated from the mansion in front by a laneway which ran out into High-street at right angles to Chapel-lane, where it communicated with this old building, and then passed between the warehouses now occupied by Messrs. Power & Son and Messrs. E. Smithwick & Co. The two pairs of windows and doors, quite close to each other, are in the back or west wall of the machine works.

These structures are plainly belonging to the twelfth, or beginning of the thirteenth, century; and it becomes an interesting question to divine what brought them here. One of the doors shows a rude attempt to construct an arch from two stones, and the window, in the accompanying illustration, which is 8 feet from it, shows a flat lintel of a single stone on top.



Window in Wall, in Chapel-lane, Kilkenny.

The other door and window may be of later construction. They are like what we see in thirteenth-century churches. The door has a round-arched top; the window a single stone flat lintel. The two pair of opes are in the same wall with the alcove windows, which runs a distance of 80 feet from end to end.

In 1865 Mr. L. J. Power gave to Mr. J. G. Robertson a carved stone, which Mr. Robertson says in the *Transactions* was "the apex of a gable barge with the base of a cross at top." We have thus on the spot the doors and windows of an ecclesiastical structure; we have the evidence of large quantities of bones in the soil; and we have also the head-stones; so that a conclusion that a chapel and graveyard existed here, is irresistible.

In 1175 Donald O'Brien marched from Limerick to Kilkenny, and the troops of Strongbow, stationed here in 1170–71, fled before him, after which Donald levelled everything but the round tower of St. Canice's. The Normans immediately returned, and up to the coming of William Marshal in 1191, twenty years elapsed, during which period there was need for church and burial-ground, and there seems to be no reason to doubt that the ancient church of St. Mary's parish was taken possession of here by the Normans, who built a structure suited at that time to their limited requirements. The Marshal, after arriving in 1191, founded the Castle, St. John's Priory, and the *New* St. Mary's Church, which is but 80 yards from this spot, where no doubt the original St. Mary's stood, the churchyard of whic would be long after used as a burial-place by the descendants of the families who first lay there, amongst them being De Keteller. The New St. Mary's Church, in Mary's-lane, was completed about 1202. In the Deeds of Exchange between Bishop de Rous, and William Marshal, "The Church of the Blessed Mary of Kilkenny," is mentioned so that it must have been completed before 1202, and was doubtless the first church built by the Earl after his arrival.

But after the building of the then new St. Mary's, let us glance at the ancient site upon the other side of High-street. It seems to us from the proximity of the two doors and windows in the one wall that a domestic apartment was attached to the old church, which may have been used by the clergy long after the founding of the new church. And later on the site increased in importance. On the space in front of the old church, and separated from it by the laneway, one of the city mansions was founded. The windows with their drip lintels are still to be seen, and a stone stairway leading down to the cellars is still in existence. This mansion was founded in the end of the sixteenth century by Sir Richard Shee, knight, of Upper Court, who made it his town residence.

This building, like many others of the time, rested on a row of arches in front, like the Rothe House in Parliament-street, and the Langton House at Butter Slip, and the monuments were placed as bases to the pillars, it not being then considered a serious profanation, we suppose, to change their position to such a slight degree as from another portion of the graveyard.

Later still, however, the mansion became more historic. Cromwell did not remain longer here than it took him to level everything to ruins. But he left Governor Axtell behind him, who took up his residence in Sir Richard's mansion, it being a central position from whence he could carry out his barbarities. In a petition of the Marquis of Ormonde to King Charles II., Axtell, who had such a leading hand in the execution of Charles I., is mentioned as follows :—

"Yet soe it is that Collonell Daniel Axtell in the year 1658 without any order or direction even according to those tymes, but out of his willfull and imperious disposition and innated quarter-breaking mind and quality, seized, &c."

Axtell shot down and scourged the people as if they were mere brutes. When he was afterwards executed at Tyburn as one of the regicides, the only things which troubled him were his shameful barbarities at Kilkenny.

The site of course subsequently passed to other hands. Mr. Martin Walsh, who formerly held the building adjacent to the machine works, told me he paid rent to the representatives of Sir W. G. Newcomen, and subsequently to Mrs. Kingsmill. Mr. John M'Creery, of Larch Hill, has sent me a note to the effect that "the premises at corner of Chapel-lane were formerly held by Mr. Denis Kehoe, hardware merchant (*vide* 'Directory of Kilkenny,' 1788). His daughter Eliza was married to Mr. Basil Gray, who lived in an adjoining house, now in Messrs. Power's possession. Mr. Gray was a wine merchant; he died sixty years ago; his widow died in 1850, aged eighty-seven years. These two houses and premises at rere, and up Chapel-lane, were held by lease under the Kingsmill family by Mr. Kehoe, who left the same to his daughter Mrs. Gray, who demised them to her daughter, wife of Mr. John M'Creery, Larch Hill."

Basil Gray, I believe, came here from the Queen's County.

Whatever else may have to be said on this interesting subject we will leave to the future historian, who, aided by the presence of the other monuments now hidden from view, may be able to shed further light upon the story of the De Ketellers. Indeed so attractive is the subject of the trial of Dame Alice, that during the present year I saw a splendid oil painting of the trial in imagination from the pencil of an Italian painter in the hall of the castle at Gurteen le Poer, the proprietor of which is a lineal descendant of the Sir Arnold, Seneschal of Kilkenny, who it may be said died in defence of the cause of Dame Alice, against Bishop de Ledrede, which he had so warmly espoused. The monument of the parent of the Kilkenny world-famed witch is at least an interesting accession to the archæological objects in which the city abounds.

It is the oldest date-inscribed tomb in Kilkenny, the oldest dated in St. Canice's being 1285, and it is one of the very limited number of Norman-inscribed tombs in the kingdom, there being only two others of that description in Kilkenny, one in the Black Abbey, and one in St. Canice's, neither of which is dated. I feel sure that Mr. Edmund Smithwick will do all that is necessary to preserve this curious relic of an age which sends us many quaint stories of mediæval life, that now seem to us almost romances although truly invested with the stern realities of fact.

To face page 79.]

"KETELLER" INSCRIBED TOMBSTONE.

Found under the foundation of a house at the corner of High-street and Chapel-lane, Kilkenny.

(From rubbings made by Colonel Vigors.)

KETELLER STONE, KILKENNY.[1]

By COLONEL P. D. VIGORS, Vice-President.

Considerable uncertainty having been expressed as to the reading of several words in the inscription on this stone, more particularly as regards the name of the person in whose memory it had been inscribed, and on certain other points, I sent a rubbing of the inscription to England, hoping that, with the fuller information at the disposal of Antiquaries in London than we here have available, some additional light might be thrown on the subject. I have also quite recently taken fresh rubbings of the parts considered doubtful, and have examined the inscription as carefully as I could, with the aid of a powerful magnifying glass, and have come to the conclusion, beyond all doubt, that the following is the correct reading of the inscription in its present injured state, but I may add that there is a space sufficient for a word of five letters, of which only two, at present, can be read. This word is left to future research to determine. As I go along the inscription, this space will be brought under your notice. Let me here draw your attention to the very marked way in which each word is separated from that next it by three large dots in a vertical line, one over the other.

The inscription commences at the head of the stone near the centre—1st, a Maltese cross will be noticed, then the three "dots," next come the letters JCI, the first I being made like a modern J, going well below the bottom of the other letters; then we have three dots again, and the word GIST ⁘, and the dots as before. Next comes a curiously formed J, with a looped head and tail, and next it an O. We have now arrived at the angle of the stone. The next two letters SE are on the side of the stone; later on I shall have to refer to these letters. The next word is DE ⁘, and after the dots comes *the* word, perhaps the most important on the stone, if I except the date—it is the name. Unfortunately the first and second letters of the word are injured, owing to a fracture in the stone, and the last two letters are also slightly imperfect. This word, about which there was at first much doubt, I now read, as Mr. Egan does, viz. KETELLER, and though, in some degree, the first letter resembles an R, yet, on close comparison with the K in KI, four or five words further on, and with the two R's in TRESPASA and GRACE, it will be seen that they are formed differently from these K's. Again, the fact of Keteller, or Kyteler, being connected with Kilkenny, and about the period of this stone, should not be lost sight of.

[1] Notes on the recently-discovered thirteenth-century tombstone in Kilkenny, described by Mr. P. M. Egan, at the Meeting of our Society in October last.

We now come to the break in the stone, which deprives us of two letters completely, and gives us one much injured. The only letters we can pronounce on with certainty are, I think, the two at the end of the word, viz. RE, the three dots after them clearly point out that this is the end of the word whatever it was.

The next letter, E, is placed at an undue distance from the last dots, owing to a defect in the stone, which clearly existed at the time the inscription was cut. Mr. Egan reads the first letter of the broken word as a D, and it appears to resemble that letter. The remaining five words on this side of the stone present no difficulty. The KI is found on other stones used in the same manner as on this, and the word CI for ICI is also another contracted form.

Unfortunately the remaining part of the stone at the foot is broken off, and no trace of it has been found—probably about 2 ft. 6 in. is gone.

The reading on the other—the left side of the stone—presents little difficulty, the letters, with one exception, being still well preserved. It reads:—

trespasa : lan : de : grace : mil : c : cc : c : qbatre :

Owing to a whim, or else a mistake of the stonecutter, the D in DE is formed in a very peculiar manner. You will observe a long vertical groove cut on the left side of the D, between the circular portion and the dots. This, beyond any doubt, is not a flaw, or defect, in the stone, but clearly shows the marks of the stonecutter's chisel.

The long space left between the last E and the word QVATRE, is to be accounted for by this part of the stone being rough and defective, and therefore intentionally avoided by the stonecutter.

We have now arrived at the left-hand top corner of the stone, where we find the three dots again, and the last [remaining] word VINS. I use the word *remaining*, because there evidently was another word here. The tail (turned to the *right*) of one of the letters may be seen, but, unfortunately, the stone is again broken away.

The inscription would therefore read:—

✠ Ici : gist : Jo | se : de : Ketteller : . . . re : e : dist : tv : ki : ci : bas

[Stone broken]—end of this side.

Continuing round the stone, we read on the other side:—

trespasa : lan : de : grace : mil : c : cc : c : qbatre : [This completes this side] bins : . . . . [?].

Which, I think, may be translated:—

"HERE LIES JOSE DE KETELLER. [STAND?] AND SAY [A PRAYER] THOU WHO PASSEST HERE. [HE] DIED IN THE YEAR OF GRACE 1280 [?].

One of my correspondents gave such a very different interpretation to the inscription, that I think it only right here to refer to it. He divides the word at the first angle into two, thus—Jo for John, and ae for aire de — eteller, but as it is certain that no dots existed at this angle of the stone, so as to divide the word Jose into two, and as Jo [Johannes] would be Latin, whereas all the rest of the inscription is in French, these reasons are, I think, sufficient to put this reading "out of court." The same gentleman transposes some of the words, placing "e dist tu ki ce vas" at the end of the inscription, and after the date, a reading I cannot think correct. He mentions the nearest approach to the wording of this inscription that he had been able to discover was that on the tomb of Adam de Frankton, date 1325, and given in Weever's "Sepulchral Monuments."

In conclusion, I may add that, having shown this rubbing to Mr. Langrishe, who kindly compared it, letter by letter, with the original with me, he fully bears me out in the above details in every particular. The stone is still in a very unsafe position, and liable to further injury. It appears to be deserving of our attention, and it would be desirable to have it removed to a place of safety with as little delay as possible. It will need considerable care to do this without injury.

Miscellanea.

On an Ancient Ecclesiastical Brass Seal of the Diocese of Leighlin. (Now in the possession of the Right Rev. W. Pakenham Walsh, Lord Bishop of Ossory, Leighlin, and Ferns.)—This seal was for some time used at Leighlin for sealing marriage licenses. The figure on page 83 represents it. Its length is 2⅝th inches, width, 1⅝th inches, and thickness, ¼th of an inch. Like many of its class, it may be described as a pointed oval in outline. The legend runs round the edge, commencing at the proper upper left-hand side, and terminates at the top of the right side. A small five-pointed star fills the space between the first and last letters of the inscription. The letters are very rudely cut; they are ¼th of an inch in length, and "Gothic" in character. A raised edge forms a sort of garter, on which the letters are cut. I read the lettering thus:—

sigillum . fraternitatis . beati . maria . virginis . de . kyllesse *

"The Seal of the Fraternity of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Kylles" (Kells).

It is to be observed that the first word, 'sigillum,' is spelt with one letter too much—'sigillium'; and that 'beati maria' occurs instead of 'beate marie.'

I would direct attention to the letters. The *m*'s, *n*'s, *l*'s, and *s*'s are all made so much alike, that it is not easy to distinguish them; the *r*'s are formed in a peculiar manner also.

If I am right in venturing to connect this very early seal with our neighbouring town of Kells, it may be worth adding a few particulars as to its Priory, but before proceeding to do so, it is better to complete the description of the matrix. In the centre, the Virgin is seated under a richly ornamented triple canopy. On her head she wears a five-pointed crown; the Infant Jesus sits on her right hip or arm, not on her "lap" or knee. His face is to the front, as is also that of the Virgin; and here I may remark that, under a strong magnifying glass, they are both devoid of beauty, the nose being very wide and ill-shaped. The Virgin's feet rest on a high footstool, ornamented with a diagonal cross-barred pattern.

Her hair appears to fall in long masses on both sides of her face, combed to either side from her forehead. The Child has a "tuft" of short hair on the top of His head and at either side.

The figures are within a rectangular frame, having on each side ornamental arms to the throne, and outside this frame, and between

it and the lettering on each side, there is a zigzag budding plant or branch.

Five heavy lines, like steps, are beneath the footstool. What looks like a crown, on a cushion (?), fills in the top triangular space.

This seal has, I believe, been submitted to the observation of several learned in such matters, with the view of determining the last word in the legend. I understand it has been read by one as 'Kyllesse,' by another as 'Kyllene,' as 'Kynlos' by a third, and until I saw the matrix itself I took it to be '*Ren*esse.' The third letter of the last word is the most uncertain; it appears to be either an *n*, or else two *l*'s, and I believe it to be the latter, making the word either 'Kyllesse' or 'Kynesse.' I have searched, as far as the very limited time at my disposal since I received the seal would permit, for the different houses[1] dedicated to the B.V.M. in Ireland. I have found fifteen, but Kells is the only one which appears to bear any approach to the word we seek.

Ancient Brass Seal Matrix, formerly in use at Leighlin.
(From a Photograph of an impression in wax.)

From the Chancery, Patent, and Close Rolls, and other documents there appear, *inter alia*, to have been houses dedicated to the Virgin Mary at Cashel, Cahir, Connell (Co. Kildare), Dublin, Enyslanagh (Co. Tipperary), Grace Dieu (Co. Dublin), Kilcoole (Co. Tipperary), Louth, Kenlys in Meath, Kenlis (Co. Kilkenny), Mellifont (Co. Louth), Molingure, Navan, Tristernagh (Co. Meath); and Jerpoint. Nearly all of these appear to have been surrendered about the year 1540.

The foundation of the Kells Priory dates from A.D. 1193. Archdall says: "Geoffrey, the son of Robert, on his coming into Ireland, obtained in possession the Barony of Kells, where, by advice of Richard Earl of Strigul, his patron, *he founded* a Priory in the year 1193, which he dedicated to the Blessed Virgin," &c.; and adds that the first priors were supplied from Bodmin, in Cornwall.

[1] [The use of the term 'fraternitas' makes it very improbable that the seal is that of a Religious House of Regulars. It probably belonged to a guild or secular college attached to some parish church.]

Geoffrey, in his Charter, says he "founded this Priory for the health of the soul of the said Earl Richard, then chief lord of the country, and to which he was still more excited by the advice and consent of Eva his wife" [Eva de Bermingham].

Geoffrey died in 1211; and it appears from an entry in the Close Rolls in Dublin that the Priory of the B. V. Mary of Kenlys, in the county Kilkenny, was surrendered by Nicholas Toben, Prior, with the consent of the convent, 18th April, 1540. [30th King Henry VIII.]

Several grants made to this Priory were confirmed, in 1391, by King Richard II., and again, in 1411, by King Henry IV.

Again, in July, 1578, I find the site of the Monastery of Kells, with orchards, demesne, and glebe lands, granted to the Earl of Ormond.—P. D. Vigors, *Vice-President.*

Witchcraft in the Aran Islands.—Some curious references made by Miss Stokes, in her Paper in the last volume of this *Journal* (p. 380), to the persistence of primitive beliefs in disease-transference, remind me of the following instance of such survivals which I met with while botanizing in the Aran Islands, Galway Bay, in May, 1892:—I was on hands and knees one morning, poring over a promising stretch of sandy pasture near the sea at Killeany, Aranmore, in search of the rare Milk Vetch (*Astragalus hypoglottis*), a species peculiar in Ireland to these Islands, when I was startled by this remark, which came from one of the knot of puzzled Killeany-men who had gathered round me to watch my doings with embarrassing patience: "That's a very dangerous thing you're about; I've known a man killed that way." At first I thought the speaker, a grave, middle-aged man, meant to warn me against injury from some poisonous plant, but on close cross-questioning, it became evident that he was a firm believer in disease-transference by witchcraft.

His story was shortly this. Some years ago a friend of his, a man named Flanagan, living in the neighbourhood of Oghil, in Aranmore, lay sick of an incurable disease. He had been "given over" by the doctors, and, face to face with death, his fears, after a long struggle, got the better of his religion, and he made up his mind to call in the services of a *cailleach*, who lived away in Onaght, at the other end of the island. This hag was well known to have the power of transferring mortal sickness from the patient, wicked enough to employ her, to some healthy subject, who would sicken and die, as an unconscious substitute. This was her method, evidently a combination of a plant-spell with the *gettatura*, or evil eye. When fully empowered by her patient, whose honest intention to profit by the unholy remedy was indispensable to its successful working, the *cailleach* would go out into some field close by a public road, and setting herself on her knees, just as I was kneeling then, she would pluck an herb from the ground, looking out on the road as she did so. The first passer-by she might happen to cast her eye on, while in the act

of plucking the herb, no matter who it was, even her own father or mother, would take the sick man's disease, and die of it in twenty-four hours, the patient mending as the victim sickened and died. My informant had known the *cailleach* well, but had only heard for certain of one case, the case of his friend Flanagan, where she had worked a cure in this way. The name of the man she had killed to save Flanagan's life was O'Flaherty, and he had known him, too.

This, in substance, is the story drawn from the Killeany-man by a laborious cross-examination, under which he remained perfectly serious, and perfectly consistent in his answers. Three or four younger men who were in the group, Killeany-men, too, openly scoffed at his credulity, yet he clung tenaciously to every point in his story, and gave all the signs of an honest belief in it. Unfortunately he could not tell me what the mystic plant was, though he was sure it was not the Milk Vetch, which I had the good fortune to find before we parted. More unfortunate still, the *cailleach* and Flanagan, as he told me, were both dead.

It would be of interest to know whether any similar case of a belief in disease-transference has been met with in Ireland.—NATHANIEL COLGAN.

The Church of St. John Baptist, at Kilmacduagh.—It is, I think, desirable, to invite the attention of our Society to the present state of one of the venerable group of churches at Kilmacduagh. I refer to the Church of St. John. It stands outside of the present cemetery enclosure, and between the old cathedral and the "Bishop's House." Its chancel arch has long since been destroyed; but a large portion of the masonry, which was once supported by the chancel arch, and has hitherto remained, owing to the inherent excellence of its cement, is now in immediate danger of falling. The masonry is already much out of line, and there can be no doubt that this portion of the ruin requires immediate care.

The chancel gable, the western gable, and northern side-wall have already disappeared, but their foundations can easily be traced. The southern side-wall is perfect, and also the northern wall of the chancel; and few of our mediæval churches show more clearly than this interesting ruin, that the chancel was no part of the original church as first erected. It is clearly *an addition*, and its masonry of a different character from that of the church.

The masonry of the southern side-wall, to which I have referred, is cyclopean, and indicates the great antiquity of the structure. It has two primitive windows—one about four feet from the chancel arch, and the other seven feet from the western gable.

That on the western side is round-headed, and measures about 2 feet in height, by 1 foot in width. It splays to a width of about 2 feet on the inside.

The second is smaller, and more archaic in form. Its head is pointed, and the lancet-shape is effected by the simple meeting of two stones

which extend the entire width of the wall, and are dressed to the splay of the window.

Its position is accurately marked in the map of Kilmacduagh, preserved amongst "O'Donovan's Letters" in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy. But this map has two other ancient churches shown upon it, of which, unfortunately, we have now scarcely a trace.

Is history, in this disagreeable form, about to repeat itself there?—Rev. J. Fahey, D.D., *Hon. Local Secretary, Galway, South.*

An Ancient Seal.—Writing in reference to the old Seal of Dungarvan, which he recently gave to the present Commissioners of that town, the Rev. Father O'Brien, P.P., says that, in the second year of the reign of James I., about the year 1604, the Manor of Dungarvan was granted to Sir George Thornton, and subsequently was, with the Castle, by Act of Parliament, vested in the Earl of Cork, from whom it descended to its present proprietor, the Duke of Devonshire. The Devonshire Arms are engraved on the seal, and as the Duke of Devonshire exercised any manorial rights he possessed, through a seneschal, it is presumed that the seal was that used by the seneschal in this capacity.

Discovery of an Artificial Cave at Oldbridge, County Meath.—Recently, as two men in the employment of Lieutenant-Colonel J. Coddington, J.P., Oldbridge, were ploughing up a field, they came upon a large flagstone. They raised the flagstone, and discovered a hole, which they immediately determined to explore. After a short time spent in widening the aperture, and clearing away the soil, they entered, and found a passage leading to a circular chamber, the passage-way and the walls of the chamber being built of stones, without any appearance of mortar or cement. At the far end of the circular chamber were some charcoal ashes, and what looked like a spot where fires used to be lighted. No weapons, vessels, or any other remains were found.

Funeral Customs.—It may interest the Dublin readers of Miss Stokes' Paper on "Funeral Customs," to know that the practice of stopping at the village cross is still carried on within a few miles of Grafton-street, viz. at Blackrock. The writer recently witnessed a coffin being conveyed out of the chapel, and, instead of putting it into the hearse, which was waiting at the gate, it was carried by several of the mourners down to the old fourteenth-century granite cross that stands at the top of the Main-street. Here a few prayers were read by a boy acolyte, the bystanders remaining bareheaded. The coffin was then brought back to the hearse, and the funeral procession went on its way to the cemetery. On inquiry it appears that this is the usual procedure in the case of residents of Blackrock. It is almost unnecessary to state that the latter part of Miss Stokes' narrative is not carried

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To face page 87.]

Cromlech near Castlewellan, County Down.
(From a Photograph taken by Lord Annesley.)

out, and the stone cross, on week days, is generally decorated round its base with the contents of an adjacent ironmonger's shop.—A. P., *Member*.

Cromlech near Castlewellan.—I send two photographs of a very remarkable cromlech which is on my property near Castlewellan, county Down. It is in an out-of-the-way place, and, I believe, is very little

Cromlech near Castlewellan. (From a Photograph by Lord Annesley.)

known. Perhaps you may think them worth a place in the *Journal*. It is so beautifully balanced that the upper stone, though of enormous weight, can be easily rocked by pushing it with an umbrella. The stick alongside of it (shown to the right in the opposite Plate) is 3 feet high; so you can judge of its size. I think it is one of the finest cromlechs I have seen.—ANNESLEY.

Social Life in Dublin Society a hundred years ago.—I have lately been lent by a friend the diary of a member of a well-known Irish family, beginning with the year 1796. From it I give two extracts. One is an account of a party at which the Lord Lieutenant was present at one of the great Blackrock houses, Temple Hill, *alias* Neptune, the seat of the Earl of Clonmell. The party took place on Thursday, June 8, 1797. It will give us a glimpse of social life as led in the mansions to which I have referred on p. 9.

The second is a pen-and-ink sketch of the assemblies held in the Seapoint rooms under the auspices of Mrs. Medlicott, as noticed in the article on the "Antiquities between Kingstown and Dublin," page 6.—G. T. S.

(*Extracts from MS. Diary of* ALEXANDER HAMILTON, Q.C., LL.D., of 23, Rutland-square, Dublin).

"June 8, 1797, Thursday, at one o'clock, I went to Lady St. George's house in Merrion-row, where I found her son Sir Richard St. George expecting me to accompany him to Neptune, Lord Clonmell's villa, a little way beyond the Blackrock. As soon as the shower was over the curricle was brought to the door, and we drove off together. When we arrived at Neptune, we found a numerous company at breakfast in the drawing-room. After breakfast a few of the party ventured to walk about the shrubberies between the showers. Those in the house sought amusement in crowding the hall and library, or sitting in formal array round the dining parlour, into which some fiddlers and a dulcimer-player were introduced, and, by playing several lively dances, in vain endeavoured to prevail on the surrounding crowd to begin a country dance. Lord Clonmell's entreaties to the same purport had as little effect. About five o'clock his Excellency arrived; and about six everything was ready for dinner. The crowd and squeeze were immense, for the frequent showers which fell during the whole day prevented dinner being laid in tents on the lawn according to the original design. The other rooms overflowed; tables were laid in the hall and some of the bed-chambers. I dined in the library between Mrs. and Miss Loftus Tottenham; at the same table sat Ladies Clare and Cahir, and several of their male attendants. There appeared to be a most sumptuous supply of everything at dinner. Soon after we had dined, one of the servants requested we would join the gentlemen of another room at wine, as that in which we sat was to be laid out for a card-room. Mason and I preferred a walk to this proposal, and took this opportunity of giving our toast-master, the Solicitor-General, the slip. We walked through the shrubberies for some time, when we met Mrs. Newcome walking with her three fair daughters, whom I joined, till we were driven back to the house by a heavy shower. Dancing soon after began, and I had the honour of Miss Talbot's hand

for the second set; Lady Grace Maxwell succeeded her. About ten o'clock the company began to disperse. I soon after accepted (notwithstanding supper was nearly ready) the obliging offer of a set-down from Lady Farnham, who dropped me at the corner of Earl-street near twelve o'clock."

BALL AND ASSEMBLY AT SEAPOINT, *July 2nd*, 1800.

"July 2nd.—Wednesday evening, we drank tea at Mr. Browne's; and about 10 o'clock Robert Tighe and Henry Prettie called on us in a glass coach, and we went to Seapoint to a ball; we found the room tolerably full, and a very good sett dancing when we went in. After our arrival there were two setts before supper. I danced one of them with one of the Miss Dawsons; James Tisdall danced with one of the Miss Cramers; Julia and Kitty each danced a sett with Bob Tighe and Henry Prettie. About one o'clock the bell rung, and we went to the supper-room, where we had a very tolerable supper, but the wine was execrably bad. After supper one sett was danced, and we set out for home (Marlborough-street), where we arrived a little after 3 o'clock."

"**Old Belfast,**" (Edited with Notes by R. M. Young, B.A., C.E., M.R.I.A.)—The northern capital is again fortunate in having another volume added to its books of history, "a companion volume to the 'Town-book of Belfast,' but complete in itself." If we may judge from the prospectus and specimens sent us, the complete book (which is promised for April, 1895), ought to form a volume no less attractive to the general reader than to the student of local history. The work comprises a great mass of material collected by the late eminent antiquary William Pinkerton, F.S.A.; also personal narratives of the stirring periods of 1649 and 1690; ballads; the history of the Island Magee witches, and a series of descriptions of the counties Down and Armagh in 1682. The illustrations are numerous and interesting; old views and maps of the town in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; and a series of clever pictures: Sir Arthur Chichester presenting the charter of the town to the Burgesses in 1613, the Assault on the North Gate by Col. Venables in 1649, the Corporation presenting an Address to King William in 1690, &c.; nor are the small cuts less attractive.

Notices of Books.

[Note.—*Those marked * are by Members of the Society.*]

***History, Guide, and Directory of the County and City of Waterford.** By P. M. Egan, Author of *Historical Guide to Kilkenny, &c.* (Kilkenny: P. M. Egan.)

This volume, which runs to some 800 pages, is, both in letterpress and binding, very creditable to its Kilkenny publisher, especially in view of the very moderate price at which it is issued. The illustrations are numerous, but many of them have not been printed successfully. The best are views of the old Cathedral, photographic pictures of two of the old towers on the city wall, and reproductions of views from Smith's "History." To the description of the numerous towns and churches in county Waterford are added notices, topographical and historical, of Clonmel, New Ross, and Youghal, outside its limits. Mr. Egan claims to have identified the site of St. John's Priory, Waterford, which had not been recognised by former historians. Also amongst new features is a list of the High Sheriffs of the county. Lists of Members of Parliament (reprinted from the Parliamentary Return) and of Bishops, &c., are useful for reference. The portion forming a Directory to the City and County must also be of great utility.

We should have wished to learn more of the very interesting mediæval history of Waterford and New Ross. Indeed, we feel from the style in which some parts are treated, that the author is not much in sympathy with the study of early history. Viewed, too, from the strictly historical standpoint, there is a marked lack of references to, or acknowledgment of, authorities. Regarded, however, as a historical guide, these demerits are not so serious, and may, perhaps, leave the book more attractive to many readers.

The book unquestionably gathers a very large amount of matter hitherto scattered; and presents it in a handy form, and a popular style, and at a price within reach of all. Such a book should do much to stimulate an interest in local history, and, we hope, lead to its more general study, and a more diffused desire to preserve the remains of our past.

Proceedings.

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING of the Society, for the year 1895, was held (by permission) in the Royal Dublin Society's House, Kildare-street, Dublin, on Tuesday, 8th January, 1895, at four o'clock, p.m.

THOMAS DREW, R.H.A., F.R.I.B.A., P.R.I.A.I., *President*, in the Chair.

The following were present during the proceedings:—

Fellows:—R. Langrishe, F.R.I.A.I., *Vice-President*; John Ribton Garstin, M.A., LL.B., B.D., F.S.A., M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*; the Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., LL.D., M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*; Robert Cochrane, F.S.A., M.R.I.A., *Hon. General Secretary and Treasurer*; G. D. Burtchaell, M.A., M.R.I.A.; George Coffey, B.E., M.R.I.A.; Patrick J. Donnelly; Patrick M. Egan, J.P.; the Rev. James F. M. ffrench, M.R.I.A.; Lord Walter Fitz Gerald, M.R.I.A.; William Frazer, F.R.C.S.I., M.R.I.A., HON. F.S.A. (Scot.); Charles Geoghegan, Assoc. INST. C.E.I.; Deputy Surgeon-General Henry King, M.A., M.B., M.R.I.A.; S. K. Kirker; J. J. Digges La Touche, M.A., LL.D., M.R.I.A.; Seaton F. Milligan, M.R.I.A.; James Mills, M.R.I.A.; William R. Molloy, M.R.I.A.; J. Casimir O'Meagher, M.R.I.A.; Count Plunkett, M.R.I.A.; the Rev. Canon Stoney, M.A., D.D.; Colonel P. D. Vigors; Thomas J. Westropp, M.A., M.R.I.A.; Robert Lloyd Woollcombe, LL.D., M.R.I.A.; E. P. Wright, M.D., Sec. R.I.A.

Members:—J. G. Alcorn; the Rev. William F. Alment, B.D.; the Rev. Arthur W. Ardagh, M.A.; Henry F. Baker; the Rev. J. W. Ballard; Miss Mary Banim; J. H. Bennett; Henry F. Berry, M.A.; Francis Joseph Bigger, M.R.I.A.; O. H. Braddell; James Brenan, M.H.A., M.R.I.A.; the Rev. R. A. Burnett, M.A.; the Rev. W. W. Campbell, M.A., R.N.; Anthony R. Carroll; James Charles, M.I.J.; W. P. Chapman; M. Edward Conway; Henry A. Cosgrave, M.A.; the Rev. George W. S. Coulter, M.A.; David H. Creighton; E. R. M'C. Dix; Matthew Dorey; the Rev. J. B. Dougherty, M.A.; the Rev. A. L. Elliott, M.A.; the Rev. William Falkiner, M.A.; the Rev. Canon Fisher, M.A.; Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel J. J. Greene, M.B.; the Rev. John Healy, LL.D.; the Rev. William Healy, P.P.; H. Hitchins; M. J. Hurley; the Very Rev. H. Jellett, D.D., Dean of St. Patrick's; Bryan J. Jones; Richard J. Kelly; Williams R. Kennan; the Rev. R. A. Kernan, B.D.; George Kernan; Stephen M. Lanigan; John V. Legge; Brian Mac Sheehy, LL.D.; the Rev. F. G M'Clintock, M.A.; M. J. M'Enery, B.A.; Robert M'Intosh; C. M'Neill; John M'Neill; B. P. J. Mahony, M.R.C.V.S.; William M. Mitchell, R.H.A.; Joseph M. Moore, M.A.; the Rev. J. E. H. Murphy, M.A.; P. Newell, B.A.; the Rev. Denis O'Donoghue, P.P.; William P. O'Neill, M.R.I.A.; J. E. Palmer; J. Monsarratt Quinn; T. W. Rolleston; Victor E. Smyth; Bedell Stanford, B.A.; William Stirling, F.R.I.A.I.; Mrs. Stoker; William C. Stubbs, M.A.; the Rev. James H. Walsh, B.D.; Robert White; the Rev. G. O. Woodward, B.A.; Frank Hugh O'Donnell.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following Candidates, recommended by the Council, were elected:—

FELLOWS.

Charles F. Doyle, M.A., F.R.U.I. (*Member*, 1890), 19, Kildare-street, Dublin: proposed by G. D. Burtchaell, M.A., *Fellow*.

Patrick J. Donnelly (*Member*, 1893), 136, Capel-street, Dublin: proposed by Thomas Drew, R.H.A., *President*.

H. Stow Garlick, 653, Eastern-avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio, U.S.A.: proposed by Horace W. Whayman, *Fellow*.

Thomas Greer, M.R.I.A., F.R.G.S., J.P., Sea Park, Belfast, and Grove House, Regent's Park, London, N.W.: proposed by the Rev. Canon Sayers.

William G. D. Goff, J.P., Glenville, Waterford: proposed by Thomas Drew, R.H.A., *President*.

MEMBERS.

Alexander Agnew, Upper Clifton, Bangor, Co. Down: proposed by S. F. Milligan, *Fellow, Hon. Provincial Secretary for Ulster*.

Algernon Fetherstonhaugh Briscoe, J.P., Curristown, Killucan: proposed by the Rev. William Falkiner.

Frederick Ogle Campbell, Main-street, Bangor, Co. Down: proposed by Robert Cochrane, F.S.A., *Fellow, Hon. General Secretary*.

Thomas Carney, The Hibernian Bank, Kells, Co. Meath: proposed by James Deady.

Mrs. G. B. Coulter, 21, University-square, Belfast: proposed by R. M. Young, B.A., *Fellow, Hon. Local Secretary for Belfast*.

Henry Courtenay, Hughenden, Leinster-road, Rathmines: proposed by the Rev. H. Cameron Lyster, B.D.

Miss Mary E. Cunningham, Glencairn, Belfast: proposed by S. F. Milligan, *Fellow, Hon. Provincial Secretary for Ulster*.

John B. Cullen, 40, Kenilworth-square, Dublin: proposed by the Rev. J. F. M. ffrench, *Fellow, Hon. Secretary for Co. Wicklow*.

Major-General W. L. Devenish-Meares, J.P., D.L., Mearas Court, Ballinacargy, Co. Westmeath: proposed by the Rev. William Falkiner.

Mrs. Arthur Hales, Belvedere, Crystal Palace Park, Sydenham, S.E.: proposed by H. Pomeroy Truell, D.L.

Thomas E. Hudman, 3, Summerville-terrace, North Circular-road, Dublin: proposed by James Mills, M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

Miss Helen Hughes, 185, Rathgar-road, Dublin: proposed by W. J. Gillespie, *Fellow*.

The Rev. Robert Jeffrey, M.A., The Manse, Portadown: proposed by C. Winston Dugan, M.A.

Miss K. Knox, Ennis, Co. Clare: proposed by T. J. Westropp, M.A., *Fellow, Hon. Secretary for N. Clare*.

Miss Leech, Danesfield, Clontarf: proposed by the Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., LL.D., *Vice-President*.

The Rev. John M'Elhatton, C.C., Strabane: proposed by S. F. Milligan, *Fellow, Hon. Provincial Secretary for Ulster*.

George Metcalfe, Johnstown Cottage, Rathdowney, Queen's County: proposed by Hugh Allingham, M.R.I.A., *Hon. Secretary for S. Donegal*.

The Rev. Joseph Moorhead, B.A., The Manse, Broughshane, Co. Antrim: proposed by W. T. Clements.

M. J. O'Callaghan, Office of Public Works, Dublin: proposed by R. Cochrane, F.S.A., *Hon. General Secretary and Treasurer*.

Mrs. A L. Persse, Ormonde View, Ballycrissan, Ballinasloe: proposed by W. F. Budds, J.P.

The Rev. R. Caledon Ross, Strangford, Co. Down: proposed by the Rev. E. A. Cooper, B.D.

The Rev. Innocent Ryan, Professor, St. Patrick's College, Thurles: proposed by the Rev. W. Healy, P.P., *Hon. Provincial Secretary for Leinster.*

The Cavaliere Lorenzo Salazar, Director of the Bibliotheca, S. Martino, Naples: proposed by T. J. Westropp, M.A., *Fellow, Hon. Secretary for N. Clare.*

His Honor Judge Shaw, M.A., Woodlawn, Dundrum: proposed by the Rev. G. R. Buick, LL.D., *Vice-President.*

Mrs. Simpson, West Church Manse, Ballymena: proposed by the Rev. G. R. Buick, LL.D., *Vice-President.*

Thomas J. Smith, D.I., R.I.C., Dungannon: proposed by G. A. Dagg, M.A., *Hon. Secretary for S. Fermanagh,*

James Walby, Engineer, Post Office Telegraph Department, Belfast: proposed by S. K. Kirker, *Fellow, Hon. Secretary for Co. Cavan.*

The Rev. George R. Wedgwood, 32, Gt. Charles-street, Dublin: proposed by the Rev. J. W. R. Campbell, M.A.

The Rev. George Woodburn, M.A., F.R.U.I., The Manse, Kells, Co. Meath: proposed by the Rev. W. T. Latimer, B.A.

The Report of the Council for the year 1894 was then brought forward:—

The Report of the Council for 1894.

Since the presentation of the Report for 1893, notice has been received of the deaths of five Fellows and twenty Members. The Fellows who died were—Joseph Bennett; Allen E. Douglas, M.D.; Lord Emly; John Hill; and John L. Robinson, R.H.A.

Mr. John Hill, who was elected a Member in 1858, and a Fellow in 1871, was for several years one of the Hon. Local Secretaries for the County of Clare. A notice of him has already appeared in the *Journal* for 1894.

The untimely death of Mr. John L. Robinson has removed one of the most useful and active Members of the Society. Elected a Member in 1889, and a Fellow in 1893, he acted as Hon. Provincial Secretary for Leinster during the past five years, and in January, 1894, he was co-opted a Member of the Council. On the formation of the Committee for the purpose of carrying out the Photographic Survey of the Antiquities of Ireland, Mr. Robinson consented to act as Hon. Curator, and in connexion with this undertaking his loss will be most severely felt. To the *Journal* he contributed a paper on "Celtic Remains in England," vol. i., 5th ser. (1890), and "Notes on the Photographic Survey," vol. iii., 5th ser. (1893); besides which he gave at the Society's Meetings many Photographic Illustrations (by means of lantern-slide transparencies) of the places visited by the Society on their Excursions.

Of the Members who died, Mr. Peter Burtchaell was the senior on the Roll of Ordinary Members, having been elected on the 7th of March, 1852. For twenty-six years, 1861 to 1887, he was a Member of the General Committee, and for twenty years one of the Trustees of the Society, from the institution of that Office, in 1870, until relieved at his own request, in 1890.

In Mr. A. J. Fetherstonhaugh the Society has lost one who, had he been spared, showed promise of becoming conspicuous in the first rank of historical workers. His paper on "The True History of the Two Chiefs of Dunboy," which appeared in the *Journal*, vol. iv. 5th ser. (1894), after the lamented death of the author, gave proof of his ability as a writer, and capacity for historical research and criticism.

The resignations of two Fellows and forty-nine Members have been accepted. The

total number of Fellows now upon the Roll of the Society is 196, and of Members, 1069, making together, 1265, being an increase of thirty-five names during the year 1894.

During the past year, some changes took place on the Council. On the 31st January, Mr. G. D. Burtchaell resigned his seat, which he had held since 1887, and was replaced by the late Mr. J. L. Robinson. The vacancy caused by the Rev. Denis Murphy being elected a Vice-President, on the 14th May, was filled by the co-option of Mr. James Mills. Mr. T. J. Westropp has been chosen in place of the late Mr. J. L. Robinson.

The three Senior Members of the Council who retire by rotation are—Colonel Vigors, Professor Stokes, and Dr. Wright.

The Members of Council attended as follows, there being eleven Council Meetings:—Mr. Cochrane, 11; Rev. Denis Murphy, 10; Dr. Fraser, 10; Dr. La Touche, 8; Lord Walter FitzGerald, 8; Rev. Mr. ffrench, 8; Dr. King 7; Dr. Wright, 7; Mr. Franklin, 7; Mr. Drew (President), 5; Mr. Robinson, 5; Colonel Vigors, 5; Mr. Milligan, 4; Mr. Mills, 3; Professor Stokes, 2; Mr. Burtchell, 1; Mr. Westropp, 1.

During the year, the several Meetings and Excursions were well attended; and in July upwards of fifty Members attended the Meeting and Excursions at Carnarvon, on the invitation of the Cambrian Archæological Association, when some of the most beautiful scenery and most interesting antiquities in North Wales were visited. The Meetings and Excursions have been fully described in the Proceedings of the Society for the past year.

Arrangements are being made for the usual Meetings and Excursions during the year 1895. On Whit Monday,[1] Kilkenny will be visited and the usual Meeting held there, and on the following days the city and county of Waterford will be visited. The Waterford and South-east of Ireland Archæological Association having kindly offered to co-operate with the local Committee, a successful Meeting may be anticipated.

For some years past it has been the wish of the Council to hold a Meeting in Connaught, and it is proposed to make Galway the headquarters for the Summer Meeting and Excursion, and to visit the three Islands of Aran. To enable this to be accomplished it will be necessary to charter a large passenger steamer with suitable sleeping accommodation; and as it would be necessary to bring a steamer round from Belfast, it has been suggested that a large number of Members, about 100, would avail themselves of the opportunity of visiting the Western Islands, including Tory Island, Inismurray, Clare Island, High Island, as well as the Aran Islands. This trip would occupy from Tuesday to Saturday, leaving Belfast on Tuesday, 2nd July, and arriving at Galway on Saturday following. The cost for each Member, including steamer, sleeping berth, and board, would be £6 10*s*. The arrangements of the Sea Excursion will be in the hands of a Local Committee in Belfast.

It is proposed to hold the Fourth Quarterly Meeting of the Society in Wexford, on 10th September, with three days Excursions in that county, and there will be some Day-Excursions from Dublin, including a trip to the Loughcrew Hills, on Monday, 5th August.

The Council are able to report that the financial condition of the Society continues to be satisfactory. The Abstract of the Treasurer's Account for 1894, will be laid as usual before the next General Meeting.

The "Annals of Clonmacnois," edited by the Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., *Vice-President*, has been printed, and will shortly be issued to the Fellows as an Extra Volume for the years 1893 and 1894. The Index to the first 19 volumes of the *Journal* will also be issued in 1895.

The Council are making arrangements for carrying on the work of the Photographic Survey, which, owing to the death of Mr. J. L. Robinson, was unavoidably interrupted.

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[1] At the request of the Local Committee this date has been since changed to Monday, the 6th of May.

In accordance with the understanding arrived at, at the last Annual Meeting, that it was desirable not to have a permanent President, the Council submit to the Society certain alterations in the General Rules to give effect to this: the first being that the Society may elect an Honorary President, for one year, who may be chosen from the Province in which the Society will hold its Annual Summer Meeting. It is further suggested that a President, or Presidents, shall be elected for a term of three years who will not be eligible for re-election at the end of that period.

It will be for the Meeting to decide whether one working President, or two Sectional Presidents, in addition to the Honorary President, would best meet the wants of the Society.

It is also proposed that the four senior, or longest elected, Vice-Presidents should retire at the end of each year, and not be eligible for re-election at that Meeting; the three senior Members of Council to similarly retire.

Such rules as may now be passed will govern the elections at this Meeting.

Names removed from the Roll in 1894 :—

Deceased (25):—

FELLOWS (5)—Joseph Bennett, *Fellow*, 1877; Allen Edward Douglas, M.D., F.R.C.S., J.P., *Fellow*, 1881; The Right Hon. Lord Emly, M.A., M.R.I.A., H.N.L., Co. Limerick, *Fellow*, 1875; John Hill, M.R.I.A., M.INST.C.E.I., *Member*, 1858; *Fellow*, 1871; John Loftus Robinson, R.H.A., M.R.I.A., F.M.I.A.I., *Member*, 1889; *Fellow*, 1893.

MEMBERS (20)—William J. Anderson, C.E., Architect, 1892; Richard Bravin, 1890; J. J. Law Breen, 1889; Peter Burtchaell, C.E., 1852; John W. Busteed, M.D., J.P., 1854; Martin Carroll, 1889; the Rev. Euseby Digby Cleaver, M.A., 1892; Thomas Dowling, J.P., 1893; Henry James Dudgeon, J.P., 1891; Alfred Joseph Fetherstonhaugh, M.A., 1892; the Rev. Hugh Gelston, M.A., 1890; the Very Rev. Archdeacon Irwin, P.P., V.F., 1888; William Lane Joynt, J.P., D.L., 1889; William Livingstone, J.P., D.L., 1891; the Rev. Hugh M'Neill, 1891: Colonel Deane Mann, J.P., D.L., 1891; the Rev. Thomas Nolan, P.P., 1890; Peter Chamberlaine Ryan, 1891; Alexander Talbot Smith, Physician and Surgeon, 1891; Henry Smyth, C.E., J.P., 1890.

Resigned (51):—

FELLOWS (2)—Robert Barklie, M.R.I.A., F.G.S., *Member*, 1889; *Fellow*, 1890; the Very Rev. Edward Maguire, D.D., Dean of Down, *Fellow*, 1891.

MEMBERS (49)—The Rev. James Allen, B.A., 1889; Redmond J. Barry, B.A., Barrister-at-Law, 1893; the Rev. Canon Brougham, M.A., 1893; James Roberts Brown, F.R.G.S., 1889; the Rev. Robert Butler, B.A., 1891; the Rev. William Colgan, M.A., 1891; John E. H. Colclough, J.P., 1891; Mrs. Coleman, 1893; the Rev. Matthew Conneray, C.C., 1892; Mrs. Cowell, 1891; the Rev. S. A. Cox, B.A., 1891; the Rev. William Crawford, M.A., 1890; Richard Culley, 1867; Henry Davy, M.B., M.CH., 1892; Mrs. F. Finch, 1891; Arthur T. Froggatt, MUS.D., 1893; the Rev. Edward Gabbett, M.A., 1891; the Rev. Charles I. Graham, D.D., 1891; William H. Harkness, B.A., 1893; Arthur A. Harris, 1888; James Hartley, J.P., 1889; the Rev. Charles Hunter, M.A., 1892; Anthony Thomas Jackson, 1892; the Rev. J. J. Jones, B.D., 1892; J. M. Prior Kennedy, L.R.C.P.I., &c., 1892; Thomas Kough, J.P., 1889; Richard W. Leslie, M.D., 1892; Tenison F. Levinge, J.P., 1890; Douglas Lithgow, 1891; Owen Lloyd, 1893; David E. Lowry, 1892; the Very Rev. Canon M'Cartan, P.P., 1891; William Henry M'Cowan, 1891; Miss Alice L. Milligan, 1891; the Rev. J. J. Mohan, C.C., 1891; Frederick Morley, A.R.I.B.A., C.E., 1892; Standish O'Grady, B.A., Barrister-at-Law, 1893; John Graydon Osborne, 1891; William Purdon, C.E., 1887; Miss Roberts, 1893; the Rev. Daniel Ryan, P.P., 1890; the Rev. William F. Seymour, M.A., 1891; Lieut.-Colonel Shanly, 1890; the Rev. A. G. Stuart, B.A., 1888; W. H. Playfair Vickers, M.D., 1889; Mrs Westropp, 1892; George H. Wheeler, M.A., LL.B., 1894; the Rev. W. J. Wilson, B.A., 1891; William Robert Young, J.P., 1889.

The following exchanges and presentations were received during the year :—

The Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society; Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society; Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society; Archæologia Cambrensis; Journal of the Cork Historical and Archæological Society; Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club; Archæologia Æliana; Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne; The Journal of the County Kildare Archæological Society; The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Numismatic Society; Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects; Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall; Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy; Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy; Annales de la Société d'Archeologie de Bruxelles; Publications of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of the North; Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London Archæologia; Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology; Publications of the Smithsonian Institute; Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society; Collections of the Surrey Archæological Society; The Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Magazine; The Yorkshire Archæological Journal; Publications of the United States Geological Survey; Journal of the Waterford and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society; The Ulster Journal of Archæology; Journal of the Anthropological Institute; L'Anthopologie; Scientific Transactions of the Royal Dublin Society; Journal of the Society of Architects; Annual Report of the Trustees of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukie; Proceedings and Transactions of the Nova Scotian Institute of Science; Revue Celtique; Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; Transactions of the Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion; Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire; Proceedings of the Yorkshire Geological and Polytechnic Society; The Scottish Gypsies under the Stewarts, by David Mac Ritchie; The Queen of Egyptology, by W. C. Wishaw, PH.D.; The Jacobite War in Ireland, 1688–91, by Charles O'Kelly, edited by Count Plunkett and the Rev. E. Hogan, S.J.; The History of Presbyterians in Ireland, by the Rev. W. T. Latimer, B.A.; Guy's Guide to Queenstown and Places round Cork.

The Report was taken as read, and unanimously adopted.

The changes in the General Rules, proposed by the Council, of which notice of motion was given at the last General Meeting, were then proposed.

It was proposed as an Amendment by Dr. E. P. Wright, *Fellow*, seconded by Dr. La Touche, *Fellow* :—

That Rule 15 be altered, and amended to stand thus :—

15. The Honorary officers of the Society, who must be Fellows, shall consist of—a Patron, President, four Vice-Presidents for each Province, a General Secretary, and a Treasurer.

That Rule 16 be altered, and that the Rule shall read thus :—

16. The Presidents and Vice-Presidents shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting in each year. The nominations for these offices must be received at the rooms of the Society on or before the first day of December preceding the Annual General Meeting, addressed to the Secretaries, and endorsed "Nomination of Officers." Each Nomination Paper must be signed by seven or more Fellows or Members as proposers, and in the case of a Candidate who has not held such office before, his Nomination

Paper must be accompanied by an intimation, under his hand, that he will serve in that office if elected. The President shall be elected for a term of three years, and the same person shall not be elected for two consecutive periods. The four senior, or longest elected, Vice-Presidents shall retire each year by rotation, and shall not be eligible for re-election at the General Meeting at which they retire. The Council may submit to the Annual General Meeting of the Society the name of a Fellow, Hon. Fellow, or Member, who will act as Honorary President, and the Meeting may adopt the name submitted, or may elect another by a majority of votes, such Honorary President to hold office for one year only.

That Rule 17 be altered to read as follows:—

17. The management of the business of the Society shall be entrusted to a Council of Twelve, eight of whom at least must be Fellows (exclusive of the President, Vice-Presidents, Honorary General Secretary, and Treasurer, who shall be *ex-officio* Members of the Council). The Council shall meet on the last Wednesday of each month, or on such other days as they may deem necessary. Four Members of the Council shall form a quorum. The three senior, or longest elected, Members of the Council shall retire each year by rotation, and shall not be eligible for re-election at the Annual General Meeting at which they retire. In case of a vacancy occurring for a Member of Council during the year, the Council shall at its next Meeting co-opt a Fellow or Member, to retire by rotation. A Member of Council who has failed to attend one-third of the ordinary Meetings of the Council during the year shall forfeit his seat at the next Annual General Meeting. The vacancies caused by the retirement by rotation of Members of Council shall be filled up in the manner prescribed for the Election of President and Vice-Presidents in Rule 16.

The Rules, as revised and adopted, to take effect, as far as practicable, in the elections at this Meeting.

The Amendment was adopted, and the Rules, as amended, were adopted unanimously.

The following Notice of Motion was handed in by Mr. Egan, *Fellow*:—

In Rule 16, after the words "if elected," to add—

A printed Balloting Paper, containing the names of all such Candidates, arranged in alphabetical order, shall be sent by post to every Fellow and Member whose name is on the Roll of the Society, directed to the address entered on the Roll, at least one week before the day of election. Each person voting shall mark with an asterisk the name of each Candidate for whom he, or she, votes. The voter shall then return the Balloting Paper to the Secretaries on or before the day preceding the election in an envelope, marked "Balloting Paper," and signed with the name of the voter, the Balloting Paper itself must not be signed. In case a voter signs the Balloting Paper, or votes for more Candidates than the number specified thereon, such vote shall be void. The Balloting Papers shall be scrutinized, on the day of election, by at least two Scrutineers, appointed by the Council, who shall report the result at the General Meeting held on the evening of that day. The Treasurer shall furnish the Scrutineers with a list of the Fellows and Members qualified to vote at such election. Those Candidates who obtain the greatest number of votes shall be declared elected, subject to the provisions of Rule 17, provided that when there appears an equality of votes for two or more Candidates, the Candidate who is senior on the books of the Society shall be declared elected.

On the motion of Mr. R. Langrishe, *Vice-President*, the Right Hon. Lord ARDILAUN, M.A., was unanimously elected Honorary President of the Society for 1894.

The Secretary announced that the four Senior, or longest elected, Vice-Presidents who now retired under Rule 16, as revised, were—

Connaught, . . RICHARD LANGRISHE, F.R.I.A., elected in 1879.
Leinster, . . . JOHN RIBTON GARSTIN, LL.B., M.R.I.A., F.S.A., &c., elected in 1885.
Munster, . . . MAURICE LENIHAN, M.R.I.A., elected in 1885.
Ulster, ... THE RIGHT HON. LORD ARTHUR W. HILL, M.P., elected in 1888.

Lord Walter Fitz Gerald, *Fellow*, and Mr. T. J. Westropp, *Fellow*, having been appointed Scrutineers of the Balloting Papers, the Society proceeded to ballot for a President, Four Vice-Presidents, and Six Members of Council, for which offices the following were nominated:—

As PRESIDENT:—

THOMAS DREW, R.H.A., F.R.I.B.A., F.R.I.A.I., *President*.
The REV. DENIS MURPHY, S.J., LL.D., M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*.

As VICE-PRESIDENTS (four to be elected):—

Lord WALTER FITZ GERALD, M.R.I.A., *Fellow, Hon. Secretary Co. Kildare*.
WILLIAM FRAZER, F.R.C.S.I., M.R.I.A., Hon. F.S.A. (Scot.), *Fellow*.
SEATON F. MILLIGAN, M.R.I.A., *Fellow, Hon. Provincial Secretary for Ulster*.
The Most Rev. RICHARD A. SHEEHAN, D.D., *Fellow*, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore.
Colonel PHILIP D. VIGORS, *Fellow, Hon. Secretary, Co. Carlow*.
EDWARD PERCEVAL WRIGHT, M.A., M.D., Sec. R.I.A., *Fellow*.

As MEMBERS OF COUNCIL (six to be elected):—

GEORGE COFFEY, B.E., M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.
JOHN COOKE, M.A., *Fellow, Hon. Secretary for the City of Dublin*.
JOHN RIBTON GARSTIN, LL.B., M.A., B.D., F.S.A., M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.
The Rev. JOHN HEALY, LL.D., *Hon. Secretary for North Meath*.
P. WESTON JOYCE, LL.D., M.R.I.A.
GEORGE A. P. KELLY, M.A., *Fellow, Hon. Secretary for Roscommon*.
GEORGE HENRY KINAHAN, M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.
RICHARD LANGRISHE, F.R.I.A.I., *Fellow*.
The Rev. Canon COURTENAY MOORE, M.A., *Hon. Secretary for N. Cork*.
J. CASIMIR O'MEAGHER, M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.
The Rev. Canon STONEY, D.D., *Fellow*.
THOMAS F. COOKE-TRENCH, J.P., D.L., *Fellow*.

The following Papers were read, and referred to the Council:—

"Notes of an Ogham hunt in the North of Ireland," by Professor Rhys, M.A., *Hon. Fellow*.

"Prehistoric Stone Forts of Northern Clare," by T. J. Westropp, M.A., *Fellow, Hon. Secretary for North Clare*.

The Meeting then adjourned to 8 o'clock, p.m.

Evening Meeting.

The Society again met in the Royal Dublin Society's House, at 8 o'clock, p.m.

Thomas Drew, R.H.A., F.R.I.B.A., P.R.I.A.I., *President*, in the Chair.

The Scrutineers reported the result of the Ballot, and the following were declared duly elected:—

President (to hold office until January, 1897):

Thomas Drew, R.H.A., F.R.I.B.A., P.R.I.A.I.

Vice-Presidents (to retire by rotation):

Lord Walter Fitz Gerald, M.R.I.A.
Colonel Philip Doyne Vigors.
William Frazer, F.R.C.S.I., M.R.I.A., Hon. F.S.A. (Scot.).
Seaton F. Milligan, M.R.I.A.

Members of Council (to retire by rotation):

John Ribton Garstin, LL.B., M.A., B.D., F.S.A., M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.
The Rev. John Healy, LL.D.
Richard Langrishe, F.R.I.A.I., *Fellow*.
George Coffey, B.E., M.R.I.A., Barrister-at-Law, *Fellow*.
John Cooke, M.A., *Fellow*.
P. Weston Joyce, LL.D., M.R.I.A.

Auditors of the Treasurer's Accounts for 1894:

James G. Robertson, *Hon. Fellow*.
John Cooke, M.A., *Fellow*.

The following Papers were read, and referred to the Council:—

"The Battle of Benburb," by the Rev. W. T. Latimer, B.A.
"Notes on the Antiquities of Church Island, Co. Kerry," by the Rev. Denis O'Donoghue, P.P., *Hon. Secretary for South Kerry*.
"Some further Cases of remarkable Longevity," by Seaton F. Milligan, M.R.I.A., *Fellow, Hon. Provincial Secretary for Ulster*.

The remaining Papers on the list were referred to the Council, viz.:—

"A notable Fermanagh and Austrian Family," by the Very Rev. Canon O'Connor, P.P.
"O'Connell's Ms. Metrical History of Ireland, written *circa* 1566," by Miss Rowan.
"The Well of S. Declan, Ardmore," by William Frazer, F.R.C.S.I., M.R.I.A., Hon. F.S.A. (Scot.), *Fellow*.

The Society then adjourned to Monday, the 6th of May, 1895.

THE JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

OF IRELAND,

FOR THE YEAR 1895.

PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS—PART II. SECOND QUARTER, 1895.

Papers.

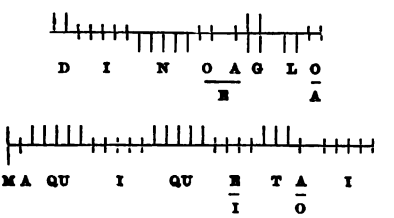
NOTES OF AN OGAM HUNT IN THE NORTH OF IRELAND.

By PROFESSOR RHYS, M.A., Principal of Jesus College, Oxford, Hon. Fellow.

Towards the end of the joint meeting of Cambrians and Royal Irish Antiquaries at Carnarvon in July last, I was prevailed upon by some of my Irish friends to cross with them to Dublin, and on Saturday, the 21st of July, I found myself, early in the day, on the way between Drogheda and Kells. At Kells I saw, of course, the well-known cross, and the building called St. Columba's House, together with sundry other things. From Kells I continued my journey to Oldcastle, and before reaching that place I had, with the help of some of my fellow-passengers, identified the spot which I wanted to visit, namely, Belrath Hill, a height distinguished by the cairn on the top of it from the rest of Slieve-na-Caillighe, or the Loughcrew Hills, as they are also sometimes designated. I made for Belrath, and on the way I met a young labourer named John Seary, whom I took to guide me. We got to the spot and entered the chamber in the chair cairn, but we could detect no ogams on the lintels. On examining the stones, however, forming the central chamber, and the smaller chambers connected with it, carefully, with a light, I identified the ogam given in Brash's book as reading *lmbmfmasard*, p. 326, and plate xl. It required some imagination to read it so or any other way, as the marks are, in my opinion,

only a part of the ornamentation which may be detected on rather a rough stone. It is, however, not a lintel, but a stone on the left when one gets into the central chamber, if my memory does not play me false; and what has been taken for writing is approximately on the level of the nearest lintels. Many of the stones are covered with ancient ornamentation, which reminded me of what I had seen in the Morbihan some years ago. I believe I have identified the stone mentioned in Brash's papers, and also that I am right in regarding it as no ogam; but I should be very pleased if it were scrutinised by somebody else. The place is well worth a visit; besides the cairn on Belrath Hill there are two other cairns, the most northern of which has larger rooms with more ornamented stones than Belrath, while the number of circles enclosing smaller burial mounds is very considerable. Having regard to the primitiveness of the whole, I must say that I should have been much surprised to have found an ogam inscription there; but that may be a mere perversity of fancy on my part.

The next ogam stone I went to see is of a very different kind, and is preserved in the public library at Armagh. The librarian, the Rev. Dr. Morgan, very kindly helped me in examining the stone, and sent to fetch Mr. Robert Pillow, who discovered it in the townland of Drumconnell, in the neighbourhood. Mr. Pillow related to me how he came to look for an inscription at the spot where he found it, and I see that his account of the discovery appeared in the *Journal* for 1885–7, pp. 163–5. An account has also been given of the inscription by no less a scholar than the late Bishop Reeves: see the *Journal* for 1883–4, pp. 314, 368. The reading given is *Dinigl*, and *Maqui Quetai*. But the last name is also given (in the drawing) as *Quitai*, and in point of fact it is difficult to decide which is right. My own reading is as follows:—



The first line seems to be complete, as it ends close to the cross or monogram, which comes in its way at the top of the stone. This is not the case with the second line, which probably afforded room for a short word after *Quetai*, but the stone is broken off there with a part of the circle of the cross, so that one could not say whether there was any more writing or not, though I am inclined to think that the legend is complete in point of length as it is now. To come back to details, there is a gap, I think, in the second vowel group of the first line, so I venture to read

os. If, however, the notches were originally equidistant, one would have, I think, to suppose them four, which would yield *s*. The name seems to end with *o*, but I am not sure of more than one notch; I do not think there can have been more than two. As to the other line, the second group of vowels is now imperfect, but I have no doubt of their consisting originally of five. The third group of notches has already been mentioned; whether it consisted of four or five, I have some difficulty in regarding them as regularly spaced. Where the ᚓ, *t*, is cut the stone bulges a little, and the scores are not brought up quite to the angle, and opposite the third score there is what seems a notch in the angle. If this is to be regarded as an independent part of the writing, and not as a continuation of the third score of the *t*, it goes with the notch following to make an *o*, which I have given as an alternative reading. On the whole, however, I am strongly inclined to reject the *o*, partly because we have a related name in *Maqqui Quetti* on one of the Ballinrannig stones in the county of Kerry. If one might venture, however, to consider the spelling with one *t* as more correct than that with two, one might say that we have here the early form of the mediæval *Cet*, later *Ceat*, as in the name of the Connaught warrior *Cet mac Magach*, who wounded Conchobar mac Nessa. As to the other name in the inscription, *Dinoaglo*, I have nothing to compare with it. Lastly, let me remark that the ᚋ, *m*, and the ᚌ, *g*, are drawn perpendicular to the angle, in a way which reminded me at once of the Silchester ogam in the South of England.

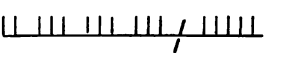
My next ogam hunt was in the townland of Cavancarragh, in the neighbourhood of Enniskillen, where I had an introduction to Mr. Thomas Plunkett, who directed me to Mr. Bernard Bannon of Cavancarragh, an old man of 84, who knew all about the burial-ground which has been levelled there. He showed the remains of it, but neither he nor I could find the stone which is mentioned in Brash's book, p. 326. I am inclined to regard the stone as one which had been ornamented in somewhat the same way as the Slieve na Caillighe stones, and not as bearing an inscription. From his house at Cavancarragh, Mr. Bannon accompanied me to the summit of Topped Mountain, whence we had a lovely view of Lough Erne, with its innumerable isles, on one of which lies the town of Enniskillen, like a sort of western Venice. It was, however, not the view that had drawn me there, but the wish to see the spot where Mr. Bannon, years ago, had found an ogam, long since lodged in the Museum at Kilkenny, where I saw it in 1883. It is a fragment reading *Nettacu*, and it was found among some other pieces of red sandstone, near the cairn of earth and stones forming the top which gives its name to Topped Mountain. Most likely it was broken off a larger stone by cattle rubbing on it, and it is a pity the rest of it cannot be found. Possibly it was the only inscribed stone there: at any rate local legend speaks of only one burial in the cairn, namely, that of a princess of the Tuatha

Dé Danann—I could not discover her name. The cairn does not appear to have ever been dug into, and there is no knowing what an examination of its contents might disclose to the inquisitive eye of the archæologist.

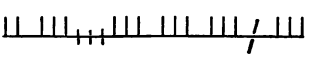
From Enniskillen I went to Omagh, where my stay was made doubly pleasant by the hospitality of Mr. Charles Mullen. Our first outing was marred by bad weather, but we succeeded in visiting Castle Derg, where, in the fields, a little above the workhouse we examined a sort of cromlech, one of the supports of which had a number of markings which I could make nothing of. I feel convinced that they are not ogams; but what they may be I cannot guess. They seem from their position to have been made before the cromlech had its topstone put in its place; and a gentleman living in the neighbourhood told us that there are similar ones, only more perfect, on a cromlech about three miles distant from Castle Derg. In any case they ought all to be carefully examined, and it would be well to have accurate drawings or photographs of them published in the *Journal*.

The next day Mr. Mullen took me to see the Aghascribbagh stone, which I had long been anxious to see. I had first heard of it from my colleague, the late Professor Moseley, who had seen it when shooting with a friend in the townland of Aghascribbagh in the winter of 1878; but unable to visit it myself, I sent word to the then editor of the *Journal*, who had an account of the stone published from the pen of Mr. Wakeman in the *Journal* for 1879–82, p. 753. The position of the stone has been given as near the sub-postoffice and police barracks of Brough Derg, which is, doubtless, correct; but, setting out as we did from Omagh, I should say the stone is distant from that town about twelve Irish miles in the direction of Draperstown, and about two miles beyond Greencastle. It is a pillar standing in a field near a cottage below the road, and some distance from the river at the bottom of the valley.

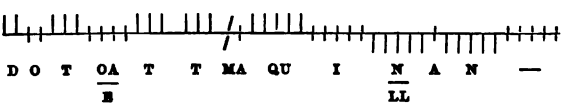
The reading given in the *Journal* is—



according to the diagram; but in the letterpress it is—



On the whole there is only too good a reason for not inserting the vowels with much confidence, as they can mostly be only guessed by the spacing, the edge being very much weather-worn. The following are my own guesses—



The first vowel is pretty certain to have been *o*, but as to the next I cannot decide between *u*, which was my first reading, and *oa*, *e*, or *ua*. The first vowel of *maqui* is clearly to be seen, but the second is a guess, though there can hardly be any doubt that it read as *i*. Thus far the consonants are quite certain. Then follows a group which seems to have been an *n*, but the middle score being doubtful, I have given *ll* as an alternative, and I could not much object to a reading *vab* supposing that led to a real name. The last consonant to be traced on the stone is certainly an *n*, and the space between it and the previous group of scores leaves only room for a single notch for *a*. The second *n* is followed by traces of notches, which may have represented any vowel from *o* to *i*, but whether there was any more writing, I am utterly unable to say. With a name beginning with *nan* I know of nothing readily to compare except the name Nainnidh borne by four different persons mentioned in the Martyrology of Donegal. Among the names I noticed at Omagh is one *M'Nanay*, which reminded me of *Nainnidh*; others, which were new to me were *M'Anena*, *M'Alinney*, both accented on the penultimate, and *M'Aleer*, pronounced *Mac Alīr*, with the sound of which I am quite familiar in the patronymic of Manannán as designated in the Isle of Man, *Mannanan Beg mac y Lear*, the better spelling would be *Leer*, as it is pronounced *Līr* or *Liyr*. I abstain from comparing the Louth place-name Dun*leer*, as I am not acquainted with its ancient form. I find that I have most reprehensibly wandered away from the Aghascribbagh stone without saying anything of the other name on it. There is, however, a reason for that, namely, that I have nothing to say, except that it beats me altogether.[1]

Thus far, of the ogams of Ulster: three of them are genuine ogams, and, to all appearance, as ancient as the average of those of Munster; but the bad state of preservation in which they have been found renders them more puzzling and less instructive than they should otherwise have been. But they are at any rate so far legible that they have completely dispelled my illusion, that they might prove to be in point of form intermediate between the ogams of Munster and the majority of those found in the Pictish districts of Scotland.

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[1] Since the above was printed and corrected for the press, the October number of the *Revue Celtique* has reached me, containing the Prose Tales in the Rennes *Dindsenchas*, edited by Dr. Whitley Stokes, and the very first paragraph shows the name which I wanted, as *Dotoad*, in *Tulach Dotoad* or Dotua's Hillock. It is needless to mention that the consonants of *Dotoatt* and *Dotoad* differ only in notation, as *tt* in ancient ogam stands for *th*, which interchanges commonly enough in Irish manuscripts with *d* for *dh*. Tulach Dotoad seems to have been the place now called *Reerin* and *Reelion*, near Athy, in the county of Kildare.

ON A RECENTLY-DISCOVERED PAGAN SEPULCHRAL MOUND IN THE GROUNDS OF OLD CONNAUGHT, CO. DUBLIN.

(Second Paper.)

By W. F. WAKEMAN, Hon. Fellow.

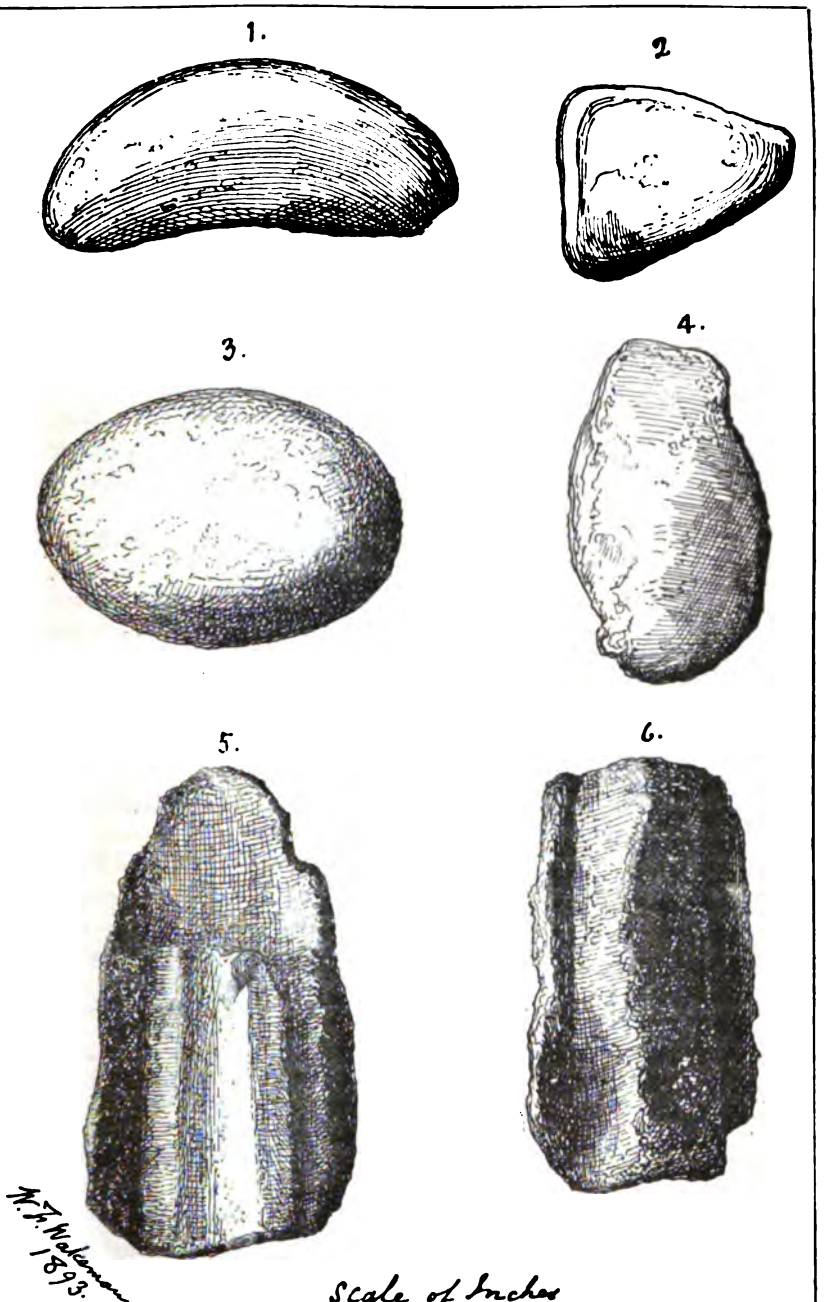
The remarks which at present I venture to address to the Society may be considered as a sequel, or portion of a sequel, to a Paper which sometime since, through the kindness of his Grace Lord Plunket, Archbishop of Dublin, I had been afforded opportunities of compiling, and which I had the honour of reading before our Society's gathering, on January 9th, 1894.

"It is a fact," said the accomplished archæologist and historian, Kemble, in an address to the Royal Irish Academy, delivered on February 9th, 1857, "of great cogency, that hitherto no mould for the casting of these swords" (the bronze examples) has been found in these islands. Moulds for the production of spears and rapiers, and other implements of war, have from time to time been found; but, as yet, for anything we know, the leaf-shaped sword may have been the result solely of importation from another land."

It is therefore a matter of high archæological interest to find amongst the *débris* of the Old Connaught mound a relic, which can be no other than portion of a mould, formed of baked clay, which had been intended for the purpose of casting weapons of the mysterious class referred to. Perhaps the absence of moulds formed of clay from our antiquarian collections may be accounted for by the perishable nature of the material. It may be that clay was extensively used in the manufacture of our beautiful leaf-shaped swords, while spear-heads, rapiers, daggers, and weapons generally more diminutive than the swords, were moulded in stone or bronze.

It is now many years since Kemble made the observations referred to; in the interval but one example of what must be considered portion of a mould for a bronze sword can, I think, be pointed to: see fig. 5, page 107 of this Paper.

The next subject upon which I venture to touch is that of certain balls about the size of large marbles, such as boys delight to play with, found in considerable numbers amongst the bones of animals, cows, goats, swine, &c., which were numerous in all parts of the mound. These, upon examination, were exactly like several discovered by the late Mr. Conwell, in the pagan sepulchres of Loughcrew, and supposed by him to have been "brain balls," a kind of missile thus



Clay Mould and other objects from Sepulchral Mound at Old Connaught.

alluded to by O'Curry in his "Manuscript Materials for Irish History," p. 275:—

"Whenever one champion slew another in single combat it is stated that he cut off his head—if possible—clove it open, took out the brain, and mixing this with lime, rolled it up into a ball, which he then dried, and placed in the armoury of his territory, or province, amongst the trophies of his nation."

Some instances of this savage custom have been recorded or referred to by several of our oldest historians or bards.

In order to have the nature of the Old Connaught pellets scientifically ascertained, I applied to Dr. Ball, Director of the Science and Art Museum, for assistance, and was kindly referred to Professor Cunningham, of Dublin University, who introduced me to Dr. Browne. Dr. Browne appears to have spared no pains to have the matter cleared up; and I think that the thanks of archæologists are due to that gentleman for the part he was so kind as to take in endeavouring to throw light upon a subject of no little antiquarian interest.

The following is a copy of the letter with which Dr. Browne has favoured me on the subject:—

"66 Harcourt-street, Dublin.

"Dear Mr. Wakeman,

"Having examined the objects supposed to be 'brain-balls,' which you submitted to me, I found them to present the appearance of small balls or pellets, about an inch and a-half in diameter, and of very light weight, composed of a light yellowish substance, of a rather friable nature, which readily breaks down between the fingers, and containing, embedded in this, fragments of a harder material.

"On breaking one up, and examining it microscopically, the cement substance appeared to be amorphous, and the embedded matters to consist of rough fragments and splinters of long bone and small pieces of vegetable charcoal.

"The cement substance itself proved, on analysis, to consist mainly of calcium carbonate, and calcium phosphate, with traces of iron.

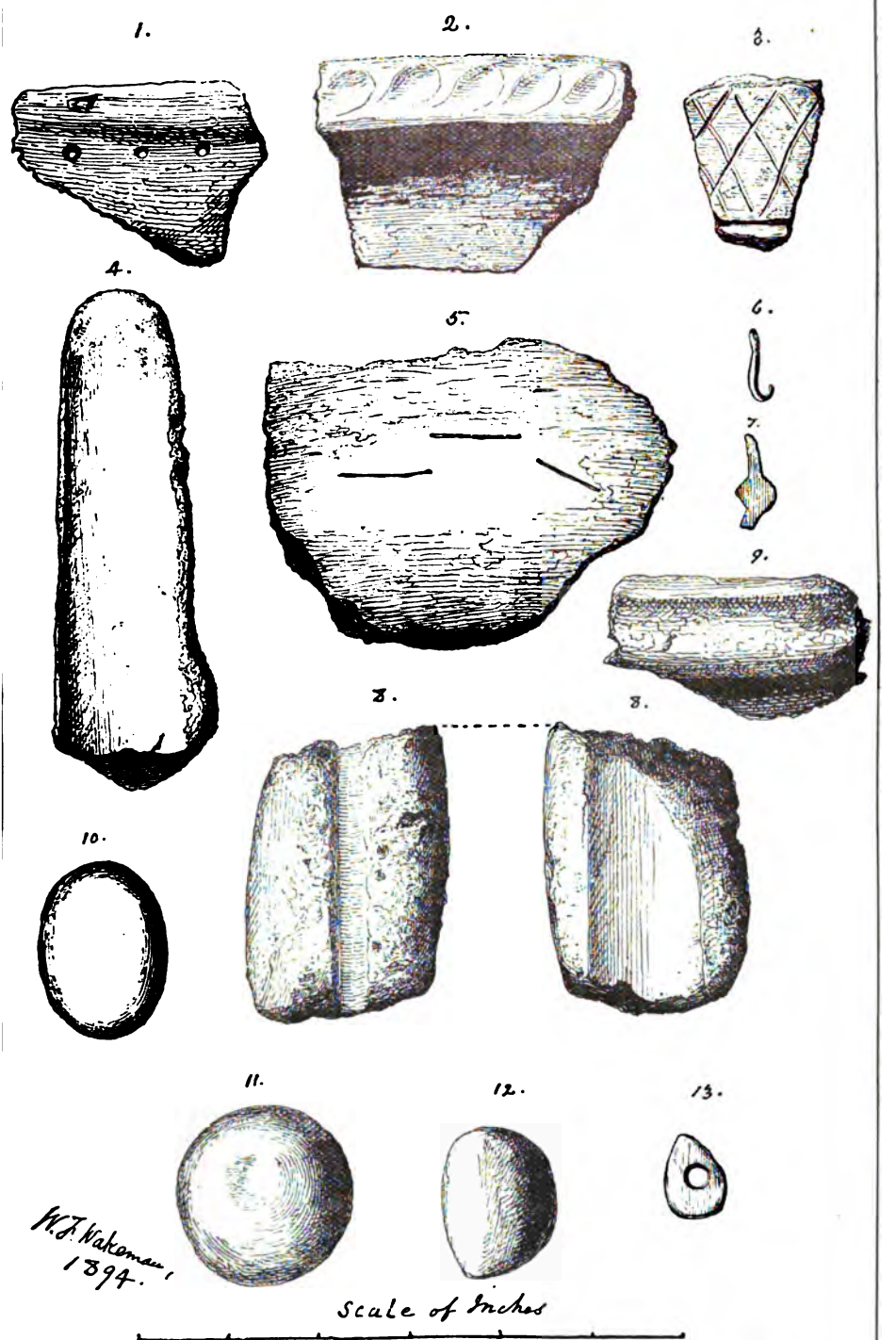
"I cannot confidently speak as to their actual nature, but Mr. E. A. Werner, F.I.C., who kindly examined them with me, thinks that they are probably artificial products, and that the phosphate of lime may have been formed from long contact of the lime and fragments of bone.

"It is evident, however, from their light and friable nature, that they could never have been intended for, or used as, weapons of offence, and that they, in no way, resemble the brain-balls sent herewith, which were made by me from sheeps' brain, quicklime, and pounded bone. One of these is made from brain and lime alone; another, the lightest, from brain and bone-dust; and the two others from varying quantities of lime and bone, added to the brain-matter until it could no longer make a paste. I am afraid that I can throw no light on the subject beyond stating that, in my opinion, the substances cannot have been brain-balls.

"Yours very sincerely,

"Charles R. Browne."

Not wishing to abandon the inquiry, I caused several of these balls to be brought before the notice of a number of other scientific experts, who,



Fragments of Pottery and other objects from Sepulchral Mound at Old Connaught.

one and all, like Dr. Browne, scouted the idea of their having been "brain-balls." From an examination of several specimens subsequently unearthed in the mound, it is quite evident that these balls, or pellets, are neither more nor less than coprolites, as are, most certainly, the supposed "brain-balls" discovered by Mr. Conwell in the carn on Slieve-na-caillighe, near Loughcrew, county Meath, and figured and described by that enthusiastic gentleman in a pamphlet relating to the antiquities, generally, of that mysterious locality, issued by him some years ago. But for Mr. Conwell's publication, no attention would have been attracted to this matter; it is well to have the subject placed in its true light.

On p. 107, figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4 represent hammer-stones, of which a very considerable number occurred in the dark layers of the mound. Such articles are very common in our kitchen-middens and in crannogs. No doubt they were used for the purpose of fracturing bones in order to get at the marrow; they would also very well serve as nut-crackers.

Fig. 6.—The object here figured is, unfortunately, but a fragmentary portion of an earthen mould, which had been used in the casting of metallic objects, possibly daggers or piercers, probably of bronze.

Page 109, fig. 1.—The object here figured is one of extreme interest: it is part of the rim and neck of an earthen vessel, which had obviously been used for cooking purposes. A row of perforations in the neck provided for the escape of steam. In many crannog-skillets of the same class only two holes appear; the number here would seem to be unprecedented, at least no other example can be pointed to.

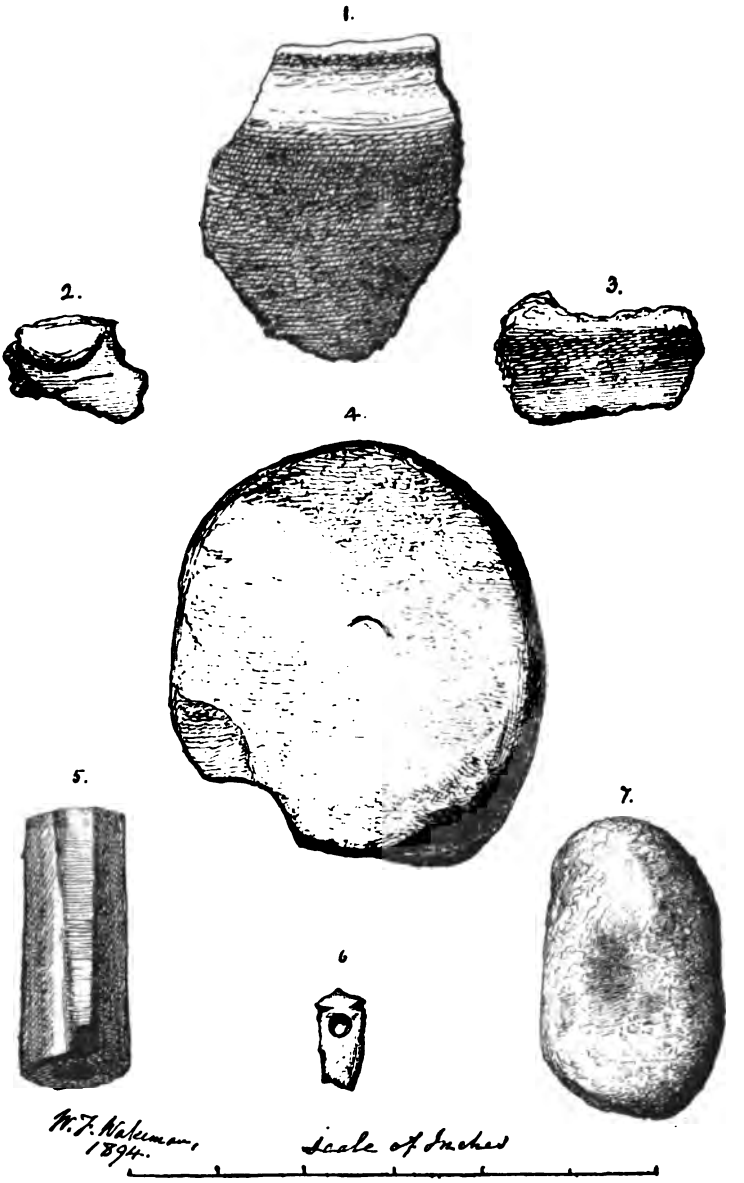
In fig. 2 is drawn a rim and neck of another earthen vessel. The rim is not ungracefully ornamented with a very early design, almost Etruscan in character. The pattern is very like that impressed upon certain food-holders found on the site of primitive marine settlements on the north-eastern coast, and in crannogs. Several examples have been figured and described by the Rev. George Buick, in the pages of this *Journal*.

Fig. 3.—Here is etched part of the side of a decorated earthen vessel, which was also, in all probability, a food-holder. The pattern exhibited is not uncommon upon cinerary urns, but it is also found on crannog pottery, which were, certainly, used as food-holders, or cooking utensils.

Fig. 5 represents part of the side of what had been a large vessel, used no doubt for everyday household purposes. It is curiously stamped with horizontal strokes similar to some we occasionally find on bronze celts.

Fig. 9 is another lip and bit of side of an earthen utensil of the same class as No. 5. It is remarkable for the width of its overhanging rim.

Fig. 4 is an etching of an earthen mould which was probably used in the manufacture of some bronze cutting instrument, probably a *scian* or *dagger*.



Objects from Sepulchral Mound at Old Connaught.

In fig. 10, page 109, we have an elegantly formed hammer-stone, of small proportions. It was probably used in breaking the shells of nuts, a species of food much used by the early people of Ireland. The originals of figs. 11 and 12 were also, in all likelihood, hammer-stones.

Fig. 13.—Here is the smallest of the stone pendants discovered in the mound.

Figs. 6 and 7 are small articles of bronze. The first is shaped somewhat like a fishing-hook, but is somewhat too flat and clumsy to have answered that purpose. It may have been used to secure the ends of a narrow waist-belt. The second is a mere fragment.

Fig. 8 represents the two broader surfaces of an earthen mould.

Page 111, fig. 1.—Here we have an etching of a goodly sized fragment of pottery, very similar to some found in crannogs. There is nothing very particular about it.

Fig. 2.—Lip of a small earthen vessel with small handle-like projection. A similar object from the sandhills of Portstewart has been figured by Mr. Buick in our *Journal*.

Fig. 3.—Another piece of pottery from mound. This is remarkable from the peculiar curve at neck.

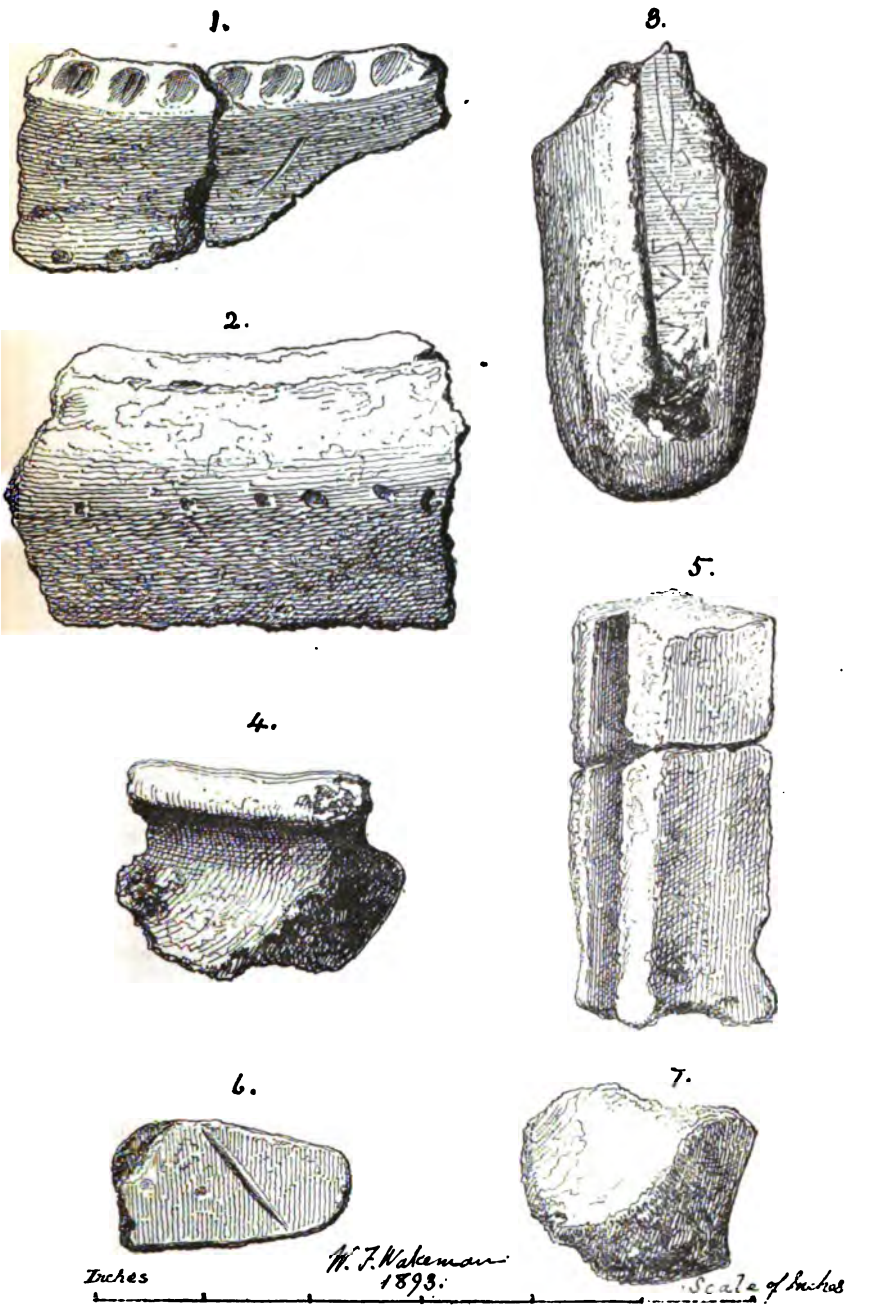
Fig. 4.—Etching of a large flat stone probably the cover of a cooking vessel.

Fig. 5.—A long hollow worked bone, evidently the handle of some metallic instrument.

Fig. 6.—A well-fashioned stone pendant.

Fig. 7.—Etching of a rude hammer-stone; material granite.

As previously remarked, the fragments of vases discovered at Old Connaught would all appear to have belonged to vessels of the *food-holder* class. Fig. 1, page 113, represents portion of a rim, rudely marked on its upper surface with hollows which might have been produced by pressure of a finger top while the clay was still unbaked. Decoration of this peculiar kind is rarely, if indeed ever found on cinerary urns. In that class the only thing seemingly approaching it, is an elliptical indentation generally supposed to have been produced amongst our old potters by using a thumb or other finger nail. The example under notice is extremely rough in texture, and seems to have been hastily and somewhat imperfectly baked. It is heavy and thick, and, as may be observed, destitute of the elegance of form and artistic taste found elsewhere in vessels of the same class. Nevertheless its comparative rudeness need not be taken as evidence of seniority amongst its fellows. In the old time constructive or decorative designs, good, bad, or indifferent, appear to have been concurrent, just as they are with us in the year of Grace, 1895. Be this as it may, many examples of Irish art work, which, by a casual observer, would, on account of their superior fashion, style, and degree of ornamentation, be held to be comparatively late, are, by trained experts, pronounced types



Fragments of Pottery and other objects from Sepulchral Mound at Old Connaught.

from which the ruder specimens had, as it were, been permitted, from one cause or another, to degenerate. Certain it is that a tide of culture had for ages been swelling and ebbing through the length and breadth of Erin. It seems to have culminated about the middle of the twelfth century, shortly after which period all that was characteristically Irish in art, excepting, perhaps, the musical element, gradually waned, to expire at last amid the commotions which followed a partial conquest of the island.

Fig. 2 (p. 113).—We find in the object here referred to, part of a large earthen vessel, which, undoubtedly, must be classed with the *food-holders*. Its material is coarse and heavy like that of much of the pottery found on the sites of pre-historic settlements along districts of our seaboard, and in crannogs with worked flints, or occasionally with objects of early bronze. It is all but plain, the only attempt at decoration consisting of a number of dot-like punctures irregularly stamped upon the shoulder. Patterns of this kind, though common on *food-holders*, but rarely appear upon contemporary cinerary urns.

Fig. 3.—Portion of a very remarkable earthen mould, exhibiting in its hollow a series of minute scorings, curiously similar to markings found by the late Sir Samuel Ferguson, engraved upon a cromleac at Lennan, county Monaghan, and figured by him in the pages of this *Journal*.[1]

Fig. 4.—This illustration shows a curiously curved portion of rim, as seen from the interior.

Fig. 5.—A fragment of earthenware mould, with groove; use unknown.

Fig. 6.—Part of side of *food-vessel*, exhibiting remains of an extremely rude pattern.

Fig. 7.—Portion of base, probably of figure 6. This is noticeable for its unusual massiveness and coarseness of texture.

I now, for the present at least, conclude my notice of the Old Connaught discoveries. Most of the objects described were kindly brought for my inspection by Miss Ida Metzner, a German lady, by whom they were picked up on the spot, and by whom the mound was frequently visited during her stay with his Grace's family. Of the human remains I need not now write.[2] The place will be reopened during the course of the summer, and, no doubt, other skulls and bones will be brought to light. All should be compared and considered together.

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[1] *Journal*, 1873, p. 524.

[2] Since the first Paper on the subject of the Old Connaught find, a Paper has been read before the Royal Irish Academy by Dr. Browne, and his report on the bones found there published in the Academy's *Proceedings*, vol. iii., Third Series, p. 421.

ORIGIN OF THE IRISH SUPERSTITIONS REGARDING BANSHEES AND FAIRIES.

By the late HERBERT HORE, Esq., of Pole-Hore, County Wexford.
With Notes by DAVID MACRITCHIE, F.S.A. (Scot.), Fellow.

[Forming a portion of the "enormous mass of collected material for Irish history" left by the late Mr. Herbert Hore, referred to in the Society's *Journal* of June, 1893, at p. 213, is a series of notes on "Fairy Women" and the *Fir-Sidhe* in general, which appear to have been brought together during a period of about thirty years, beginning at least as early as March, 1844. These notes Mr. Hore subsequently incorporated in a Paper apparently written for this Society, of which he was a Member and office-bearer; but, for one reason or another, his Paper and the relative notes have never yet been published. As they have now come into my possession, and as they bear closely upon the subject of a Paper contributed by me to the *Journal* of December, 1893, and of a subsequent comment by Mr. George Coffey, M.R.I.A. (*Journal* of June, 1894, pp. 184-187), it seems to me that Mr. Hore's observations may very fitly be printed in these pages. His view of the origin of the fairies will be seen to correspond very closely with the opinions to which I have myself given expression in the article referred to, and in other published works; and I may be permitted to point out as an interesting, and it may be a significant fact, that while the train of thought followed by Mr. Hore and by myself is almost identical, his collection of notes ante-dates my own by fully thirty years, and neither theorist knew of the existence of the other. This of itself may be no proof of the probable correctness of the theory, but it appears worthy of remark.

In order to avoid weighing down the article with editorial notes and comments, I have postponed these to the end, and have restricted their size and number as far as possible. It seems best to let Mr. Hore speak for himself, even although he occasionally puts things in a different way from his editor.]

The few following pages are an attempt to trace the origin, the realities, or truth of the ancient superstitious ideas which are prevalent in Ireland regarding the fabulous beings called *fairies*; and also particularly to account for the superstition of the *banshee*, which is peculiar to that country. The latter idea—of an apparition in female form, so prescient of the future, as to foretel the approach of death to human creatures—is a pretty one for poetry, the very germ of which is invention; but as our inquiries may, perhaps, show that it is not a pure invention, we offer our investigations for the consideration of learned lovers of such lore.

Of the many superstitions which prevailed among the Celtic Irish, there is none more poetical than the beautiful and touching idea of the *banshee*, a feminine spirit, whose affection for the lordly Gaelic family to which she was attached, was exhibited on the approaching death of some destined one of the loved race, when she appeared as a weeping and lamenting spectre. This is a superstition peculiar, as we have said, to

Ireland, and significant of a country where high descent was held in veneration, and where the stories of the illustrious native families have, like the national melodies, "breathings as sad as the wind over graves." These mourning spirits were entirely hereditary in their sympathies, which were, moreover, so aristocratic and exclusive, as to be reserved solely for families of pure Gaelic blood, never favouring nor caring for the descendants of the Norman invaders, and still less for the offspring of adventurers of more recent settlement.

Let us now, by strict process of analysis, decompose this pretended spiritual phenomenon, and resolve it into its elements. The result will be no spectre, no phantom, but a visible human form!

What is the etymon of the word "banshee"? or, rather, what have been its changing meanings? Its root, the Gaelic words *bean-sidhe*, pronounced *ban-shidhe*, or banshee, is literally a woman of the fairies; and in old Gaelic tales and poems the word ordinarily implied a woman of the fairy residences on hills. The notion that it means a spectral female, cognisant and annunciatory of the approaching death of human beings, is quite modern. The Irish word *bean* (pronounced *bann*) represents a woman; and the term *sidh*, pronounced *shee*, is applied, in old writings, to every supposed seat of fairies. How close the analogy is between this Gaelic word *sidh*, the Latin *sedes* and *situs*, and the English words 'seat,' 'site,' and 'residence,' will strike our etymologic readers.[1] The word 'fairy' seems to be compounded of the Gaelic, *fear* (Latin, *vir*), 'man,' and *sidhe*, 'of the seats.' This gives *fear-shee*, and in the feminine *ban-shee*. Our great lexicographer, Johnson, is confessedly at fault in his attempt to find the correct derivation of the word 'fairy.' Some dictionary-makers derive it from an Anglo-Saxon term, signifying faring folk, or wandering people. But this is an instance of their neglect of Gaelic, a language which is the root of many words in common use. The term, far from denoting a vagrant caste, seems, according to the authorities we are about to cite, to designate a people who peculiarly dwelt in fixed habitations. The authority we rely most upon is the learned Colgan, who thus explains the term:—"*Viri Sidhe*. Est Hibernismus. Spiritus enim hominibus in facie humana apparentes vocantur Hibernice *Firsidhe*, seu *Fir-shithe*, *i.e.* viri de montibus vel collibus, personæ namque quas infestant, et hinc rudis populus persuasum habent amæniores colles domicilia eis esse, quia è talibus simulant se prodire" ("Acta Sanctorum," tom. i., p. 56, col. 2, n. 6). And further on our author gives this additional annotation:—"*Viri Sidhe* ab Hibernis spiritus phantastici vocantur, ex eo quod ex amœnis collibus, quasi prodire conspiciantur ad homines infestandos: et hinc vulgus credat eos quasi in quibusdam subterraneis

[1] See note 1, p. 127.

habitaculis intra istos colles habitare, hæc autem habitacula, et aliquando ipsi colles ab Hibernis *Sidhe*, vel *Siodha*, vocantur" ("Acta Sanctorum," tom. ii., p. 32, col. 1, n. 49). In the foregoing passage he first states that the term 'viri sidhe' is an Hibernicism, and his two explanatory paragraphs may be thus rendered:—

"The beings in question are spirits, which appear to men in human form; and are called 'the men of the hills,' because they are seen in such places; and hence the common people have the persuasion that pleasant hills are their abodes, because they seem to appear from such." Further, "these fantastic spirits derive their name from pleasant hills, because they appear on them, looking out for human beings, whose presence is odious to them; and hence the common people believe that they live in certain underground habitations within these hills, the which habitations, and sometimes the hills themselves, are called *sidhe* or *siodha*."

This is, we conceive, a satisfactory explanation of the basis, or beginning, of the notions about fairies. Either adopting, or at least acquainted with it, the author of "Ogygia," Part III., chap. 21, explains that *sidh* means a hill remarkable for its beauty, the feigned habitation of *sidhe* or fairies.

The word *sidh* enters, agreeably with the sense so assigned to it, into the names of many places in Ireland. Thus the earliest name of Mount Leinster, as mentioned in the Life of St. Maidoc, is *Sliabh-Suidhe-Laighean*, i.e. mons sessio Lageniensium, "the mountain-seat of the people of Leinster."[1] The original name of "Shee Hill," near Baltimore, in the county of Cork, is *Sidh-na-bhfear-bhfinn*, i.e. "the fairy-mount of the fair men."[2] This instance shows that the modern word *shee* is the aspirated form of the elder term *sidh*, and originally meant a residence in a hill. There is also Rathshee, anciently spelt *Rath-sidhe*, in translation, "the fort of the Shee," a site in the county of Down, selected, after the advent of Christianity, as suitable for a church, probably in order to expel the fairy superstition attached to the place.[3] Many other eminences throughout Ireland have the same term entering into their names, with the same signification; and the last proof we need give of our etymologic position is the following verse, in translation, from an ancient poem[4]:—

> "Behold the sidh before your eyes;
> It is manifest that it is a king's mansion,
> Which was built by the strong Daghda;
> It was a wonder, a court, an admirable hill."

Probably the earliest natural habitations of the first-comers to this

[1] Kelly's "Lynch's Cambrensis Eversus," ii., 790.
[2] "Annals of the Four Masters."
[3] See Dr. Reeves' "Antiquities of Down and Connor."
[4] O'Curry's "Historical Lectures," p. 505.

island were caves, and the earliest artificial ones were pits, or slight excavations, made in dry ground, and covered with boughs of trees and sods of earth. Of these primitive dwellings many traces are discernible in the Highlands of Scotland, where they are known as "Picts' houses," and some as "Picts' kilns," which may mean cells, and they are, as stated by Wilson in his "Prehistoric Scotland," popularly believed to be ancient breweries, in which the mysterious beverage, called heather-ale, was concocted. The more general name of these souterrains, when constructed of stone, is "earth houses," or, in the country tongue, "weems" or *uamha*, i.e. caves; and they are said to have served to hide "the auld Pechts that held the country lang syne," with their corn, butter, and other goods in time of war.[1] Throughout the sister island there are many artificial subterraneous chambers, some of which are situated in sandy mounts, and are understood to have been the dwelling-places of inhabitants of a very remote age. The *dun* of Cloghpook (Puck's stone dungeon), in the Queen's County, was a cave about 36 feet long, said to communicate with small inner galleries. The series of underground chambers at Doon, in the King's County, is situated about three feet below the floor of a rath or *dun*, whence its name. This ancient fort stands on the summit of a hill. Until lately the rath was a thicket of thorn-trees, and the entire eminence is now overgrown with wild pine and ash. If this place was a resort of fairies, these good people manifestly preferred a cave like that at Blarney, "where no daylight enters, but bats and badgers are for ever bred," to the gorgeous palaces which fancy amuses herself by imagining as their abodes.

The common tradition that fairies haunted every locality called a "palace," is evidence that they were believed to have dwelt in these places. Yet every one of these habitations was, in its very origin, a human dwelling-place, artificially constructed, as its Gaelic name, *pail-lis*, i.e. a palisadoed fort, implies. We may, therefore, argue that the "fairies" who lived in these seats were no other than Picts, who, as Cæsar tells us, constructed similar palaces, and who seem to have been the originals of beings known as pixies and pigmies. When we reflect upon what the condition of Ireland certainly was at the time when human beings first landed on its shore, we can form some idea of what these people, whom we take to have been the original fairy men and women, really were. The entire island was covered with wood, save wherever the vast sylvan scene was prevented from spreading by the violence of sea breezes, or by the nature of the soil. Whatever was not a forest, or an impenetrable thicket, was either impassable bog, or a mountain, or the summit of a hill. It was on the hills that the first comers would settle. The woods must have been full of wild animals—

[1] See note 2, p. 128.

the wolf, the boar, and the gigantic stag; so that the sylvan, or savage life, the mode subsequently used, as by the Picts in Britain, was too dangerous. It is most likely that sandy knolls, covered with fern and gorse, now known as "knocks of furze," were, on account of their dryness, used as squatting places by the earliest incomers. Thither, in later ages, the Irish, during civil war, when fear or fire drove them from their habitations, used to retire for refuge; and the subterraneous chambers, which are numerous throughout the island, are almost always found in these elevated and arid sites. The underground habitation, of which Colgan speaks, having an almost invisible entrance, was a place where the proprietor was safe, not only from frost and rain, but from all enemies, whether men or wolves. An Englishman considers his house as his castle, to be guarded against intruders: but his jealousy must have been far surpassed by the aboriginal Irishman, who dared not let the entrance to his domicile be seen, concealing himself more carefully than foxes and badgers hide themselves in the earth. Not only was this *fer-sidhe*, or man of the hill, continually fearful lest he should be killed by either a man or a beast, but like all savages, hating competitors for his scanty food, he was eager to slay any and every human intruder. If we give credence to the earliest of Latin writers who notice the Irish, it is plain that this people had the reputation of being cannibals; and if we may hazard a conjecture, let it be, for the sake of the gist of our argument, that their anthropophagism had its origin in their jealous dread of new-comers, whom, like the Andamans, they devoured as soon as possible. Living on river fish and wild fruits and animals, the *fer-sith* lurked for his prey, whether human or bestial, without any weapons save a sling and a stone. Such was the state of the solitary fairy—the Robinson Crusoe of Ireland—who shuddered when he saw a footprint on the strand. When he became a family-man, surrounded by a troop of young fairies, his exigencies and his fears increased. He made himself a dart, or an elfin arrow, and tipped it with flint, or with a sharp tooth, and his wife rendered it deadly with poison. Like the Tipperary-men of the present day, who declare that "Ireland is for the Irish," his watchword was, "Ireland for the fairies"! He detested a new-comer, and when he saw one he committed, with his new weapon, the first agrarian outrage.

In later times, when the importation of novel weapons, by fresh immigrants, brought the age of bronze, superseding stone; and, subsequently at the introduction of the Iron Age, the anger of those oldest inhabitants, the fairies, must have known no bounds; and acting as the first "Peep-o'-day Boys" or "Rockites," they took care to make men afraid of terrors by night, and of the arrow that flew by day. Then, also, no doubt, the banshee, or fairy-woman, female physician, or witch, performed parts and offices similar to those assigned to her in recent times. It is likely that she undertook to cure wounds made by "elf-

shots," whether envenomed or not, just as her modern representative cures a simple boil or blain, which she declares has been caused by "a dart," superstitiously ascribing such hurts to those old sources of evil, the fairies, whose malignity has been believed in very long after they themselves have ceased to be visible. By incantation, she also either drew down their vengeance on her enemies, or averted it from her friends. Even to this day an angry *cailleach*, or hag, is believed capable of invoking the *siabhra*, or malevolent sprite, that strikes men and cattle with his *gath guinteach*, or venemous dart. In the days we are considering, she who could bring in the foes to do mischief, was surely also capable of preventing their hostility, particularly if she was paid for obtaining the "good-will" of those whom we suppose to have been the original but ejected occupants of the land. What does this pretended power, on the part of a caste of persons, of either producing or averting mischief to man or beast, imply? We know that, by its means, the other and suffering race of people were long induced to believe in the malevolence of distant enemies, and also that their credulity, in this respect, brought gain to this caste. May not its origin have been the fact that the enemy and the witch spoke a common and peculiar dialect, and that she levied a species of blackrent by occasionally bringing what were called fairies down bodily upon new settlers?

John Bale, Bishop of Ossory, who relates his experiences in Kilkenny, in the reign of Queen Mary, speaks of the wood-kerne, who harassed his See lands as the Baron of Upper Ossory's "fairies."[1] Is it possible that a dim tradition still connected the name and idea of fairies with attacks upon colonists? Their identity with the aborigines may be conceived from the old histories which describe the tragic end of Muircheartach, the first Christian King of Tara. According to the story, this prince, in order to have no rival pretenders to his throne, slew the whole family of *Sighe*, who were "of the old tribe of Tara," excepting a beautiful daughter of the house, named *Sheen*, who put herself in his way, and became his mistress, for the purpose of taking vengeance upon him. This Nemesis of her race is distinctly called a *ban-sidhe*. The first effect of her fascination was to cause the king to put away his wife and children. At length when, at the entreaty of a missionary, he discarded this last scion of the old stock, she burnt his house, Cleitach, near Stackallan, on the river Boyne, over his head, and he perished in the flames.[2]

If the prevalent idea of the existence of fairies had its beginning, as it would seem, in some sort of human beings, there remains the question as to what the race of these aborigines was. Were they Pictish Kelts, or

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[1] See note 3, p. 128.
[2] O'Curry's "Lectures," p. 599. "Annals of the Four Masters," A.D. 526.

Finns, or Cimbri, or Attacots, or Druidic British, or none of these? The honour of being the originals of the fairies under discussion is assigned by all authorities to the Tuatha Dé Danann. A very ancient manuscript is quoted by the late learned Dr. O'Donovan, in a note to the "Annals of the Four Masters," to the effect that this people inhabited many places in Ireland as fairies, with corporeal forms, but endowed with immortality; and the erudite commentator draws the inference that the Dé Dananns lingered in this country for many centuries after the invasion of the Gaels, and that they lived in retired situations, where they practised abstruse arts, which induced the Gaels to regard them as magicians. Unfortunately for our theme, our sagest antiquaries have not yet decided who the Tuatha Dé Danann themselves were, so that the *stirps* of the fairies that sprang (if they did spring) from them is still to seek. Probably the Hon. Algernon Herbert went nearest the mark where, in his notes to Nennius, he considers the people in question to have been Druids driven from Britain by the Romans. Should this theory be correct, it harmonises with the impression which is now general among archæologians, viz. that the first settlers in Eire (the Western island) were of Pictish, *i.e.* British breed, of the highest antiquity, and lowest barbarity. The necromantic character of the Druids, who accompanied what would seem to have been among the first immigrants of Pictish race, is described in the Irish "Nennius," where we read of "six demon-like" Druids, so styled because they were skilful in diabolic arts. The sciences they cultivated are specified as necromancy, idolatry, druidism, the honouring of *Sredh* [or *Sreod*], *i.e.* sneezing, and of other omens; choice of weather, lucky times (which are such as the French style *bon-heurs* and *mal-heurs*), and augury, or watching the flight of birds.

So far as to the title of our Picts to have been the first fairies.

Agreeably with all legend, the Tuatha Dé Danann were devoted to druidism and the black art. Perhaps the explanation of their name, attempted by Mr. Herbert, is the nearest now attainable. This learned antiquary translates their name thus:—The people devoted to the gods and to bardic sciences. The gradual transformation of druidic families into bardic is capable of demonstration; and, by analogy, these latter were styled *Aos-dána*, that is, people of *dan*, or rhymers. We are also told that the Dé Dananns came from Northern Europe, where alliterative rhyme was peculiarly admired. Perhaps the best clue to the reason why supernatural powers were assigned to them is the mention, in a manuscript quoted by Zeuss, of the leech and the smith.[1] Our old word leech

[1] Among the Gaelic manuscripts preserved on the Continent, which are understood to excel, in point of age, the oldest writings in the same language elsewhere, are those consulted by the philologist Zeuss, when, in his "Grammatica Celtica," he proved the close affinity of the British and Irish dialects. Of these most ancient volumes is one from which the dialectician quotes some curious charms against various ills which human flesh is heir to. The words charms and incantations imply (as is well

is manifestly a corruption of the Celtic *liagh*, a physician. We shall presently consider our special theme, the banshee, in her valuable quality of female physician. When iron was extremely scarce, the smith was a much more important character, and was almost worshipped by savage people, who, like the Otaheiteans during their age of stone, venerated a knife, considered an iron sword magical, esteemed the axe a deity, and offered sacrifices to a saw.[1] The antiquaries of Switzerland, judging from the tools and implements deposited on the lake islands of that country, are of opinion that the men of bronze suddenly invaded and extirpated the men of flint, and that they were in their turn overcome by men armed with iron. The same process seems also to have taken place in Ireland. In our own opinion, it was not the Dé Dananns, but the Picts (by corruption pixies) that may have been the originals of the fairies. The Dé Danann smith referred to in Irish incantations may have been the first to introduce, not only the arts of the smithy, but swords and other instruments of Swedish steel. Mr. Smiles, in his "Industrial Biography," quotes fairy tales for traditions illustrative of belief in the magical properties of iron and steel; and Campbell, in his "Popular Tales of the West Highlands," observes that this fabulous faith may, though a mere fiction, be founded on fact, and that fact probably was the first use of iron. To this day, a piece of iron, nailed on the threshold of a door, is considered a potent protector against the powers of evil. "Who," Campbell asks, "were those powers who could not resist iron? Those fairies who shot arrows tipped with stone, or elf-darts, and were foes to the human race? Is not all this a dim, hazy recollection of war between invaders who had iron weapons, and a guerilla native race who had not; the race whose remains are found all over Europe, who struck down men and cattle, and were bogies, hobgoblins, brownies, dwarfs, and pixies?" Certes, as Campbell says, old mystic tales about smiths belong to mythology. The extraordinary value set, even in the eleventh century, on that rare article, a steel claymore, is apparent in the Norse sagas, in which we read of King Magnus Barefoot's good sword "Leg-biter." Of Andrew Ferrara, a comparatively modern swordmaker, we know that he practised his art in secrecy among the Highland hills, working in an underground chamber, in order to preserve the degree of heat of the metal, and to conceal his secret method of working.

Whoever the primitive settlers in old Erin actually were, there is ample proof that some of them, who retained hereditary memory of

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known) that the superstitious ceremony of enchanting, *i.e.* of singing propitiatory verses, was performed by the initiated. These heathen songs were, doubtless, chanted by the banshees, or fairy-women, when working their spells. Notably enough, Diancecht, the leech, and Goibnean (now Gowan, or Gow), the smith, and Credne Cerd, or the brazier, are mentioned in these incantations.

[1] Smiles' "Industrial Biography."

certain useful branches of knowledge, derived traditionally from their ancestors, selected to live on the hill side, in order to study and practise certain sciences which then were inseparable, namely, medicine, astrology, bardism, and prophecy. These departments of knowledge were peculiar to the bardic caste, which, remarkably enough, can be shown to have, for the most part, had their residences on hills down to the sixteenth century. Thus, it appears by Sir William Petty's maps that the Desmond bards had their habitations on the very mountains; and by the printed State papers that Lord Leonard Grey, Viceroy to Henry VIII., was reprimanded for plundering "the rhymers on the mountain side" —a circumstance which also carries the curious testimony that even Harry of England's Privy Councillors reprehended his representative in Dublin for breach of the reverence and immunity in war which the Irish rendered to the bardic caste.

. . . . By dwelling in these remote places, the bardic seers and leeches kept themselves distinct from the ordinary inhabitants of the country, and by assuming to be apart and to live a mystic life, they kept a great distance in every way between themselves and their simple neighbours, and thus sustained the superstition which, in the dark ages, identified them with fairies, and which, down to the seventeenth century, upheld the belief that they were in communication with them.

In their secluded abodes these professionalists affected, when applied to, to appeal to their invisible allies, and to consult the stars; they studied the properties of herbs, from which they carefully extracted the essence, and, by pretending to make the success of their medical, surgical, and prophetical practices dependent on incantations, spells, and conjuration, they kept the old veil of awe and mystery drawn tight around them. They were, in short, magicians and witches, and as such were often resorted to, to advise upon the hundred causes which agitated the minds and bodies of men and women.

Philologists are well aware that Jacob Grimm, the eminent investigator of Teutonic literature, has by means of inquiry into early popular tales and superstitions (which were vulgarly considered as mere old wives' fictions) thrown a flood of light on the early history of Europe. And the talented Dr. Dasent, in an introductory preface to his "Popular Tales from the Norse," observes that, in one aspect, the whole race of mythic Scandinavian giants stands out in strong historic light, since there can be little doubt that, in the tradition of their existence in old forests and amongst the rocks and hills, we have a memory of the gradual repulsion and extinction of some wild, fierce, and hostile race of men, who gradually retired into the natural fastnesses of the land, and speedily became mythic.

[After quoting a passage from Spenser's "Faerie Queene," suggested by the foregoing, Mr. Hore continues]:—

With regard to the origin of these supposed monsters, the learned

Grimm suggests that the real men, to whom gigantic forms and magic powers were afterwards attributed, were the aborigines of Scandinavia, namely the Finns, a people who, to the present day, cling to the practice of sorcery. There is considerable evidence, particularly in the publications of the Ossianic Society, for believing that it was a semi-Finnish, semi-Danish race which formed those bodies of mercenary soldiers known in the British islands as Fiana or Finians. Everyone conversant with the publications of that Society, and with Macpherson's "Ossian," is aware of the titanic and supernatural powers attributed to Finn M'Cual (the archetype of "Fingal") and his comrades. In the instance of this piece of mythology, rendered famous by one of the grandest literary impostures, the present writer may perhaps be pardoned for referring to the pages of the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*[1] for a Paper in which he has traced this myth, as in the present case of fairies and banshees, back to fact and truth as far as possible. If the Ossianic legends are compared with those of giants in Scandinavia, some of the circumstances will be seen to be similar; and the Scandinavian origin of cognate superstitions in North Britain is implied in Laing's observation, in his "Kings of Norway," page 91, that it is but within these fifty years that trolls, or sea-trows (German giants), and Finnen, and dwarfs, disappeared from the northern parts of Scotland. The idea handed down in Ireland is of a few brave, herculean warriors, of nomad race, living on the hills, hunting wild deer and swine, wandering hither and thither, and fighting until one breed of them was exterminated. On the other hand, the Scandinavians spoke of monstrous man-eating ogres, who fled from the race of men as from intruders, abhorred, like ghosts, the light of day, and looked upon agriculture as an innovation destructive to hunting, and destined to drive them from off the face of the earth. Certainly this dread, which the savage, or sylvan man, has of the cultivator, has been felt over all the globe, from old Zealand in Denmark, to New Zealand of the Maoris.

Let us now weave the earliest traces or records we have of the banshee or woman of the fairies together, in order to prove her identity in profession with existing herbalists called "fairy women." A tradition is recorded in the first page of the chief annalists of Ireland, "the Four Masters," that a *ban-liagh*, or female physician, was among the earliest settlers in that country; and other professionalists of the same class are mentioned in old manuscripts. In an ancient elegy,[2] a *ban-rioghan na bruighne*, or fairy queen, is represented as lamenting the fact that her caste, the ban-shees, have been deprived of all their residences excepting Slievenaman, Knockfeerin, Knockgreany, and Knockany. This last place is named from Aine, who is traditionally remembered as a banshee; and it is on legendary record that her father, who lived in the second century, was of Dé Danann caste, and was slain by Oilioll Olum, a chief-

[1] *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vi. 294. [2] *Kilkenny Journal of Archæology*, vol. i.

tain infamous in history for having persecuted the druids. Our readers will have remarked that the word "Knock" (*cnoc*), a mount or hill, usually enters, very characteristically, into the names of localities which are said to have been the abodes of fairies. Many a hill might be mentioned as claiming the same distinction, as the place first named above, Slievenaman, or correctly, *Sliabh-na-mban-fionn*, *i.e.* the mountain of the fair women, a very Parnassus, being the place where, according to tradition, bards and learned ladies dwelt. The full name of Ballingarry, a well-known locality near this mountain, is *Baile-an-gharrdha-chnuic-sithe-Una*,[1] or the hill-house, and garden, the seat of Una, who is now considered as having been a wonderful "fairy-woman," and who doubtless had a medicinal herb garden here. There were similar gardens, it seems, in other places; but for the most part "the wise" or "cunning" women (as they were styled), unsupplied by commerce with mineral drugs, sought and found in the wide and varied field spread by nature before them, the simple remedies which they applied to the sick and wounded. Their Materia Medica was restricted to roots and leaves, and, by the hereditary experience of ages, they possessed considerable knowledge of their native properties. Their pharmacopœia was full enough, ranging from balm and balsam to ptisans and elixirs; with, for complaints of the passions, philters, charms, poisons, and amulets. The people, conscious of certain qualities in these medicaments for body and mind, were apt to retain a credulous faith as to the supernatural source of those powers, and this credulity was encouraged and continued by the craft of the "fairy-women." Doubtless, the manufacture and sale of the above-mentioned articles was very profitable. In a learned Paper on the census of Ireland, for 1841, Dr. Sir William Wilde comments on, and explains, several of the numerous superstitious notions which are in vogue, under the appellation of "cures" for disorders still supposed to arise from the malignity of fairies; and Sir William concludes by observing that an inquiry into the sources of Irish "cures" and "charms" would throw much light upon many topics of antiquity, and elicit such legendary information as would assist both the historian and topographer.

This learned member of the medical profession has also, in his "Catalogue of the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy," mentioned the popular superstitions connected with "poisoned fairy darts." Among the herbs which "banshees" made use of to effect their cures, a few may be mentioned which are still employed by living herb doctoresses, who retain the (translated) name of fairy-women.

[Mr. Hore names several of these, and after various remarks upon them and upon other cognate matters, he goes on as follows:—]

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[1] "Annals of the Four Masters," A.D. 1599.

In a poem composed six hundred years ago by an Ulster bard,[1] the author, lamenting the loss of his chieftain in battle, imagines that he may possibly have escaped from the slaughter, be living, and concealed in a *sith*, or fairy mount, for, as the bard observes:—

> "Often hath a youthful maiden put
> Her spells upon a man in days of yore;
> So that oft hath a woman borne to her fairy fort
> A man, when found alone.
> On the day of Clontarf's hot battle,
> A *bean-sidhe* bore away alive
> Duntaing [Dunlaing] of Dunnafearta,
> By the blue eye of her fascination."

Further, the bard alludes to other instances of fairy abduction, all of which may be explained by the inferences that nothing could be more natural than for daughters of the healing art to carry wounded warriors from the battlefield home to be healed, and that, in case of failing to effect a cure, the man was buried without ceremony; and then, as neither his body was found on the field, nor himself heard of ever after, he was truly said to have been carried off by a banshee.[2]

John Good, the Limerick schoolmaster, writing on "The Ancient Manners of the Irish," exactly three centuries ago, gives a detailed account of the medical practice of the wise women or witches of the time. These crafty practitioners openly called on their pretended, but invisible, assistants, the fairies, for aid; particularly whenever the patient was suffering from the distemper called *esane*, which they declared was inflicted by elves. This malady may have been what is now commonly called a "fairy dart," an attack of boils and blains, which break out suddenly without any apparent cause. The Irish people, says the schoolmaster, fancy that these women possess spells or charms which are effectual against all diseases; and, if we may credit him, the skill of these old crones was so great that they often cured cases which had been given up by their betters. It must also be remarked that the "wise woman" was the midwife, who is still, in France, styled *sage femme*.

In some of the Ossianic tales, there are allusions to wise women, who are usually designated "nurses," and *calliagha*, or hags, to whom supernatural power is ascribed.

It was precisely the nurse that was the banshee, at least in our opinion. This functionary did not resemble the nurse of Shakespeare's plays, or the modern attendant on children, but was the caretaker of sick and wounded in a chieftain's house. Dr. Hanmer, the chronicler, has preserved a curious account of the ways in which the carcasses of a

[1] "Celtic Soc. Miscellany," p. 411.

[2] See note 4, p. 128.

sheep and a cow were disposed of whenever these animals were killed in an Irish castle in the sixteenth century. Each piece was allotted to a superior member of the family, or to a certain servitor. The "nurse" had one of the best cuts of beef, and the "astronomer" had another. This latter person, for whom astrologer is the correct term, was certainly no other than a leech, who cast nativities, and consulted the stars on any emergency. As to the female domestic, she probably combined the functions of what in England at that time was called "still- (distillery) room maid," nurse, and "keener" (*caoina*), *i.e.* professional mourner at funerals.[1] . . . . The best-authenticated account of a banshee is by Lady Fanshawe, in her memoirs, who mentions an apparition of this sort occurring at Inchiquin Castle before the death of one of the O'Brien family.

The whole fable we have now considered, of the appearance and lamentations of "the banshee" before the death of a member of the family she is attached to, is capable of the following conjectural explanation. Every great Irish house retained a nurse, who had knowledge of herbs, who prepared decoctions and administered them, and who attended to and watched the sick and dying. Accustomed to be up at night, she perhaps went out occasionally to gather herbs in the moonlight; and accustomed to mourn and cry, a "keener," she would, when the patient under her care was past hope, naturally begin to lament in her fashion. The inhabitants of the house or castle in which the sufferer lay, would recognise in her cries a sure sign that the sufferer was dying; and thus it came to pass that the banshee's or fairy-woman's shriek was truly deemed a forerunner of death.

The phenomenon Lady Fanshawe mentions occurred about two hundred years ago. There has been no other equally plausible case since, so we may hope not to see another. On the other hand, we ourselves know one, at least, of the few "fairy-women" still living and exercising their medical craft. To meet one of these country practitioners is, therefore, to see no spectral banshee, but a notable body, the modern representative of the antique druidess and mediæval witch, exerting a useful function in practising her healing art on man and beast, and, as such, well entitled to evoke our curiosity.

NOTES BY DAVID MACRITCHIE, F.S.A. (SCOT.), FELLOW.

1. Whether the Gaelic *suidhe*, "a seat," comes from the same root as *sid*, or is totally different in origin, can best be decided by Gaelic scholars. In support of Mr. Hore's view, however, may be cited "Fingal's Seat," the name given to a hillock in Glenlyon, Perthshire, and "Arthur's Seat," the name of a hill near Edinburgh.

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[1] See note 5, p. 128.

2. Among the miscellaneous notes on which his essay is based, Mr. Hore has the following memorandum:—"No phantom: 'the auld Pechts that held the country lang syne.'"

3. With the Baron of Upper Ossory's "fairies" may be compared a clan of "red fairies" living in Wales (Merionethshire) at precisely the same period. They are described as living "in dens in the ground," as having "long, strong arms" (a characteristic of the Picts, according to tradition), and as plundering the neighbouring houses during the night-time, effecting an entrance by the chimney. "They possessed great powers over the arrow and the stone, and never missed their mark. They had a chief of their own appointment, and kept together in the most tenacious manner, having but little intercourse with the surrounding neighbourhood, except in the way of plundering, when they were deemed very unwelcome visitors. They would not hesitate to drive away sheep and cattle, in great numbers, to their dens. They would not scruple to tax (*trethu*) their neighbours in the face of day, and treat all and everything as they saw fit." In order to put an end to these "fairy raids," a commission for their extermination was granted, in 1554, to the Vice-Chamberlain of North Wales and another gentleman, who, raising a large body of men, succeeded in capturing a hundred of the "fairies," whom they "hanged on the spot, as their commission authorised, without any previous trial."—(See the *Scots Magazine*, 1823, pp. 424–426; Gomme's "Ethnology in Folklore"; Sikes' "British Goblins," &c.)

4. A more probable reason for such abductions is the sexual influence, which pervades numerous stories of this kind on the Continent, as well as in the British Isles.

5. Compare the following definition in M'Alpine's "Gaelic Dictionary":—*Caointeach*, a female fairy or water-kelpie, whose particular province it was to forewarn her favourite clans of the approach of death in the family, by weeping and wailing opposite the kitchen door."

One of the notes which Mr. Hore has neglected to work into his article is the following:—"In an ancient genealogy we read of a wife, who obtained *a sidhaibh mic Scail Bhailbh, no ri Cruithentuaithi*, that is, from the fairy hills of the son of Scal the Stammerer, [or] King of Pictland."—("Miscellany of Celtic Society," p. 26.)

Let this be compared with the similar passages in "Silva Gadelica," cited by me in this Society's *Journal* (December, 1893, p. 378). These show that a woman who is described by one chronicler as *Nar thuathchaech, ingen Lotain do Chruithentuaith*, that is, "Nar *thuathchaech* [an appellation which Dr. Hayes O'Grady does not attempt to translate], daughter of Lotan of Pictland," is described by another chronicler as *Nar thuathchaech, a sidaib no do Chruithentuaith*, that is, "out of the *sidhe*, or of Pictland." And this Nar is, moreover, stated in the *Leabhar na h-Uidhre*, to have been "of the Tuatha Dea." One writer simply regards her as the daughter of Lotan of Pictland; another states that she was a native of Pictland, or, in other words, that she came "out of the *sidhe*"; while a third says she was one of the Tuatha Dea, an alternative name given to "the people of the *sidhe*." Added to this is the above reference of Mr. Hore's, which states that a certain Irish chief (Tuathal *techtmar*) obtained a wife "from the *sidhe*" of a prince of Pictland.

Now, all these statements support one another in the most consistent manner, and, at the same time, tend unmistakably to confirm the correctness of the main argument (to waive any possible errors of detail) advanced by Mr. Hore and by myself. It would be out of place, on this occasion, to go particularly into the several objections

which Mr. Coffey has so ably urged (*Journal*, June, 1894, pp. 184-187) against the views now advocated. It is enough to note, and it is more to the point, that Mr. Coffey has omitted to refer to the passages repeated above, or to offer an explanation of their meaning other than that put upon them by me. For my own part I do not see how "Professor Rhys' view that the *sidh* is to be regarded as the entrance to the underworld—Hades," could possibly be made to agree with the above equations. On the contrary, they seem to me to offer abundant testimony in support of the interpretation which I give to the word *sidh*.

The uncertainty attaching to ancient traditions is well exemplified in the case of this "Scal Balbh," whose name, whether it be regarded as that of one historical individual, Scal the Speechless, or as applicable to many other "dumb champions," suggests material for a monograph on that theme alone.[1] But in every instance this progenitor of a "banshee" is regarded as a being of flesh and blood.

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[1] This is seen from two other references of Mr. Hore's ("Book of Rights," 226, and 24. P. 11. p. 169, MS. Royal Irish Academy); as also from "Silva Gadelica," vol. i., 293, 368, VI. (v.), X. (iv. *b*.), and XXIV. (ii.), and from "Leabhar na Feinne," p. 34.

THE OLD SESSION-BOOK OF TEMPLEPATRICK PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

By the REV. W. T. LATIMER, B.A.

For more than two hundred years a majority of the Protestant population of Ulster have been adherents of the Presbyterian Church. It is, therefore, but reasonable to expect that the Synodical, Presbyterial, and Parochial records of this church should contain much that is interesting to the historian, the antiquary, and the genealogist. The Synodical minutes go no farther back than 1691, but there are Presbyterial and congregational records that reach to very near the time when the first presbytery was constituted. Of these none is more interesting than the old Session Book of Templepatrick. Through the kindness of the Rev. Robert Campbell, and of his son, Dr. Campbell, I have been permitted to examine this valuable record of congregational history. Although yellow with age, written by different hands, abounding in abbreviations, and in some places blurred by exposure to damp, it is almost all so legible as to be easily deciphered. It begins in 1646, and extends, with some interruptions, till 1744. It contains a few separate accounts of income and expenditure, but almost the entire volume is taken up with minutes of the meetings of session. There was a separate "Book of Records" for baptisms, but it has been unfortunately lost.

Josias Welsh, a grandson of John Knox, became parish minister of Templepatrick in 1626. As he preached Presbyterian doctrines, and practised Presbyterian discipline, he suffered from the attempts of Charles I. to bring the Irish Church into strict conformity with the English. Mr. Welsh died in 1634. Through him several Ulster families claim descent from John Knox. Among these are the Rogers family of Derry and of Kingstown, the Booth family of Denamona, Omagh, and the Nelson family of Downpatrick.

After the death of Welsh, the services in the parish church were conducted by Conformists; but, in 1646, after the royal power had been overthrown in Ulster, a Presbyterian was once more appointed to the charge. This minister was the Rev. Anthony Kennedy, and the "Session Book" begins with a record of his induction:—

> The admission of Mr. Anthony Kennedy to the Pariah of Templepatrick (by the providence of the Great God) was the penult day of October, 1646. Mr. Ferguson being that day moderator, and with him ministers, Mr. Adair, Mr. D. Buttle, and Mr. Cunningham, with expectants, Mr. James Cer, Mr. John Greig, and Mr. Jeremiah O'quyn.

By Mr. Kennedy's exertions, the parish church, then in ruins, was rebuilt. After the restoration he was of course expelled from the building he had erected, and it was nearly ten years before the congregation ventured to build a meeting-house for themselves. From some of the entries it seems that Mr. Kennedy was possessed of considerable private means. Possibly he may have been a relation of the Rev. Thomas Kennedy, who, the same year, was ordained minister of Carland, and who was a near relative of the sixth Earl of Cassilis.

The second entry relates to the formation of a Session:—

> The names of the elders of the Session of Templepatrick being publickly admitted and sworn, with prayer and fasting, the 22nd day of November, being the Lord's Day, 1646:—
>
> ELDERS.
>
Major Edmund Ellis.	John Inglis.
Lieutenant James Lindsay.	William Wallace.
Mr. William Shaw.	Alex. Caruth.
Adam M'Nielie.	Gilbert M'Nielie.
John Peticrew.	Thomas Loggan.
Thomas Windrum.	Thomas Taggart.
Hugh Kennedy.	Alex. Pringle.
>
> DEACONS.
>
Hugh Sloan.	Gawin Herbison.
William M'Cord.	Gilbert Bellihill.

At this time many of the aristocracy were Presbyterians, and the congregation of Templepatrick seems for a lengthened period to have numbered the leading local landlords among its members. Captain Henry Upton, who had come to Ireland with Essex, bought land at Templepatrick, married a daughter of Sir Hugh Clotworthy, and founded a family long celebrated for attachment to the Presbyterian Church, and whose head is now Lord Templetown. During the reign of Charles II., Mr. Arthur Upton was chosen to represent county Antrim in the Irish Parliament, and he retained his seat for about forty years. He was succeeded by his son, the gallant Colonel Clotworthy Upton, who, when King William attempted to storm Limerick, entered the breach at the head of a forlorn hope. In 1711, Colonel Upton "was set apart by prayer and solemn obligations" to the office of ruling elder. Afterwards he often represented the congregation at meetings of Synod, where he acted as a leader of the orthodox party in their conflicts with the Non-Subscribers. He was distinguished for his hospitality, and was accustomed to entertain the clergy of his church at Castle-Upton.

The Session of Templepatrick consisted of the minister as moderator, and the elders, with whom were associated the deacons, whose chief duty was to take charge of temporal matters. The congregation was divided into districts, of which one was assigned to each elder, and every elder was bound to look sharply after the moral conduct of all the people under his charge. At each meeting of Session, two elders were appointed as

"visitors" for the next Sabbath. Their special business was to "visit" the houses in the town during divine service, to find out who were absent from church, and, above all, to report the names of those whom they found drinking in the public-houses. Before the Session came all cases of discipline, and everything which directly, or even indirectly, affected the congregation. Besides this, many matters of general interest came up which it might be thought lay altogether outside the limits of their authority, even at a time when Presbyterianism was recognised as the State religion in Templepatrick. The following extract will show how the Session felt in relation to the natives:—

> Sep. 7. 1647.—It is delated that Lieutenant Wallace hath some Irishes under him who comes not to the church. The Session ordains William M'Cord to speak to the Lieutenant that either he will put them away from him or else cause them to keep the church.

The "Session Book" contains an entry of the amount of collections, and of the various purposes to which they were applied. On Sundays they varied from about two shillings to a pound. On the three days of Communions—Saturday, Sunday, and Monday—they often amounted to over seven pounds. A part of the money raised was required to purchase Communion elements, and part of it was devoted to various congregational and charitable purposes. We have a record of grants for "a poor scholar," "a poor man robbed of the rebels," "mending of a poor boy's head," "winding-sheets," and "mending the little bridge."

> May 19. 1657.—Communion Sabbath 36 Pottles [18 gallons] of wine and one bushel of flour was bought. The collections amounted to £7 : 13 : 0.
>
> April 17. 1648.—Session Book, 5 : 6*d.*; stand for hour glass, 1 : 6*d.*; to Adam M'Nielie for dressing stool of repentance, 2 : 6*d.*

I have mentioned that the "Session Book" of Templepatrick does not contain the ordinary baptismal records; but sometimes the dispensation of baptism is alluded to incidentally. There are, however, numerous records of the publication of "bands." On one occasion as many as seven couples were proclaimed together. The fee was eight and four pence, with a shilling to the clerk for "booking their names."

> April 17. 1648.—Captain John Hustown, in the parish of Balliclair, and Margaret Shaw in this parish, gave their names to be proclaimed. Hugh Sloan hath received of bands money 9 : 6*d.*

The Session of Templepatrick not only supervised the morals of the people, but in many respects exercised the functions of a modern court of Petty Sessions. They received informations not only regarding breaches of the laws of morality, but regarding the private quarrels of parties residing within their jurisdiction. It was enacted:—

> That all complaints come into the Session by way of bill, the complaintive is to put in one shilling with his bill, and if he proves not his point his shilling forfeits to the Session-box.

The punishments that were adjudicated differed according to the nature of the transgressions for which they were inflicted. Sometimes delinquents were fined; sometimes they were even put in the pillory. For immoral conduct the punishment was generally "To stand in the publique place of repentance before the pulpit, in face of the congregation." There the culprits had to take up their position, Sunday after Sunday, till the Session were "satisfied with the signs of their repentance." Besides it was enacted "that all persons standing in the public place of repentance, shall pay the church officer one groat." In this place of punishment there was a stool for the accommodation of offenders, which, from the position it occupied, was called the "stool of repentance." The crimes that most frequently came before the Session were fornication, adultery, and Sabbath-breaking. Besides these, there were numerous private quarrels, cases of drunkenness, and various miscellaneous misdemeanours. A man was once convicted for having "thrown water upon dogs, and given them names as in the form of baptism." There are numerous records of persons being "delated to the Session," and punished for beating their wives or children *on the Lord's day*. A woman was punished for bleaching her "cloathes," and another for boiling porridge on that day. From this we may infer that, if any of these crimes (the wife-beating included) had been committed on any other day, the delinquents would have escaped condemnation. Then there is mention made of a woman brought up for "charming," but the proof failed. On the 27th of July, 1646, there was a case of scolding, and a case of witchcraft before the Session. With regard to charges of every kind it is quite usual to find a statement to the effect that the accused, after being found guilty and punished according to custom, was "absolved of *scandal*," or "*absolved of y^t^ sin*." There seems, therefore, no doubt but Sessions then claimed to possess a power which would appear strange to modern Presbyterians. The following extracts from this interesting record will convey an idea of the crimes for which members were "delated" to the Session, and the punishments inflicted. One of the first censures recorded was to the effect:—

> That John Cowan shall stand opposite the pulpit, and confess his sin, in the face of the public of beating his wife on the Lord's day.
>
> Apryle 17. 1648.—Joyce Baylie and Oina O'donally were ordered to stand before the congregation in white sheets and make public confession of their sins.
>
> John Jackson delated to ye Session for breaking of ye Sabbath in drawing his sword to strike. Ann Stewart of Ballerobert is delated for pulling hemp upon ye Sabbath day.
>
> William Slowan and Andrew M^c^Clure were summoned and appeared before the Session for going to England in y^t^ unlawful expedition, they were ordered to make publique confession, they appeared again before the Session, where they were sharply rebuked and absolved from y^t^ sin. [This was for the political offence of serving with the Scotch troops, that, as a result of the Engagement, took the field in a vain attempt to liberate Charles I.]

1700.—Pat Stool appeareth confessing fornication with Joan Agnew, who is now his wife, before marriage and saith y^{t} he hath offended God and his people, he is appointed to appear and make public confession next Lord's day.

Xber 29.—Patrick Stoole appeareth and is appointed to appear the next Lord's day in order to absolution.

Jan. 5. Pat Stoole made public confession, and was absolved of scandal.

His wife was, however, somewhat dilatory in appearing. At last, on the 26th of February, she came before the Session, and confessed her sin, when she was condemned "to appear in publig the next Lord's day."

As time wore on, it seemed as if the power of the Session inspired less fear, and offenders grew more reluctant to submit to discipline. We meet the following in 1712:—

Samuel Telford confessed the sin of fornication with Elizabeth Dalrymple, but denies he is the father of the child, will not publicly acknowledge his sin as he once took an oath that he would never appear before any congregation to confess any sin. Session showed him the sinfullness of the oath. He continued obstinate and was dismissed with a severe rebuke.

But even then there were only a few offenders who dared to defy the Session, although some like Telford might try to evade its power. Public opinion demanded submission, and for many years afterwards the church courts exercised a strict supervision over the morals of the people, and the people submitted to the punishments inflicted.

While most of the entries refer to cases of discipline, there are some exceedingly interesting, from their relation to the general history of the country:—

[1652].—This blank was the time of our minister's trouble, being pursued by orders from Cromwell's army, which continued [so] that they were debarred of public preaching from the 1st of August, 1650, until May, 1652.

[1670].—No minutes were taken from Dec., 1660, until June, 1670, on account of the persecution of the prelates.

Both these entries are valuable, more especially the second, which seems to prove that after the restoration of Charles II., active measures were taken against the Irish Presbyterians sooner than is generally supposed.

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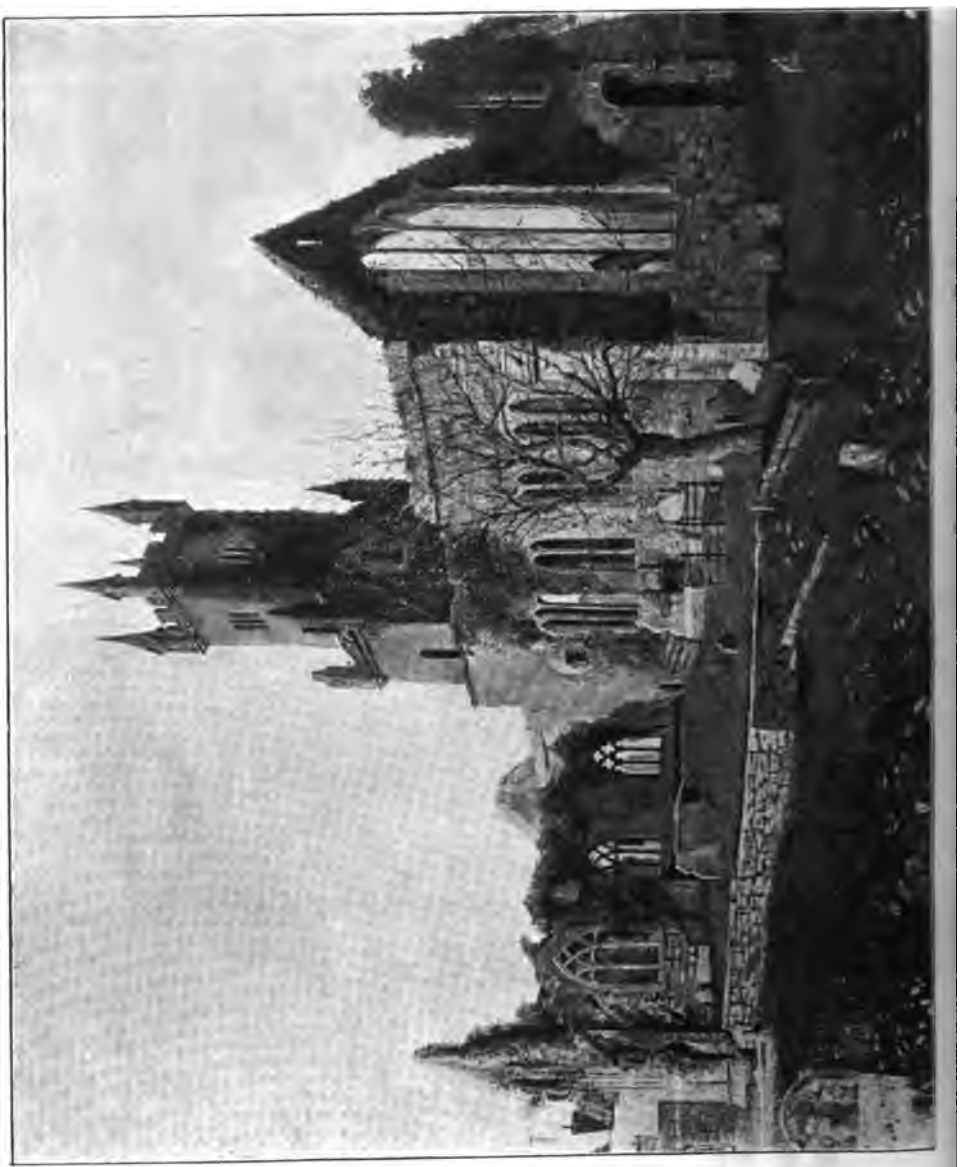
To face page 135.]



ENNIS ABBEY AND THE O'BRIEN TOMBS.

By THOMAS JOHNSON WESTROPP, M.A., M.R.I.A., Fellow.

Donchad Cairbrech O'Brien, King of Thomond, fearing the approach of death, after a reign commenced in civil war against a brother and stained by endless feuds, strove to ease his conscience by munificent gifts to the Church. He restored his father's abbey of Inislaunaght for the Cistercians; he built a house for the Dominicans at Limerick, and finally founded another convent for the followers of the "Angelic Father" of Assisi, "in the midst of his subjects," near his "princely circular palace, on the bank of the river Fergus, opposite Inis an laoigh, in a place of swamps and streams called Clonroad."[1] There, where the narrow streets of Ennis stand and the clear brown Fergus runs over pebbly shallows, overhung with trees, he commenced his monastery at the cost of three years taxes of his realm, which then claimed to include not only Co. Clare, "from Loop Head to Bealboru," but much of Tipperary, "from Birr to Knockaney, and south to Eoghanacht Cashel." "He exchanged this mortal life for the felicity of angels," on March 8th, 1242,[2] leaving his work in progress, and being buried in his Dominican convent, where the ivied north wall of the church, and heaps of carved finials and capitals and pillars, in the pretty convent gardens, mark where his monument and effigy were long extant, under the towers of the Plantagenet fortress of Limerick, and where the only legible inscription fitly reads, "omnia sunt vana."

After Sir Thomas de Clare and Prince Donchad O'Brien had perished more than 40 years later, Torlough, their successful opponent, in the beginning of his undisputed reign, proceeded to enlarge the work of his predecessor (1287, 1306). The Book of his wars states that Turlough dwelt in three houses: first, the palace of Clonroad, to which he had added a stone tower; secondly, "in the fish streamed and beautified fabric of the convent of Inis an laoigh, which he filled with monks, and supplied with sweet bells, crucifixes, and a good library, embroidery, veils, and cowls; that blessed habitation which he built for his own interment will last for ever after him in splendour"; his third home was in Heaven.

Despite the fierce wars with the English (1310, 1318) Maccon caech Macnamara found opportunity to rebuild the sacristy and refectory

[1] "The Wars of Torlough," written by John Mac Grath in King Dermot's reign (1343–60), though wrongly dated a century later in a copy, temp. George I., in T.C.D.

[2] Calendar of Dominican Priory, Limerick.

before 1314. A beautiful cloister, similar to that of Quin, and probably dating from about 1400, was added, and, as I hope to show by this Paper, a further restoration, resulting in a group of elaborate tombs and carvings, took place about 1470. The other facts of the convent history[1] bear little on its architecture; we need only note from the Patent Rolls, 1621, that the "possessions of the Friars Minor, called Grey Friars of Innish," consisted of "one church, belfry, graveyard, mill, salmon and eel weir, two messuages with stone walls, and two cottages in the village with lands at Clonroad."

The ruins long remained an eyesore and a disgrace, cast adrift to the bats and owls, overgrown with ivy and elder, breast-high with nettles and foul weeds, a source of danger to the surrounding houses. Now, thanks to the enlightened action of the Church Representative Body, the convent is vested as a "national monument." Works were commenced in the opening days of 1893, and ere a week had passed, the lost arches, sedilia, altars, and statues of the nave, and many curious fragments of the cloisters and canopied tombs were unearthed.[2] Now the graveyard is levelled, ivy reduced to moderation, weeds and bushes swept into deserved oblivion, and the hideous and decaying church dismantled, making a fine vista of arches to the graceful east window visible from the street. We hope to see the removal of the tasteless stone spikes from the haunches of the tower, and the ugly modern window from the belfry arch; also the rebuilding of at least half a dozen arches of the cloister arcade, the arrangement of the fragments with some intelligence, and the wall, once so necessary to conceal a ghastly waste, replaced by a railing to show the grassy graveyard with its beautiful ruins and fine sycamore.

As this Paper is devoted to the carvings and canopied tombs, I need deal with no more of the history or topography than is necessary to their elucidation, and for this purpose will condense, as far as possible, the descriptions of the convent no less than the accounts of those who described it while its monks clung to it, and before its traditions had hopelessly perished in the agonies of three great civil wars.

First in their ranks, Father Donat Mooney[3] described, in 1617, the

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[1] For a fuller history of the convent, see our *Journal*, 1889, p. 44. The engraver, however, has introduced gross inaccuracies into the drawings, and there is a mistake in the plan. The priory was re-established in 1628, and destroyed in 1651; re-established by 1663, and established a cell near Dysert. For a document relating to its monks in 1670, see our *Journal*, 1894, p. 82. The colony was driven out before 1693.

[2] Business took me from Ennis before a week was over, though nearly all the principal features had been disclosed. Mr. H. B. Harris (*Member*) very kindly wrote me full reports every subsequent fortnight. I must also thank Miss Diana Parkinson for her kind permission to engrave her very accurate painting of the ruins, as an illustration.

[3] MSS. Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, No. 3195, pp. 41, 43. Colonel W. Kelly Westropp (*Member*), with most thoughtful kindness, procured me a copy while in Belgium.

Franciscan convents as they stood in Elizabeth's reign. Unfortunately, his researches in Clare had little success, nor did he, like Wadding and Bruodin, allude to the monuments. Entering Clare, he first went to Quin, where he only found the choir and transept roofed; and the two or three friars, "old helpless men who scarcely retain a memory of the state of the convent before the suppression," could only tell him that at that crisis they sent their gold and silver plate to Macnamara of Knappogue, after whose death his widow retained it, but she denied its possession when questioned by Mooney.

He then proceeded to "Inis cluain rauada, founded by the ancestors of the Earl of Thomond by the prince Lord Tirl. O'Brien. It is a convent sufficiently beautiful, and all kept in repair by the good offices of the said Earl, who, temporising, called himself a heretic and received the monastery as a gift from the Queen. The English have made it a court of justice for the county, and used for that purpose the hospice and other apartments: yet they have not altered the forms of the cells but keep them in their former condition, whence it is that not one room has been altered, and that worldly nobleman is used to preserve the convent to better times.[1] The tombs of all his family are there. The monastery was very famous and full of friars, of whom at present one survives,[2] who is there permitted to dwell in his gown among the English, and to celebrate the mass privately in his bedroom." Then, after a long account of the removal of the body of Daniel Nellane, Bishop of Kildare, from the Abbey in 1606, and the repentance of King Conor na Srona[3] about 1470, Mooney continues: "The gold and silver vessels and furniture of this convent were converted to his own use by the present Lord, Donat O'Brien, perhaps with the intention that he or his heirs should thereafter restore them, when peace was given to the church."

Father Luke Wadding,[4] in 1634, tells us that in Insch cluainramada "are buried all the Mac Giollabhraids, Clanceys, Nellanes, and others. In the chapel of S. Michael rises the mausoleum of the said Earls (of Thomond), constructed of polished marble under a vaulted roof. In the choir (which a noble lady Morina, daughter of the prince of that race (O'Brien), and wife of MacMahon, built) are seen the tombs of the same family, and that of the Barons of Inisicuin. Terence, the husband of Morina, made another tomb for himself and his family in the convent of

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[1] Repeated by Wadding, 1634, Allemand, 1689, and Stephens, 1722, misleading many not on their guard against the uncritical and careless quotations so common in our "authorities." We know that extensive changes took place before 1615.

[2] Dermot Bruodin: see account of his life in "Propugnaculum." He is named, with five others (probably friars of Quin), in MSS. T.C.D., E. 3. 15:—"Franciscan simple friars, and verie old . . . the poore friars doe live only by begginge of corne and other almes, 1613." Bruodin died August 9th, 1617, in the convent.

[3] He really died in 1496, after a reign of thirty years. Wadding calls his confessor "Fergallis O'Trean," possibly "O'Brien."

[4] "Annales Minorum," vol. viii., pp. 46, 47.

the Minorites at Askeaton,[1] and a third in the church of the blessed Mary at Cluanderalaw."

Anthony Bruodin was a historian and antiquary by birth and descent: he was also a native of Clare, son of Miler Bruodin of Ballyhogan, near Corofin, and his wife Margaret Molony. He had good opportunities for learning the truth, for he studied in Quin Abbey under Eugene O'Cahan, a monk of Ennis, who was afterwards appointed guardian of the latter house. Bruodin left Ireland in 1643, and thus writes in 1669[2]: "In the chapel of the Franciscan convent at Inisch, the founder[3] had built a marble mausoleum which is called the tomb of the O'Briens, Lords of Inchiquin." He then mentions the "noble monument" of his own family near it, and continues: "In the same chancel the descendants of Bernard O'Brien,[4] along with the illustrious family of MacMahon, have a very beautiful tomb, built in the shape of an altar, and decorated with various marble statues and pillars. In the same church, lower down, the chiefs of the various families, especially Clancy, Nellane, Gilriagh, Hehir, and Considine, have sumptuous marble monuments almost beside the altar walls.[5] In the very ornate chapel of St. Francis[6] is the sepulchre of the Earls of Thomond."

Thomas Dyneley, in 1680, gives no description of the abbey; his sketch shows that the transept and the extreme east end of the chancel were roofed, and that a lofty flagstaff crowned the belfry.[7]

Lastly, Hugh Brigdale of Ennis, whose family had been connected with that borough from 1612, wrote thus, in 1695, in a letter now in Trinity College, Dublin. "In Ennis chancel is the ancient monument of grey marble whereon is engraved ye story of our Savior's passion, and belongs to the family of the Mac Mahons."[8]

Combining these accounts, we see that the nave (where his altar and statue remain) was dedicated to St. Francis, that the transept was very probably the chapel of St. Michael, being the only available space outside

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[1] Clearly identified in the old Latin Pedigree of the chiefs of Corcovaskin, p. 38:—"Illus. Terent. Mac Mahon de Clondirala et ob. An. 1472 et sepult. est in magno mausoleo ipsi const. quodq. etiam nunc extat in monasterio de Askelin in Momonia (*sic*)."

[2] "Propugnaculum," Book v., chap. xvii.

[3] Bruodin considers that King Torlough built the convent in 1284.

[4] Brian Catha an Eanaigh (1370–1399), as he afterwards explains.

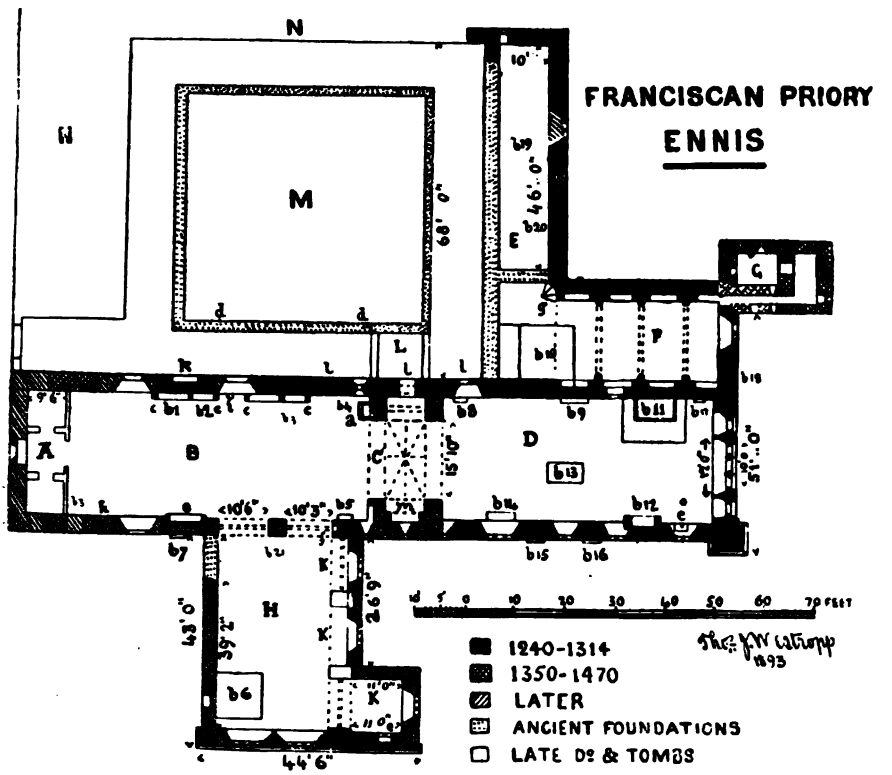
[5] I presume the nave wall near the altar of St. Francis.

[6] Wadding's "St. Michael" is better in accord with the remains. Bruodin had been absent for twenty-six years of thrilling history, and had been just writing of the "altar walls" of St. Francis.

[7] See our *Journal*, 1864, p. 187, and Mr. Frost's "History of Clare," p. 534. Its perspective is vague, but shows the south sides of transept and chancel, and east side of transept, with projecting chapel, clearly enough.

[8] "Commonplace Book relating to Ireland," MS. T.C.D. I. 1. 2, pp. 234–5. This, it will be noticed, is the only certain identification of the "Mac Mahon tomb" with the slabs and canopy described in this Paper. Brigdale says: "120 houses in Ennis, a score are slated, the rest thatched; 12 English families, the rest transplanted."

the chancel sufficiently honourable and spacious for the great canopied tomb of the earls. The chancel contained the MacMahon tomb used by

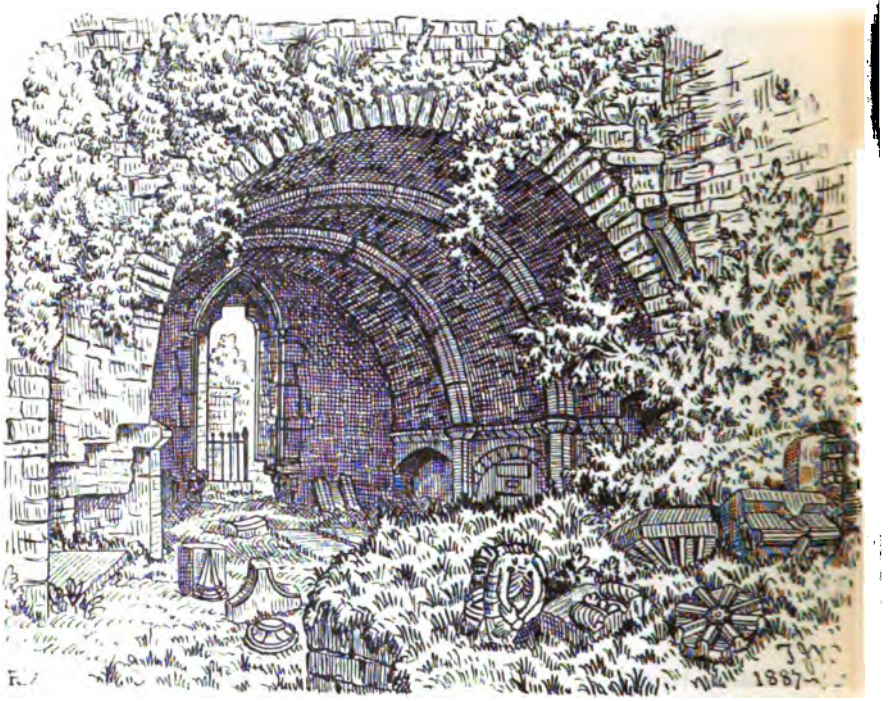


Plan of Ennis Priory.

A. Site of Modern Porch.
B. Nave, 74 ft. 8 in. × 25 ft. 3 in.
C. Belfry, 16 ft. × 25 ft. 3 in.
D. Chancel, 54 ft. 5 in. × 25 ft. 3 in.
E. Domicile, 46 ft. × 10 ft.
F. "Chapter House," or Sacristy.
G. Cell and Garderobe.
H. Transept, 40 ft. × 27 ft.
K. Three Chapels.
L. Site of Modern Vestry.
M. Cloister Garth, 68 ft. × 72 ft.
N. Buildings on site of Kitchen, Refectory, &c.
a. Altar of St. Francis.
Monuments marked thus—
b 1. O'Kerin, 1685.
b 2. Davenport, 1761.
b 3. Considine slabs, 1631 and 1686.
b 4. O'Hehir, 1622.
b 5. Crowe, 1772.
b 6. Gore, from 1694.
b 7. Burke 1772.
b 8. Banks, 1728–1773.
b 9. Mac Namara, 1686.
b 10. Mahon.
b 11. Creagh (on site of Royal Tomb), 1460–1843.
b 12. Inchiquin, 1306–1480.
b 13. Stacpoole, from 1744.
b 14. Woulfe, 1697–1742.
b 15. Roche, 1755.
b 16. Power, 1761.
b 17. Finucane, 1750.
b 18. Waller.
b 19. King.
b 20. Mac Grath.
b 21. Strafford 1765.
c. Sedilia.
d. Cloister Arcade (site).
e. Piscinæ.
f. "Ecce Homo."
g. Stair.
h. Stoup.
i. Bracket.
k. Recess in Cloister.
l. Clerestory Windows.
m. Screen.

the descendants of Brian Catha an Eanaigh: the modern tomb of the Creaghs having annexed both its carved panels and the ground it stood

on. Facing it, in the south wall, was the grave of King Torlough, 1306, and the barons of Inchiquin; its canopy and sides still remain. Of Bruodin's long list of less important tombs, two only are extant. In the nave wall, near the altar of St. Francis, are plain incised slabs to Lawrence O'Hehir, of Dromkarhin (1622?) and Dermot Considine, 1631, while a later slab, replacing one which perished "in the war of raging Cromwell," was put up by Eugene Considine in 1686, and remains in the south wall. Probably a few blocks of groining (not



"Chapter House," Ennis.

belonging to the shattered canopy of the "royal" or Mac Mahon tomb), and perhaps the Teige O'Brien slab,[1] alone remain from the monument of the earls of Thomond, which probably met the fate of their other monument in Limerick Cathedral, from the same hands, and was never restored.

The ruins consist of a church divided into chancel and nave by a lofty belfry, resting on two large arches, with a groined interspace.

[1] This is now placed in a break in the transept wall, and reads—"TEIG O'B(rien)| "(Da)NIEL O'(Brien) . . . | . . (T)EIG Mᶜ . . | . . H Mᶜ M . . . | . . . VELLYM . . | . . OGO." It probably refers to Teig of Ballingown (died 1578), and his father-in-law, Daniel O'Brien.

The chancel has in the south wall three windows with double lights, a fourth with three lights, and a fifth closed by the belfry, all plainly chamfered, and probably of the 1240 period. In the east corner is a double piscina, with trefoil heads and bold mouldings, divided by a central pier with moulded cap and base, the shaft being modern. The west basin is quatrefoil; the east has eight flutings. Near this is the Inchiquin tomb, and opposite it the Creagh tomb, both hereafter described. The east window is about 37 feet high, of five lights, the three central being included in one splay, 12 feet 6 inches wide, lights 31 inches each, and divided by shafts of unusual lightness only 9 inches wide. The splay has a moulded head, on one side of which, by some freak of the masons, a single leaf is boldly cut. The sides have round shafts with filleted caps and bases, and four blocking pieces. The splays of the side lights are 4 feet 6 inches and 4 feet 8 inches wide, lights 24 inches, and quite plain. Indeed, though the structure is very graceful, its mouldings are of the simplest type.[1] The north wall has only a pointed door leading into the sacristy, and near its western end a window partly built up. Similar opes appear in the same wall, one closed by the belfry and one in the nave, its upper part destroyed when the church walls were lowered. The sacristy, or, perhaps, rather the Chapter House, is a fine room, with a barrel vault, relieved by two large chamfered ribs springing from a cornice and low pillars; between the latter are arched recesses. The pier and sill of the large double east window were destroyed between 1780 and 1793,[2] probably in the works connected with the repair of the belfry, but the central block of the heads has been recovered.

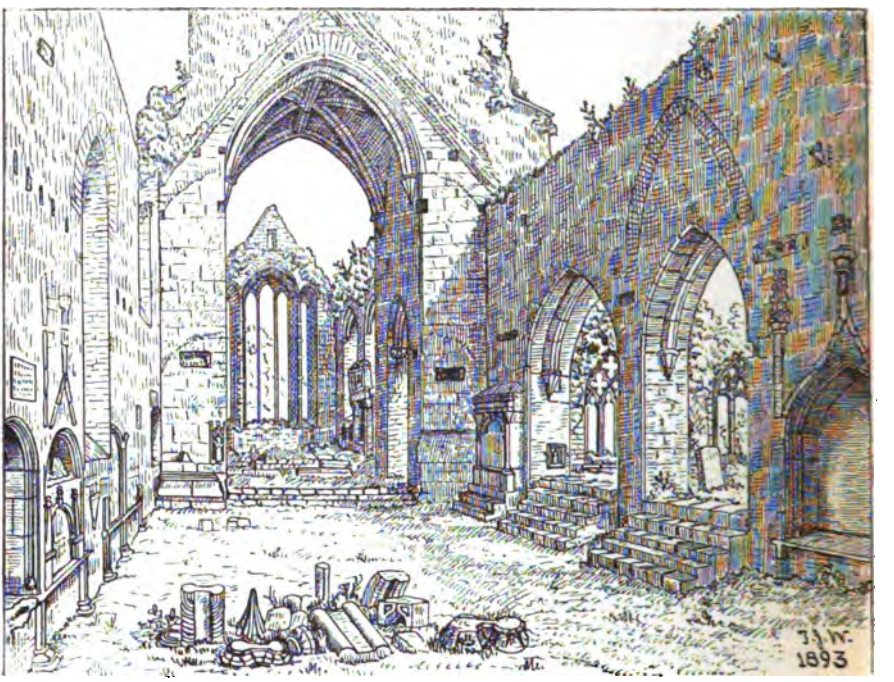
Stamer View of Ennis Abbey, *circ.* 1780.

An interesting question turns on the probability of Bruodin having used the words "vaulted refectory," by a slip of the pen, for "vaulted sacristy." Certainly it would clear up his account how "Richard Bengem (Bingham), Governor of Connaught . . . destined the convent for the use of the public courts in the vaulted refectory . . . below

[1] Much was done for its preservation by Dr. Cullinan about forty years ago. The late Mrs. Stamer had the ivy cut back from it at regular intervals.

[2] I base this and similar statements on the Stamer view of Ennis Abbey, 1780, and a copy done from it in 1817; compared with Grose's "Antiquities of Ireland," vol. ii., in 1793; and one of uncertain date, earlier than the last, by "Mr. H. B.," published 1841, *Irish Penny Magazine*, No. 15.

which the prisoners were kept, and above which was put up a Tribunal, in which the Judges and Jurors assembled." Now the prison-like rooms open into the vaulted sacristy by a low door, "above" which, at the east end, the wooden "tribunal" would naturally have been erected, no other trace of vaulting being apparent to the east or north of the cloister, or on the nave wall west of the garth. If so, the room may also be the historic chamber in which the great meeting of the ever-unfortunate landed gentry of Clare was held, in 1584, by Sir John Perrot, to ascertain and confirm their titles, and establish the

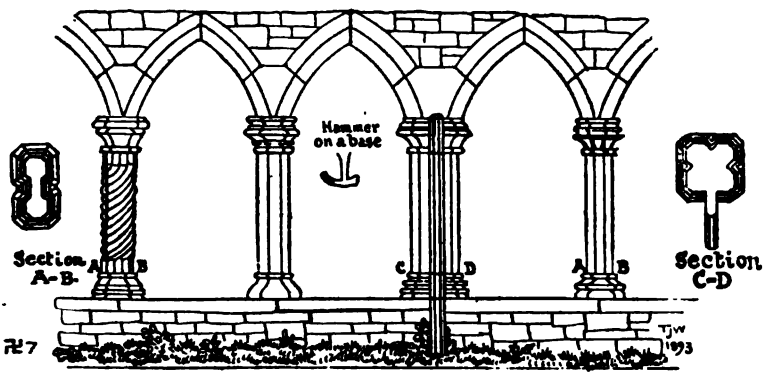


The Church, looking East.

claims of the Crown. Indeed, though the position is unusual for a Chapter House, it may have played that part, for which it is most suitable, in the economy of the monastery.

A small door in the north-east corner leads by a narrow passage to a garderobe and a gloomy cell or prison, 7 feet × 8 feet 6 inches, with a cupboard and small fireplace, and some small slits, one tunnelled for five feet through the wall. The rooms overhead are much defaced; over the sacristy is a late window, divided into six by an upright mullion and two cross shafts. There also grows a sycamore to the great danger of the vaulting through which water drips freely in all directions, despite

which fact it was left untouched in the late repairs. The west end has vanished, leaving part of the well of a barrel-stair. Northward from this runs for 50 feet the defaced ivied east wall of the domicile. A fine double light with ogee heads is still visible in the lower story, but closed by the King monument. The eastern rooms seem to have been 10 feet wide. The upper had a plain square window at its north end. There seems no trace of vaulting. The north and west buildings are replaced by modern houses. The belfry is reached by a narrow walk along the north wall of the chancel; the two lower stories above the vaulting are ancient; the upper part was rebuilt after 1793. The Stamer and "H. B." views of 1780 *circa* show that the upper part had plain stepped battlements and a large pointed window to the east. There is a spiral stair of thirty-four steps in the south-east corner, and two flights of seven and eight steps lead down to the chancel walls. A corbel of the lower floor displays a monk's head.



Cloister Arcade, restored.

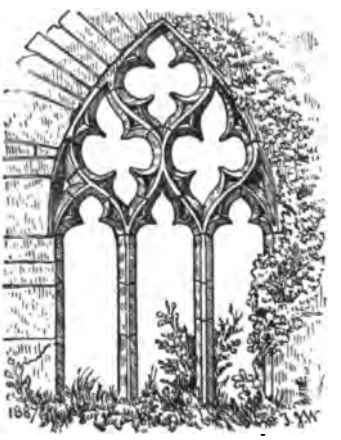
Under the belfry is a grey marble screen of flamboyant tracery which, with the carvings and statues, will be fully described later in this Paper.

The nave retains most of its old features, though horribly defaced by the brickwork of two late windows on each side, and the barbarous hacking away of the hoods of sedilia and other features as a preparation for the thick mass of plaister and whitewash so dear to church authorities fifty years ago. The south side has a slit window in the south-east corner; then two neat pointed arches leading into the transept, in the eastern pier of which is the little "Ecce Homo" hereafter described. The head of the western one is modern, as a window had been broken through it; then a nearly perfect sedile with crockets and finials, a holy water stoup, and a closed archway, probably the south porch.

The north wall has a low window near the belfry looking into the cloister, as at Quin. Above this is the defaced double window already

alluded to, and further west four sedilia, one much injured by the modern window, below whose sill was an angular corbel probably to support a light or statue. The sedilia are 6 feet, 4 feet, and 6 feet long, and 5 feet 4 inches high, the eastern one has an inverted monk's head on the jamb, while the western has some remains of a grey marble tomb before it. The west gable has a window, with two interlacing shafts and cusping pieces. It and the gable have been rebuilt, or much tampered with, and a neat modern door inserted. In the outer face of the north wall is an arched recess. The cloister walk was 9 feet wide; several arches remain among the fragments now in the nave; they have plain chamfered ribs, and are formed of two stones each; the bases and caps filletted in a great variety of moulding; the piers octagonal, round or spirally fluted in couplets or groups of four, in the latter case with a sloping buttress on the outer side, one base has a clawed hammer cut on it.

The transept is very picturesque, with its stepped south gable and sharp-pointed windows, with roll mouldings on the splay, and like the nave window and those of the two southern chapels, have two interlacing shafts with cusped pieces over the main lights. The west wall has an arched recess outside, and the remains of a mural monument with two blank shields, helmet, and mantling inside. The outer south wall has a heavy plinth of three courses, similar to the base of the altar of St. Francis. The lowest is square, then a heavy ogee moulding, then one of trefoil section. A string course also appears on the large buttress at the south-east corner of the chancel. The east side had three chapels, their partitions coming out as far as the arch into the nave, but now destroyed; the northern had a plaster or wooden vaulted roof, its arch springing from a corbel in the church wall. The south chapel had a stone arch, of which the south spring remains. The window of the north chapel consists of two shafts running into three quatrefoils boldly designed, and suggestive of one I saw in 1888 in Canterbury Cathedral; south of it a break in the wall, and change in the masonry suggests a later period for that part of the transept beyond the decorated window.



Window of N. Chapel in Transept.

The window of the middle chapel had fallen before 1780, but most of the fragments have been recovered, and repaired with new shafts in 1893. The head alone is ancient in the south chapel; it was upheld by

knotted ivy; the lower part was removed before 1780. In the south wall of this chapel is a double piscina with square basins, pointed arches, and angular hoods; the central pier is modern. In the body of the north wall a break discloses the curious feature of a pier of smooth stone. This chapel and a trench of equal width inside the south wall were cleared out in the repairs, but have been needlessly filled in. The body of the transept is heaped with tombs.

The most important of the monuments, and one of the most interesting in Ireland, is the "ROYAL" or MAC MAHON TOMB, built against the north wall of the chancel near the east gable. Some still living remember it a mere heap of carved stones. Its principal sculptures have been rebuilt into its successor by the Creaghs of Dangan, about 1843.[1] The plinth is 9 feet 6 inches long, and projects 3 feet, each slab being 31 inches long and 24 inches high, and occupying the entire space between each pair of buttresses in the modern tomb as they did in its predecessor. They show some affinity to German[2] designs of the period, and form probably the finest and most spirited series of late fifteenth-century carvings of the Passion in our Irish monasteries, and as such they call for minute description.

The west slab has two panels, 6½ inches and 24½ inches long (see 4, p. 147). *A bishop*, blessing with his right hand, and holding a crosier in his left. *The arrest of our Lord* in Gethsemane. The hideous figure of Judas embraces our Saviour, whose robe is clutched by a soldier in full armour and drawing his sword. Christ blesses the prostrate Malchus, who grovels along the foot of the panel over his lantern and halbert, holding his left ear.[3] Peter stands to the left, sheathing his sword, behind are three soldiers (two with battle-axes), and a man holding a lantern. All the soldiers in these panels wear neck-pieces, breast-plates, brassarts, greaves, and conical helmets, without vizors.

The south face has three panels. (1) *The flagellation.* Our Lord, clad only in a waist cloth, has his hands round a moulded pillar to which they are tied. He stands in front of a platform on which are a soldier to the left, and a mitred priest to the right, and below two more soldiers, one a dwarf, with an accurately-formed "horribile flagellum," weighted with

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[1] So I am informed by Dr. H. King and Dr. Stamer, who remember the cutting of the stonework and inscriptions of the present canopy. The origin and descent of the Creaghs from 1350, is traced in a letter of Archbishop Creagh from the Tower of London, 1583—MS. T.C.D., E. 3. 16, p. 182. The O'Neills settled at Baile Thomas in Kildare, and thence removed to land of the Earls of Kildare, near Adare, at Clogh-an-creich, whence they took the name Creagh. David, first of the Creaghs of Adare. 2. David. 3. Nicholas. 4. John. 5. David (Mayor, 1488–91). 6. Thomas, grandfather of the writer. They first appear in Limerick, 1351, Robert being Provost that year. Piers Creagh was "transplanted" to Dangan in 1653.

[2] In the previous century an Ennis monk got license to travel in Germany—perhaps a similar incident occurred about 1460.

[3] The crushing of the lantern, and holding the wrong ear, are often seen in German works of the later fifteenth century.

angular plummets, the other scourges being of knotted cords, the handles ending in knobs. (2) *The crucifixion.* This, like the last panel, is grievously injured; having miraculously escaped "Cromvelli marte furentis," it suffered by modern barbarism. The cross is supported by two kneeling angels, while two others (perhaps of the sun and moon) float, one near each arm. To the left, John and the Marys support the Virgin. Two soldiers stand behind them, one, Longinus, thrusting the lance into our Saviour's side. To the right are three soldiers, the centurion pointing to a long label with a defaced inscription in black letter.[1] (3) *The entombment.* Joseph, in a cylindrical hat and studded girdle, at the head, and Nicodemus, in a mitre and with a bag at his belt, at the feet, lower the swathed body of Christ into a neatly-moulded tomb, panelled with two little ogee-headed niches, with richly-carved flowers and finials. Four figures (the Virgin distinguished by her nimbus and lily) stand behind the tomb, the first and third are praying, the second (perhaps St. John) sadly uncovers the dead face, while a small kneelin gfigure (perhaps Mary Magdalene) in front of the tomb grasps our Saviour's right hand; near her lies a jar of perfume. This group is well preserved. The back figures wear cloaks, clasped with brooches at the neck.[2] The east side has one slab in two panels. (6) *The Resurrection.* The majestic figure of Christ rises apparently through the top slab of the tomb, the shroud falling off his shoulders. He is bearded, has no nimbus, raises his right hand in blessing, and holds in his left a cross with a two-pointed banner marked with a suastica[3] in relief—a strange meeting of pagan and Christian symbolism. He steps over a sleeping soldier, armed with a halbert; a second, holding a spear, sleeps with his elbows on the tomb, behind which stands a third with a battle-axe; and in front sits a fourth with a huge two-handed sword. Two angels, waving censers, float overhead. On a narrow panel, the figure of a lady, aged and austere, in a close-fitting, long-sleeved gown, holding a large prayer-book and wearing a huge double-arched head-dress, enriched with quatrefoils and with a rose in the centre, very suggestive of Tenniel's picture of "The Duchess." It very probably represents More ni Brien, the foundress of the tomb, about 1460.

The canopy of the Royal tomb, with its massive groining and blocks of carved grey marble, proving too heavy for the delicate piers, which only measured 8 inches across, fell down in hopeless ruin when exposed

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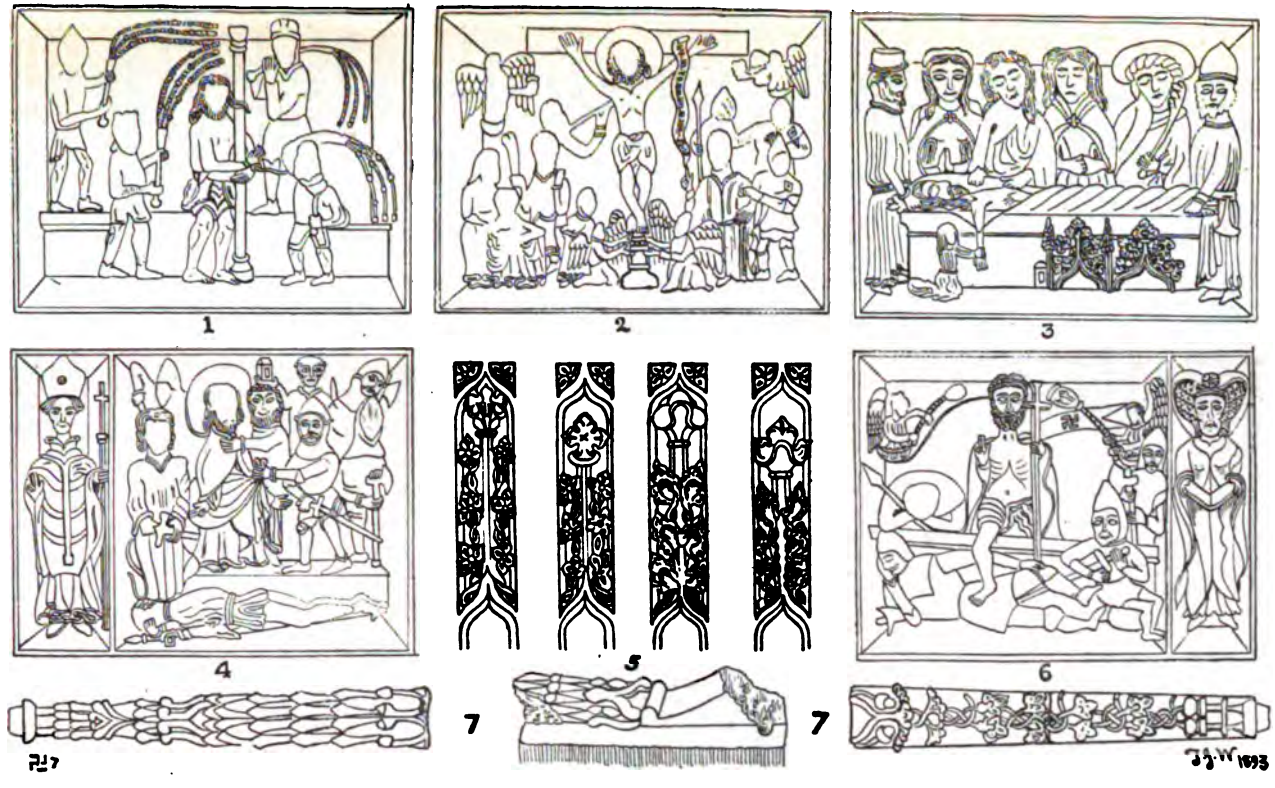
[1] Illustrated on page 149, fig. v.

[2] Like the figures on Archbishop Bourchier's tomb, late fifteenth century, at Canterbury Cathedral.

[3] This pre-Christian, and, in this country, favourite device on early Christian tombs seems to have been re-introduced from the East by the Crusaders. It occurs on priest's stoles (see Boutell's "Monumental Brasses"). I have seen it represented in early paintings of St. Thomas à Becket, and on the later tomb of George, Duke of Clarence, at Tewkesbury. Rev. L. Hassé tells me of an instance on a mediæval marble pulpit at Milan.



Details of "Royal Tomb."

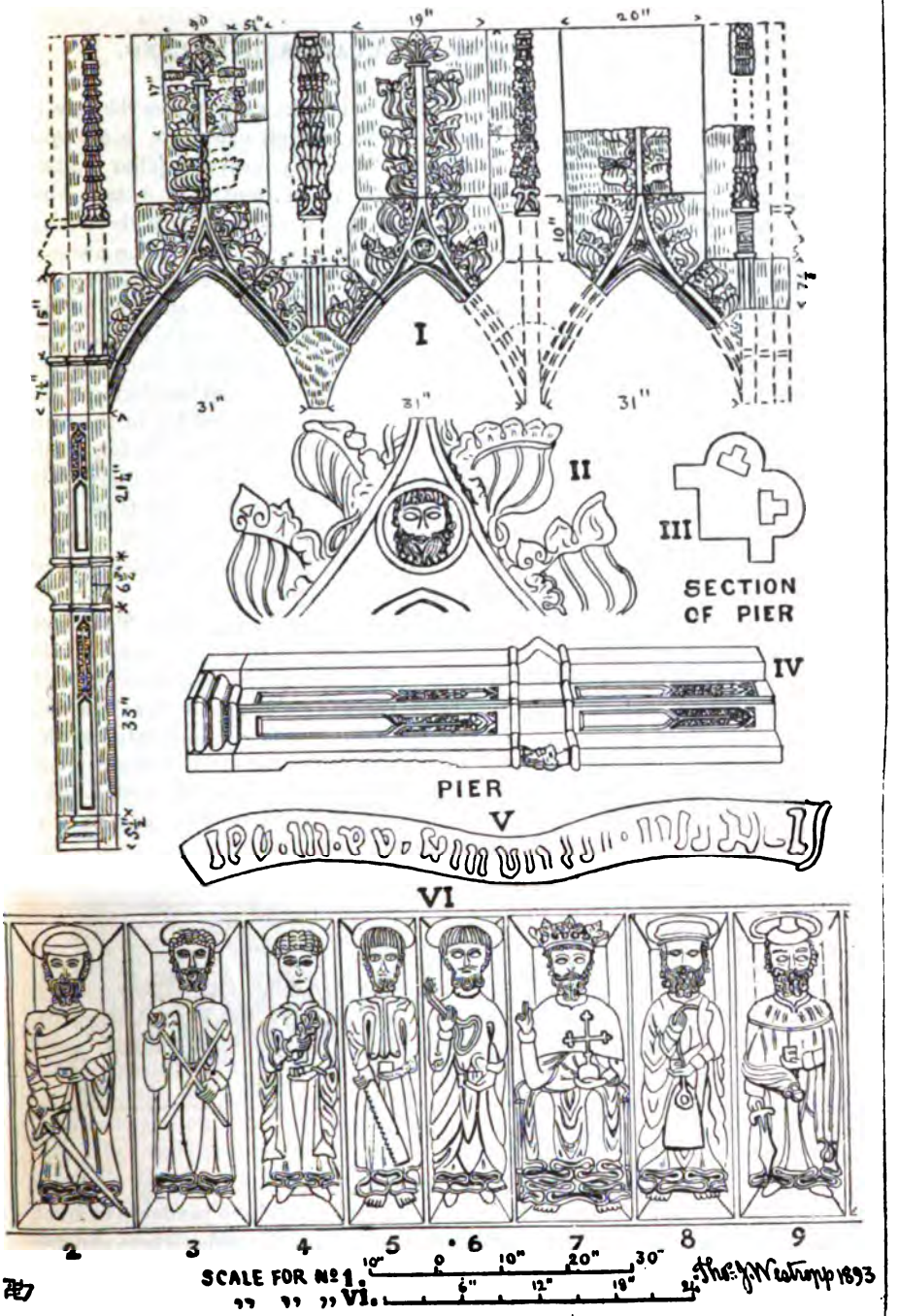
to the frost and rain by the removal of the chancel roof. When the Creaghs' monument was commenced, the architect probably found the older tomb too hopelessly ruined for re-erection, and while reinserting and thereby doing much to preserve the plinth panels and those behind the canopy, replaced it with a lighter and not displeasing modern structure. The spans of its three front arches are 31 inches, like the ancient ones; they have weak mouldings separated by stepped buttresses with oblique ones at the corners, and have crocketed heads, without finials, running up to stepped gables, with narrow trefoil headed panels imitated from the "Inchiquin tomb." The whole reflects great credit on the local masons who executed it on the spot. The back, which was probably filled by a fresco in the ancient structure, is now covered with tablets giving the names, and dates of death, of fourteen of the Creaghs of Dangan, from 1641 to 1842, the time of the re-erection;[1] in the centre is a large crest and escutcheon, below are cut the lines: "A temporibus cum finibus extorres et haereditas sua Adarensis, Limericensem juxta, ad alienos injuste translata fuit, hic humati sunt[2] nepotes O'Niel Creagh." Along the back and under the modern tablets a series of figures from the 1460 tomb stretch in a row 8 feet long and 2 feet high. The eastern are much defaced, the more perfect panels, No. 2 to 9, are sketched on the opposite page. The figures represent—(1) A saint, probably *Thomas*, holding the shaft of a long spear; (2) *Paul* with a sword; (3) *Andrew* with his cross; (4) *John* with a lily; (5) *Simon* with a saw; (6) *Peter* with the keys; (7) *Our Lord* enthroned: He wears a large crown, like the figures on the belfry, and holds with His left hand a globe with a cross ending in trefoils; (8) *Matthew* with the tax bag; (9) *Bartholomew* with the knife, his gown has peculiar long sleeves and strap; (10) figure partly cut away; (11) *James the less* with a club; (12) Probably *Philip* with a small cross; (13) A figure with a lance or halbert. All except John have long hair and beards; 5, 7, and 8 are barefooted, the rest wear pointed shoes.

Sufficient of the ancient canopy exists to reconstruct it.[3] Unfortunately it has been scattered about the nave and transept, though the workmen, enlightened by common sense, had gathered the pieces together before the fragments were reduced to their present state of chaos in the final "arrangement." The ancient canopy had three pointed arches 6 feet 8 inches high and 31 inches wide, the piers 5 feet 2 inches high and 8 inches wide, the buttresses only 2½ inches to 3 inches. Above each arch is a moulding, running up in ogee lines and then straight, with

[1] These are copied in the "Diocese of Killaloe," p. 490.

[2] A doubtful statement as regards some of the names here recorded, for the family was not transplanted to Clare till 1652, and Piers Creagh only died in 1667, their ancient burial-place being in Limerick Cathedral. There is a well-cut shield of their arms, impaling Roche, evidently Elizabethan, in the Dominican Abbey of Limerick.

[3] A drawing of a proposed restoration from the existing stones is shown on the opposite page.

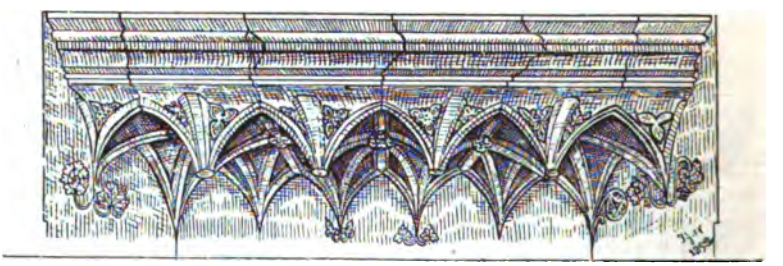


Details of "Royal Tomb," *circa* 1460.

I. Proposed restoration of Canopy. II. Enlarged detail, central keystone. III. and IV. Pier. V. Inscription on Panel 2 (p. 147). VI. Carvings on back wall.

rows of full bold crockets and lofty finials; the space under the ogee is trefoil over the side arches, but over the central one there is a plaque containing a venerable bearded head. The only recovered pillar has two round shafts, spirally, fluted at the back; in front it is square, with buttresses to each side; the main faces have ogee-headed panels running up into beautiful little sprays of leaves and flowers. At the top are seen the slots for two T-shaped metal ties, as if the architect feared for his slender structure. This pier was found outside the south wall of the chancel, near the belfry, in the first week of the excavations, and the base was eventually found, with many blocks of the canopy in the same spot, but from their worse preservation they were probably not so long buried; the more perfect finial and some bosses from the groined roof lay in the room over the sacristy, and a fragment of the façade stopped a hole for a bell-rope in the tower. The groining consisted of numerous chamfered ribs springing in fans from the inner edges of the pillars and from plain pointed corbels set in the wall. The whole frontage is 9 feet 7 inches long; the height of piers and canopy 10 feet 10 inches, to which at least 4 feet must be added for the plinth.

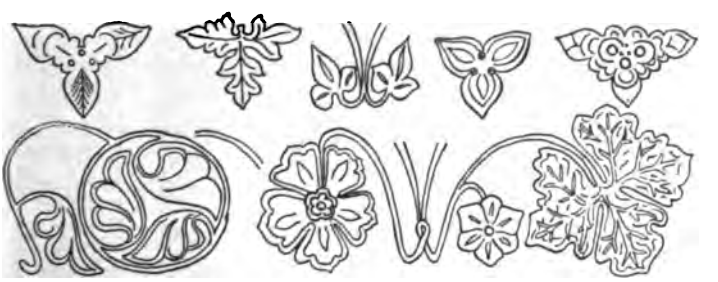
The second canopied TOMB, covering the graves of KING TORLOUGH, Covēha Macnamara, and the later Barons of Inchiquin, stands against the south-wall of the chancel, cutting into the second window from the east. It seems to date before 1500, and is not of very happy design, the sides being quite plain; the upper part has a series of heavy horizontal mouldings along a flat dovetailed arch; above these is a panelling of small trefoil-headed recesses, and a plain sloping roof, the whole much resembling a fireplace. It has one beautiful feature in the miniature groinings of



Canopy of Inchiquin Tomb.

the canopy consisting of five bays, with six ribs meeting in bosses carved with roses; the outer ends cluster into four sharp pendants in front, and eight pointed corbels to the back and sides. The side corbels and two at the back, end in sprays of the dog-rose, mallow, ivy, and cranesbill delicately carved; all of these plants abound in and near the ruin. The interspaces of the front ribs are filled with other leaves, the ranunculus being very recognisable, also the graceful blossoms of the flowering rush,

which light up with delicate mauve the shallows of the neighbouring lakes and the sedgy banks of the Fergus each July. The artist must have gone out into the meadows and marshes for his models, and carved them in the hard grey marble "nature still, but nature methodised." The leaves on the sides of the recess were covered with modern plaister till 1887, when I discovered one, and cleared the rest, taking rubbings and sketches. A modern tomb of the Priestleys, 1823, fills the recess. Bruodin's statement that King Torlough was buried in this tomb to the left of the altar, becomes less improbable when we reflect that the mangled remains of King Brian Roe, his rival, were possibly restored by De Clare to Prince Donchad, and laid in the space unoccupied by the founder, to the north of the altar; after Donchad himself was drowned in the Fergus, 1283, his body was recovered and probably buried in the same place: Torlough and his friend Macnamara would naturally be laid as far as possible from their foes.[1] Lapse of years would lead the descendants of Brian Catha an Eanaigh to occupy the less crowded north side in the fifteenth century, while, after another century the Earls of Thomond for similar reasons would seek a new monument; finally the last recognised



Foliage on Inchiquin Tomb.

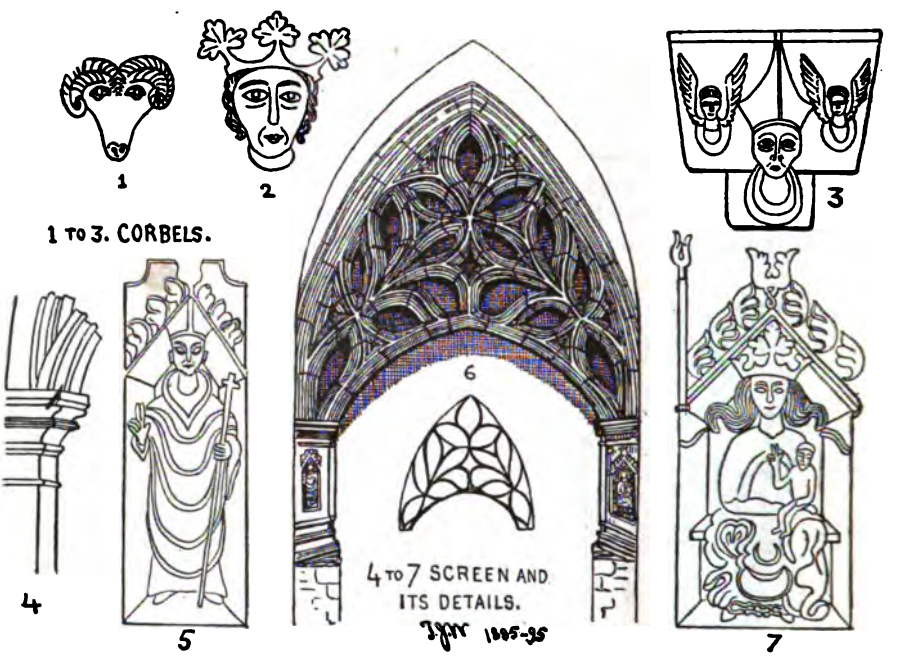
King, Murrough, and his descendants the Lords of Inchiquin, resumed the use of the south tomb till his namesake Murrogh "the burner" sought a burial-place (soon to be violated) in Limerick Cathedral.

On a boss of a groined canopy now laid in a break in the south-wall of the choir is a mutilated carving representing our Lord greatly emaciated, with His hands crossed and bound before Him, and held by a second figure, of which the arm and hand alone remain; this may be a portion of the groining of the "Royal tomb" and date from 1460.[2] Under the side recesses of the belfry (which is an insertion of, perhaps, the early fifteenth century, and blocks up two of the older side windows) are four

[1] For the history of all these princes, see in our *Journal* for 1890–1891, "The Normans in Thomond."

[2] It is shown in the foreground of the view of the Chapter House, p. 140, *supra*. Near it a fragment, with the Thomond crest and part of the arms, is built into the wall.

well preserved corbels. Those in the north recess are rams' heads with curling corrugated horns: those in the south are, on the east, the mitred head of a bishop supported by two small cherubs with upraised wings; the west corbel has a beardless face with long flowing hair, and an elaborate coronet with three strawberry leaves. Within this recess and above a small low window till lately closed and plaistered over, is a rich flamboyant tracery of grey marble, its design being two sprays of leaves with a five-petaled flower at the apex, the whole forming a screen,[1] fitted very badly into the space, and resting on two clumsy piers. On



Corbels of Belfry (1 to 3). Screen and details (4 to 7).

the eastern pier, in a recess edged with conventional leaves is a bishop like the one on the "Royal tomb," holding a cross in his left hand, and blessing with the right, the robes rather crudely represented. On the other pier, in a recess adorned with elaborate leaves and finials of late fifteenth-century character, is a little seated figure of the Virgin wearing a huge strawberry-leaved coronet, and a long robe falling in elaborate folds. She holds our Lord on her knee, who raises His right hand in

[1] A similar design appears in the west windows of Murcia Cathedral. In my previous Paper on Ennis, in our *Journal*, 1889, pp. 48, 244, appears an illustration which the fancy of the engraver has rendered entirely different both from my sketch and the screen itself.

benediction. This is similar to a carving in the chancel of the Dominican Priory of Athenry.

The main west arch of the belfry has two mortice holes, above pointed corbels ending in foliage like that on the screen, and probably marking the position of a rood beam. The groining of the belfry is sex-partite with bold chamfered ribs, and holes for four bell-ropes. The altar of St. Francis is the only one now visible in the church, which must at one time have possessed at least six or seven. It stands against the north pier of the belfry, facing down the nave. Behind it, in a niche adorned with finials and crockets, stands the image of the Saint: he holds a cross in his left hand, his right is open showing the stigma, and other stigmata are visible through an opening in his robe over the left side, and on his right foot (the left being broken). He wears the long gown girt with a cord knotted three times, with a tassel between the feet.

St. Francis.

"Ecce Homo."

The face of the opposite pier has been hacked away, probably to accommodate another altar. Between this and the transept arches has been rebuilt the Crowe monument, a "classic" structure appropriately adorned with a cock. Near this, in the inner face of the pier of the east arch leading into the transept, is another interesting carving, a deep ogee-headed niche with a flat hood; in the recess appears the figure of Christ with His hands bound before Him, like the boss mentioned on p. 151, n. 2, and, like it, much emaciated. A nimbus with a cruciform glory surrounds His head: to His right is the pillar to which He is tied; to His left, the seamless coat, dice, a spear, and a round pot from which projects the neck

and head of a cock, in allusion to the absurd fifteenth-century legend that the bird crowed out of the pot in which it was being cooked in the house of Caiaphas when Peter denied our Lord. This must have been a very favourite legend, as rude and in the end almost meaningless representations constantly occur on the gravestones of the western peasantry far down the present century.[1] Over the recess in the spandrels of the arch, three spears appear to the right, and to the left a hand and arm, holding a mass of filaments.[2] On the right jamb are carved a hammer and pincers; on the left, a ladder; while below the balcony of the recess are a sword and spray of the same late foliage *circa* 1460 or 70.

The only other carving distinct from merely architectural mouldings and traceries now visible in the priory, is a small inverted head on the east pier of the east sedile, in the north wall of the nave. A discovery worth recording, as a relic of the conventual dress, was the unearthing of a number of fragments of coarse brown cloth, adhering to bones found in a tomb in the nave. I have a piece still in my possession. No trace of the "painted blue glass" of Torlough's east window was found, but I remember seeing, as a boy, in possession of my cousin, Mrs. Stamer, of Stamerpark (who subsequently gave it to a convent), a massive metal frame pierced for sixteen small, oblong panes of glass, and turning on strong side-pivots, which had been found in the ruins.

Divided between a wish to describe fully these interesting remains, and a fear of prolonging my Paper beyond the patience even of an antiquary, I here conclude, leaving the history and more popular treatment to future writers, and if a purely technical Paper does not appeal to many who look for fine impressionist descriptions and stirring history, let them remember the proverb, "Doth the eagle know what is in the pit? or will ye not rather ask the mole?" and forgive the careful searcher for lacking their exalted post of vision.

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[1] The legend still prevails in western county Limerick.

[2] In continental art of fifteenth century a hand holding a lock of hair is sometimes introduced near our Lord, in allusion to the text, "I gave my cheeks to those that plucked off the hair." Strictly speaking the Ennis carving resembles a "Vir dolorum" rather than an "Ecce Homo." It strangely recalls a small painting of Fra Angelico, in which, however, the arms are more extended and not bound.

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF NAVAN.

By JOSEPH H. MOORE, C.E., Hon. Secretary, South Meath.

PART III.

To return to the history of the church.—In 1633, according to the *Liber Munerum Hiberniæ*, or 1636, according to Dr. Dopping, Navan was constituted a rectory, and Roger Puttock, who had been previously (1623) vicar of Donaghmore, made first rector; the rectory of Clonmacduff was also joined to Navan for 40 years. In 1671 John Finglas succeeded, and was rector of Clonmacduff and Rehetaine. And he was succeeded in 1673 by William Smith, who in 1674 was made Dean of Dromore, and in 1675 rector of Balsoon. He was succeeded in 1682 by Thomas Benson, vicar of Donaghmore; and Clonmacduff was given to George Proud, rector of Moynalty. There was no church or congregation in Clonmacduff, or "the Black Church"; and in 1780 it was joined to Ardbraccan. In 1684, Thomas Benson was appointed rector of Navan and Athsey, Ardsallagh and Balsoon. The state of affairs in his time has been recorded by Dr. Dopping in two reports, now in Marsh's Library. In one called the Aldworth return, 1693, Dr. Dopping says:—

"Novan is a rectory worth £30. King patron. Thomas Benson rector, resides there, and preaches constantly. Church and chancel ruined since 1641; but the parishioners have lately repaired the mass house there, where duty is performed. No first fruits, but it pays an annual Crown rent of £12. It has a ruined house & 2 acres of Glebe."

In his list of Meath rectors Dr. Dopping reports that the churches in the union of Navan were—

vic. Donamore. rect. Navan. rect. Ardsallagh. vic. Athlumney. rect. Athsey (Assy). rect. Balsoon.	Thomas Benson, rector, resident. None of these in repair, but ye people meet in ye Mass house, wch is in very good repair.

In the other report Dr. Dopping describes some remarkable monuments existing in the old church, which have wholly disappeared—

"In cœmiterio hujus eccliæ est monumentum lapideum cujusdam abbatis in conventu, ibm, ñens in uno latere sculpturas sex apostolorum et ex alio latere sex aliorum sculp: in lapide pingitur $\overline{\chi pos}$ pendens in cruce cum muliere ex utrâque parte eum plangente."

"In y^e^ body of y^e^ church this inscription on a tomb—

"Edmond Manning of y^e^ Novan & Margaret his wife caused this monument to be made in memory of Patrick Manning and his wife Ann Traves (Father and mother to y^e^ s^d^ Edmond) and Mary Warren his first wife who was buryed towards the pulpit. Patrick Manning and his wife lived together 30 years in joyfull and happy state and changed their lives, viz. Patrick ye 1st of January, 1597; his wife Anne Treaves ye 17 of March, 1611. Mary Warren first wife to said Edmund ye 13 of 7br, 1613. Good and charitable reader pray for ym̂ & theyr posterity y^t^ God receive y^m^ & every of y^m^ to ye joys of bliss. Amen. ye 19 Feb. 1616."

"Round about the foot of the pulpit—

"Orate pro animabus Rippen Smyth et Catherine Garovan uxoris ejus qui hoc fieri fecerunt an Dñi 1490."

"In the chappel on ye side—

"Hic jacet venerabilis vir Joñes Mew hujus capeĩl fundator et Alicia White uxor ejus cum germine; quorum aĩabus propitietur Deus."

"On ye tomb in ye upper chappell—

"Hic jacet venerabilis vir Joñes Wakely Armiger et Catherine Rawson uxor ejus quorum animabus propitietur Deus, obiit 2 9br. an Dñi 1570. Ego Thomas Wakely et Maud Haukore hoc fieri fecerunt."

"In ye middle chorus at ye foot of ye arch—

"Joñes hic jacet Nangle sub marmore. Qui in sudore suo vescebatur pane debito protoplasti, cum Johannâ Nangle eorumq: germine, qui quieverunt post occasum sub ——."

This church with its chapels and monuments has wholly disappeared. It was succeeded by a very unpretentious structure, of which there is a sketch on the map of 1756. It is there shown as a perfectly plain building with no tower, chancel, transepts, or vestry. There was a porch at the west end, and a belfry on the west gable, and two round-headed windows in the north wall. When it was built I do not know, but it was before 1733. John Lyon became rector in 1715; Ossory Medlicott in 1719; and John Grace in 1728.

There is a report of the diocese of Meath in the Record Office, dated 1733, by Dr. Welbore Ellis, Bishop, in which Navan is thus described:—"Navan, John Grace, rector. The rectory was entirely impropriate in ye crown, but was made presentative 12 Car. I. & granted to ye incumbent under a crown rent of £12 Irish, so y^t^ ye incumbent has ye whole tythes. This parish contains 1851 acres, but the incumbent holds with it the parishes of Dunnamore (2206 acres), and Ardsallagh (950 acres). In ye parish of Dunnamore were formerly a Rectory and a vicaridge; y^e^

Rectory was appropriate to ye monastery of S. Thos. Dublin, and by 12 Car. I. granted to the vicar under a crown rent of £24 Irish and 30 pecks of corn.

"Ardsallagh was entirely impropriate to ye monastery of S. Peter n^r^ Trim, but by 12 Car. I. made presentative, and the tythes granted to ye incumbent under a crown rent of £12 Irish and 30 pecks of corn.

"The land of Donamore in ye parish of Donamore wh: was formerly demesne of ye monastery of Navan pays no tythe to ye incumbent, and contains 424 acres.

"In ye parish of Navan there are 3 acres of glebe lying in the townland of Balreaskee.

"In ye parish of Donomore there are 8 acres of glebe, viz. 5 acres in the town of Donamore, and 2 in ye town of Clonmagaddon, and 1 in Simonstown.

"There are in the whole union 36 families of ye established church, ye rest are popish except 12 women married to papists. There is a mass house and a popish priest's. The church of Navan is in good repair, and has a bell, ye isles are flagged and seated throughout. There is a font of stone, and ye communion table is railed in, and ye churchyard is enclosed with a wall of lime and stone. The incumbent resided at first in the town of Navan, but since y^t^ removed to lodgings in the country in a popish family which gives offence. There is divine service and a sermon every Sunday in ye church of Navan, and prayers every Wensday and Fryday & every holyday."

The same report gives the following description of Athlumney:—"Athlumyony or Athlumney is a rectory and vicarage. The rectory belonged to the monastery of S. Mary's, Dublin, and is now a lay impropriation belonging to the family of the late Lord Chief Baron Deane. The vicar has been anciently endowed, and enjoys one-third of all the tythe. There is no house nor glebe; value of vicarage £20. The parish contains 1331 acres. The church is ruinous; nor is it necessary to repair it, no part being much above 2 miles to Navan church by Killcairn bridge and not much above a mile by the ford when the waters are down. Mr. Cusack, patron; R. Downes, vicar, resides in his parsonage of Castlecorr; Pat. Lyon (also rector of Kentstown) curate, lives at Navan."

There appears to have been a dispute between the Crown and the lay patron as to the presentation to Athlumney, as Mr. Grace is described as vicar of Athlumney & Donamore and rector of Navan and Ardsallagh in the *Liber Munerum Hib.* Mr. Grace was also curate of Bective. In 1744, Mr. James Cavendish became rector, and in 1747 Dr. D. A. Beaufort who subsequently in 1748 was also made rector of Moymet, and in March, 1753, provost of the cathedral church of S. Mary, Tuam; and in 1758 rector and vicar of Clonenagh (or Mountrath) & Clonaghan dio. Leighlin, when he resigned Moymet which was given to Dr. Washington Cotes, dean of Lismore.

The Vestry minutes from 1750 have been preserved, and contain many notices of interest. In 1752 the church was found to be inconveniently small, and proposals were made to enlarge it, but the money was not forthcoming. In 1759 the Vestry decided to build a "steeple" at the west end with a vestry joined to it, and a plan by Edward Morgan and Robert Price, masons, was submitted; and next year a committee was appointed to superintend the work, viz. Dr. Beaufort, rector; Messrs. G. W. M'Gusty, and John Ryder, churchwardens; and Messrs. Peter Metge, Thomas Barry, Francis Tuke, Patrick Rooney, and John Scrugam. In 1764 Edward Morgan got a bonus of £3 3*s*. for his extraordinary care in building the steeple. In 1765 the north wall of the church was rebuilt, and the church re-roofed, and two galleries erected. In this year Dr. Beaufort resigned, and was succeeded by his son who bore the same name, Daniel Augustus Beaufort, who continued rector till 1818. This Dr. Beaufort was also rector of Collon, county Louth, where he chiefly resided. In 1767 the pews were auctioned, and the arrangement of the pew-holders is given in the vestry-book. A seat above the reading-desk, which was in the centre of the south side, cost £10 10*s*., and below the reading-desk £5 5*s*. The church was receiled, and the "Isle" flagged the same year. The work does not appear to have been very well done, as the vestry minutes contain frequent references to repairs to the roof, &c. A slater got £2 a-year to look after the roof.

In 1764 an organ was got. Mr. Commell, organ-builder, got £3 8*s*. 3*d*. for his trouble and extraordinary attention in erecting the organ, and was voted £6 6*s*. a-year for keeping it in repair, and a vote of thanks was passed "to the young ladies who are so obliging as to accompany the organ with their voices." The organ involved a host of extra expenses. Fires had to be kept up to prevent it from suffering from damp; an organist and bellows-blower salaried, besides the cost of keeping it in tune. In 1786 the communion plate was renewed. The chalice and paten bear the inscription "Originally given by Thos. Meredyth, Esquire, Recorder, for the use of the church of Navan, renewed by the Parish in 1786"; the hall-marks are O. RB. I am informed that O stands for 1730. The flagon and collecting plates are plated, and inscribed "Parish of Navan, 1786."

In 1804 Bishop O'Beirne made a great effort to have glebes built under the Glebes Act of the previous year, 43 Geo. III., and Dr. Beaufort's reply, declining to avail himself of it, has been preserved, and is in the Record Office. He writes from Allenstown, February 26, 1804, and after apologising for delay in replying to the bishop's circular, he proceeds to say:—"For though you have sometimes mentioned the subject of building to me, as you have it at heart, most properly, to provide a residence for the incumbent wherever it is possible, yet I flatter myself that when you consider my situation and necessary residence at Collon, your lordship will see how great a hardship it would be upon me to pay

an interest of £60 or £80 a-year during my life, without any advantage to myself, and merely to save so much to an unknown successor, taking upon myself the trouble and responsibility of building, and the hazard of dilapidations afterwards. Besides, the scantiness and inconvenience of my glebes are a great discouragement to any attempt being made at present; and I do assure you that no efforts of mine shall be wanting to obtain an increase of land, or to make such an exchange of the few scattered acres I have as to bring the whole glebe together. I beg leave to present my regards to Mrs. O'Beirne and the young ladies, and have the honour to be your lordship's very obedient and obliged servant, D. A. Beaufort."

It was proposed to build a spire on the new tower or steeple, but the scheme fell through, and, in 1804, the Vestry ordered the great bell to be hung and the boarded covering on top of the tower repaired for a temporary protection, "as it is expected that the steeple shall be finished this summer either by subscriptions for ornamenting it or by a plain roof." In 1807 £60 was voted for the four great windows of the belfry, and the outer door, and for roofing in the belfry, and four years later over £20 was required for staunching and completing the steeple.

In 1813 a gift of £600, and a loan of £1100, repayable in seventeen years at 6 per cent., were obtained from the Board of First-fruits to build the present church; and in 1815 service was held in "the great room of the Tholsel" during the rebuilding. In 1818 the pews were allotted. They were arranged like the seats in Trinity College Chapel, lengthways along the side walls, and there was a pew with a canopy over it for the bishop.

In this year, 1818, Dr. Beaufort resigned, having been rector for fifty-three years. He died in Cork on the 17th May, 1821. Dr. Beaufort had apparently a taste for road-making and maps. In 1792 he published an elaborate map of the diocese of Meath on a large scale, shaded to to show the hills, and showing all the public roads. There are several copies of this map in existence.

Dr. Beaufort was succeeded by Philip Barry, of Boyne Hill, who had previously been churchwarden. An action was brought by the builders of the church against Dr. Beaufort and Rev. Ph. Barry, and the vestry ordered it to be defended.

In 1822 the salaries of the parish officers amounted to £78 2*s.*, viz. clerk, £20; organist, £20; vestry clerk, £10; sextoness, £10; organ blower, £6; bell-ringer, £5 6*s.* 6*d.*; organ-tuner, £6 16*s.* 6*d.* These salaries, and current expenses, and £66 instalment of loan, amounted to £166 15*s.* 4½*d.*, which was raised by a cess of 10½*d.* per acre on the parishes. In 1750 the sum levied was £60, by a cess of 3*d.* per acre; the clerk's salary was then £5, and there were no other officers. The salaries were gradually raised, and the other officers added, till in 1833 church rates were abolished, and the whole system changed. The vestry

minutes make frequent reference to the difficulty of collecting this cess, and the Easter vestries had to be adjourned because the churchwardens had not their accounts ready. In 1788 there was a riotous resistance to collecting the rate in Donaghmore. In 1804 the people of Athlumney and Abbeylands refused to pay, and counsel's opinion was taken as to their liability, and in 1806 the churchwardens had to make seizures in Athlumney. In 1823 the present bells were purchased. The former bell was given by Mr. Preston in 1788. The larger bell bears the inscription: "William Dobson fecit, Downham, Norfolk, England, 1822." The smaller bell has only the date 1819. The clock was put up about this time.

In 1827 Mr. Barry accepted, in composition for the tithe, £705, viz. £275 out of Navan, £280 out of Donaghmore, and £150 out of Ardsallagh.

The fortunes of the Roman Catholic members of the community are told by Father Cogan in his history of the diocese.

In 1693, as Dr. Dopping reports, the Mass house was repaired for the use of the Established Church. In 1702 *seq.* in Queen Anne's reign, a mud-wall thatched chapel was erected at Leighsbrook, separated from Leighsbrook house by the stream. Mass was offered here for 70 years. On occasions when this chapel was closed Mass was celebrated on the rocks along the Boyne, below Blackcastle. No school was allowed till 1782. There was a hedge school at Donaghmore. In 1772 the mud wall chapel fell on Christmas night, and for months after Mass was offered up in a sentry box in a yard off Trimgate street. A mud-wall thatched house was next erected on the site of the present chapel, and used as a barn during the week. On Sundays a door on two barrels served for an altar for eight or nine years. The present church was erected about 1836, and consists of a large rectangular building, placed nearly north and south, with a tower at the south-east angle.

The coach road from Dublin to Navan was made under the 3rd Geo. II. cap. xix. in 1729. Two years later, in 1731, an Act was passed for a road from the Navan road, at Blackbull, to Trim and Athboy. The junction of the Trim and Navan roads at the Blackbull was long a noted resort of highwaymen. In 1733 the Navan road was extended to Nobber and Kells.

In the next reign, the existing Road Acts having proved insufficient, a fresh Act was passed in 1796 for a mail coach road from Dublin to Navan. For the next fifty years the work of extending these coach roads went on till it was put a stop to by the introduction of railways. The Dublin and Drogheda railway was extended to Navan in 1849, and the Dublin and Meath line was constructed in 1859.

In making the railway from Drogheda a "souterrain" was discovered in the cutting near Athlumney, described by Sir William Wilde as "consisting of a passage 53½ feet long, 8 feet broad, and 6 feet high, branching

into two smaller passages at right angles to it, and ending in two circular bee-hive chambers, similar to those at Clady." Remains of similar chambers were accidentally discovered lately at Blackcastle, and at Donaghpatrick in building the present glebe.

The Act for making a canal from Drogheda to Trim was passed in 1787, and surveys were directed to be made from Slane to Navan, and thence to Virginia Water and Trim, and from Trim to Dublin; and two years later a supplemental Act was passed for creating £12,500 Debenture Stock at 4 per cent. for making the canal from Drogheda to Trim. The Commissioners for making the canal were the Earls of Mornington and Bective, the Hon. W. Conyngham, B. T. Balfour, the four Members of Parliament for Meath and Louth, the two Members for Drogheda, the Mayor of Drogheda, the Bishop of Meath, Baron Metge,[1] Lord Headfort, John Preston, Hamilton Wade, Skeffington Thompson, W. Moyle, Dixie and Henry Coddington, Edward Harman, and David Jebb. The canal was only completed as far as Navan.

Poolboy bridge would appear to be very old. The name is derived from the yellow clay of which the north bank is composed, and which in old times muddied the water at the ford. The "New bridge" over the Boyne was built between 1733 and 1756. There are the remains of the piers of a bridge below Blackcastle, nearly opposite Donaghmore, and one arch on the south bank. This was Babe's Bridge, and it is said to have been the only bridge not carried away by a great flood in 1330.

The town is described by Lewis in 1836 as containing 4416 inhabitants, and as having three principal streets, and about 850 houses, many of which are well built. Altogether it has a cheerful and thriving appearance.

Sir William Wilde, in 1849, says: "The inhabitants of Navan, like those of most Irish towns through which a river runs, have turned their backs upon the stream, scarcely a glimpse of which can be obtained from any of its narrow streets."

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[1] Baron Metge was a judge of the Court of Exchequer. There is a tombstone over his grave in Athlumney churchyard, containing the following inscription :—

HOC MONUMENTUM ELATUM
3° MAII ANN. DOM. 1803
PETRO METGE
DE ATHLUMNEY COMITATU MEDENSI
NUPER
BARONI SCACCARII HIBERNICI
PRO
PROPINQUIS ET RELATIVIS
EXIMIE CHARIS
SIGNUM MAXIMÆ AFFECTIONIS.

The old bridewell was at Poolboy bridge, at the foot of Watergate-street. When the Courthouse was built, the basement was used as a prison. It is now used for stores by the Town Commissioners.

The town has been considerably improved in the last few years. In the construction of the sewers, trenches were cut through all the streets to depths varying from 4 to 16 feet, but nowhere was there any trace of an older surface, nor were any relics of antiquity found.

THE FITZGERALDS OF ROSTELLANE, IN THE COUNTY OF CORK.

By R. G. FITZGERALD-UNIACKE, B.A., Fellow.

On page 149 of Dr. Charles Smith's "Antient and Present State of the County and City of Cork," published at Dublin in 1750, there is the following brief reference to Rostellane:—

"Rostillian, two miles W. of Cloyne, formerly belonged to Robert Fitz-Stephen, to whom half of the kingdom of Cork was granted. But the castle, which some years ago stood here, was built by the Fitz-Geralds. It is at present the seat of the Right Hon. the E. of Inchequin, whose ancestor Murrough, Lord President of Munster, took this castle, an. 1645, which was the same year retaken by the Earl of Castlehaven. It is a noble seat, pleasantly situated on an arm of the sea, at the S.E. side of the harbour of Cork, where the tide gently flows to the garden wall, and boats come up to the stairs. The present house was built on the ruins of the antient castle . . . "

It is not my intention to attempt to trace the history of the Manor of Rostellane from the very remote period here alluded to. Mr. Berry, in his admirable Paper on "The Manor of Mallow in the Thirteenth Century," published in this *Journal*,[1] has shown how successfully, by patient and skilled research, the long-forgotten records of these old Irish manors can be brought to light, and set in order, even after the lapse of more than six hundred years. My object, however, in the present article, is a less ambitious one, and I shall only endeavour to bring together some account of the Geraldines of Cloyne and Ballymartyr, who were lords of the Manor of Rostellane during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

An entry on the Patent Rolls of the High Court of Chancery, Ireland, enables us to ascertain the exact date at which the manor came into the possession of the FitzGeralds.

"Deed, dated 18 Mar. 1565, and deed of release, dated 20th of said month, whereby Gerald Fitz-James McSleyney, captain of his nation in the cantred of Imokilly, and proprietor and true lord of Rostelan and Culbaine, for a certain sum of money, sold and conveyed to John Fitz-Edmond James de Geraldinis, gent.—Cork Co'. His manor of Rostielan, containing 1 carucate or plowland; and a particle of land of Cuilbane, with its wood, 40s."—Pat. 5, James I., Part 3, dorso; xxxvii.–16. Rotulorum Patentium et Clausorum Cancellariae Hiberniae Calendarium, p. 117.

The John FitzEdmond James de Geraldinis here mentioned, or "Master John FitzEdmond of Cloyne," as he was more commonly called, was the eldest son of Edmond FitzJames FitzGerald, Dean of Cloyne (descended from the house of the Knight of Kerry), and was born about the year 1528. Through all the various Desmond rebellions

[1] Part 1, vol. iv., 5th series. March, 1894.

and "risings-out," during the latter half of the sixteenth century, he remained steadfast in his allegiance to his sovereign, although by so doing he incurred the fierce hatred of all his kinsmen, and suffered very greatly by pillage and devastation of his property at the hands of the Queen's enemies. After the defeat and attainder of the ill-fated Earl of Desmond, that "ingens rebellibus exemplar," John Fitz Edmond received large grants of lands in the counties of Cork and Kerry out of the forfeited estates. He was knighted by the Lord Deputy,[1] 11th March, 1601, as we read in the "Pacata Hibernia" :—

"The Lord Deputy, . . . the night that he left Corke hee lodged at Clone, a Towne and Mannor house sometime belonging to the Bishop of that Sea, but now passed in Fee farme to Master John Fits Edmonds, who gave cheereful and plentifull entertaynment to his Lordship, and all such of the Nobilitie, Captaines, Gentlemen, and others as attended upon him. The Deputie as well to requite his perpetuall loyaltie to the Crowne of England, as also to encourage others in the like, at his departure, did honour him with the Order of Knighthood, and then continued his iourney towards Waterford . . . "

Sir John Fitz Edmond married Honora, daughter of Tiege O'Brien, brother to Donogh, 4th Earl of Thomond, by whom he had issue three sons—(1) James died without issue; (2) Edmond married Honora, daughter of James Fitz Maurice Fitz Gerald,[2] and widow of the celebrated John Fitz Edmond, of Ballymartyr, the Earl of Desmond's last Seneschal of Imokilly.[3] He was knighted by Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord Deputy, 1st December, 1606, and died, *vita patris*, 10th March, 1612, leaving, with other issue, a son, Sir John Fitz Gerald, of Ballynaloe, knight, whom we shall have occasion to refer to presently; (3) Thomas, of Rostellane.

By deed, dated 16th July, 1594, 36th Elizabeth, John Fitz Edmond Gerrald, of Cloyne, in Cork county, gent., together with Gerald Fitz Edmond, of Ballymolowe, Thomas Fitz James Gerald, otherwise Thomas Gankagh, of Inchynycrynagh, and John Draddy, of Cahirmony, his feoffees, granted to Tho. Fitz John Gerald, of Rostiellane, gent., son of the said John Fitz Edmond :—

"Cork Co'. In Imokilly Bar. The manor and castle of Rostiellane, and all the lands, tenements, and hereditaments of Ballynamony, Cruoghane, Kayll, Cwylbane, Moynivorrin, Ballynyclassy, Ballygoyre, Ballyncattanaige, and Ballynvollin, in the territory of Rostiellane—Ballyknoick and Collraghe in the territory of Doungvornay. —To hold to the heirs male of his body; remainder to the heirs male of his father's body, as expressed in his last will."[4]

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[1] Sir Charles Blount, Baron Mountjoy; Lord Deputy, 1600–1603.

[2] James Fitz Maurice, called "James Geraldine," the Pope's generalissimo; and, by English writers, the "arch traitor." He was the eldest son of Maurice Fitz John, Lord of Kerricurrihy, and grandson of Sir John Fitz Thomas, fourth son of Thomas, the 8th Earl of Desmond. He was slain in rebellion, by the sons of Sir William Bourke, Lord of Castleconnell, in 1579. (Burke's "Extinct Peerage.")

[3] John Fitz Edmond died a prisoner in Dublin Castle, 23rd February, 1588–9. ("Inquisitions," Chief Remembrancer's Office, P.R.O., Dublin.)

[4] "Cal. Rot. Pat. et Claus. Hib.," Pat. 4 James I., Dorso lv.

Sir John Fitz Edmond, of Cloyne, died 15th January, 1612-3, aged 85, and was buried with his ancestors in Cloyne Cathedral, where there is a fine altar-tomb to his memory.[1]

In a Lord Deputy's warrant, dated 27th January, 1600, among a long list of pardons to those who had been in action of rebellion, we find the name of "Tho. fitz John Fitz Edmond, of Rostellan;" and on the Patent Roll, 4 James I., is recorded a Grant from the king to "Thomas Fitz Gerald, of Rostellane, in Cork county, gent.," of a license to him and his heirs male, to hold a Saturday market at Rostellane, and a fair at Dangyndonyvane, on St. James the Apostle's day and two days after, with courts leet and baron, waifs, estrays, &c., within the premises.—Dated 25th November, 1606.[2]

By an Inquisition, taken at Cork, 25th April, 1623, after the death of "John Uniacke, late of Youghall, gent., deceased," we learn that the said John Uniacke, by deed, dated 8th September, 1609, conveyed "to Thomas fz Gerald, of Rostillane, in the county of Corke, esquire," the lands of Mockerish, in the said county; and also, by deed dated 8th April, 1611, conveyed to him the lands of Vanchimore, within the franchise of the town of Youghal.[3] The lands of Mockerish are mentioned in the will of James Fitz Gerald, of Rostellane, in 1635, as having formed part of the jointure settled upon his wife at her marriage. They appear to have afterwards come into the possession of Sir John Fitz Gerald, of Ballymaloe, who bequeathed them, by his will dated 1st September, 1640, to Thomas Uniacke, of Youghal.

Thomas Fitz Gerald, of Rostellane, married Honora, daughter of Sir Owen O'Sullivan, knight, by whom he had issue an only son, James, and two daughters—(1) Elleyne, living in 1635, unmarried; (2) Honora, married, 1st, to Nicholas Devereux, of Balleadam, county Wexford, gent., son and heir of Philip Devereux, of Ballmager, in the said county, by whom she had twelve children. After his death, 15th February, 1635, she was married, 2nd, to Miler Fitz Harris, second son of Sir Edward Fitz Harris, of Killfeynane, county Limerick.[4] The will of Thomas Fitz Gerald, dated 15th August, 1628, and proved 17th November following, is in the Public Record Office, Dublin.

James Fitz Gerald succeeded his father as lord of the Manor of Rostellane in 1628. He married (Settlement, dated 27th October, 1631), Mary, daughter of Theobald, Lord Bourke, of Brittas,[5] by the Lady

[1] *Vide Journal*, Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland, vol. i., 3rd series, October, 1869.

[2] "Cal. Rot. Pat. et Claus. Hib.," Pat. 4 James I., xxv.

[3] "Inquisitions," Rolls Office, High Court of Chancery, Dublin.

[4] Funeral Entries, Ulster's Office, Dublin.

[5] The Bourkes of Brittas trace their descent from "Edmond-na-Feisoge," 4th son of Richard de Burgh, 2nd Earl of Ulster. Theobald, 4th son of Theobald Bourke (by the Lady Mary O'Brien his wife, daughter of Donough, 2nd Earl of Thomond), was created, 17th February, 1617–8, Lord Bourke, Baron of Brittas, Co. Limerick; he died in 1654.

Margaret de Burgh, his wife, daughter of Richard, 2nd Earl of Clanricarde. By an Inquisition taken at Bandonbridge, county Cork, 4th October, 1639, we learn that he died without issue, 20th August, 1635, having made his last will, dated 17th August, 1635.[1] His will is in the Public Record Office, and was proved 12th November, 1635. He appoints—"my Couzen German Sr John fz Gerald knight to be sole heyre and Executo^r^ of all and singuler my Man^rs^, lands tenem^ts^ and hereditam^ts^ with a strict inhibition (if possibly it may be) that the s^d^ Sr John may not dispose or make away any p^t^ or pcell thereof from his owne naturall heire w^t^hout the full consent and advise of patricke fz Morish Lo: Baron of kyery and lyxsnauw." He bequeaths also to the said Sir John—"all my right, title, and interest in the lands of Garrane kenefecke, and all other lands mortgadged vnto me by John fitz James Barry, & doe pray and earnestly crave that the said lands and mortgadge may be assigned by Sr John vnto his brother Morish fitz Edmond Gerald of Castle Ishyne."[2] He mentions his mother, Onora fitz Gerald als sullivane, his sister Elleyne fitz Gerald, his nephew Nicholas Devereux, and his cousin James fz Edmond Gerald, of Culeogory;[3] and bequeaths to his "married wife Marye Burcke als fitz Gerald, all such lands and tenem^ts^ as are specified and nominated in the feoffm^t^ of Joynture passed by myselfe vnto my said wife to her peculier use without trouble or vexacon during her naturall life." He makes also the following singular request:—"I leave and bequeath that Sr John according discrecon of his better advisors may gyue vnto Morish Uniacke all such wrytings and papers as I have in my custodie, that may be available for the gentleman and not a detriment to his owne Inheritance."[4]

Among the Funeral Entries in Ulster's Office[5] we find:—

"James fitz Gerald of Rostelan in the County of Cork Esqr. onely sonne and heire of Thomas fitz Gerald of the same Esqr. son of S^r^. John fitz Gerald of Cloyne in the said County Knight, sonne of Edmond fitz Gerald of the same Esqr., departed this mortall life at Rostelan aforesaid, the 15th [recte 20th] day of August 1635: and was interred in Cloyne aforesaid. Hee tooke to wife Mary daughter of Theobald Bourk Baron of Brittas by whome hee had noe issue. The trueth of the premisses is testified by the subscription of the said Mary, whoe hath returned this Certificat to be recorded in the Office of Ulvester King of Armes. Taken this 18th of June 1636."

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[1] "Inquisitions," Rolls Office, Dublin.

[2] *Vide*, "Pedigree of the Fitz Geralds of Cloyne," compiled by Miss M. A. Hickson; *Journal*, vol. iv., 4th series, July, 1876. (Note *e*.)

[3] The lands of Culeogory, or Coolegorragh, having been forfeited in the Rebellion of 1641, were granted under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, to Sir William Fitz Gerald, knight; and were afterwards sold by James Fitz Gerald of Glenane, his son and heir, to Captain James Uniacke. Coolegorragh, now called Mount Uniacke, is situate about seven miles north-west of Youghal.

[4] Sir John Fitz Gerald appears not to have complied with this good advice. In a codicil to his will, dated 1st December, 1640, he mentions, "the conselmen of the secrecy of Me Cousene James fitz Gerald of Rosstelane who desired me to leav his one land to m^r^ thomase unix [i. e. Uniacke] of Yohll . . . I pray god to forgive Me me sines."

[5] Vol. vi., 1632-1652, f. 311.

Sir John Fitz Gerald, of Ballymaloe, on the death of his cousin, James Fitz Gerald, succeeded to his extensive lands and possessions, subject to certain life interests, and to the payment of certain legacies. The Manor of Rostellane, with its sub-denominations, in accordance with the terms of the deed of feoffment already mentioned, remained in the possession of Mary Fitz Gerald as her jointure.

In the Books of the Down Survey, made by Sir William Petty about the years 1655–1659, we have the following description of Rostellane:—

County of Corke—Imokilly Bar.—The parish of Rostellane. (N°. 10).

The soyle is Arable and good pasture and Conteineth these ensueing Denominations, viz. Rostellane Ballynemonie Cnockane Ballinauwillen Ballineclassey Ballydeere Lisard-Irensy Gilkaghmore and Carrigcottie.—The improvements are a Castlehouse in Rostellane standing by the sea side, a Castlehouse on Carrigcottie; a mill on Ballynauwillen, as alsoe in many places farme houses and Cabbins.

No. in Platt.	Proprietors' Names.	Denominations of Lands.	Quantitie of Acres by Admeasurem^{t}.
1.	Richard fitz Garrald in right of his wife.	Rostellane.	252 . 2 . 32
2.	The same.	Ballynemonie.	123 . 0 . 00
3.	The same.	Cnockane.	170 . 2 . 00
4.	The same.	Ballynauwillen.	87 . 1 . 00
5.	The same.	Ballyneclassey.	70 . 0 . 00
6.	The same.	Ballydeere.	74 . 2 . 00
7.	Edmond fitz Gerrald	Lisard-Irensy.	37 . 1 . 00
8.	of Ballymaloe.	Gilkaghmore.	14 . 0 . 20
9.	The same proprietor	Carrigcottie.	215 . 0 . 00
	Totall of	Acres in this Parish is—	1044 . 1 . 12

In the Books of Survey and Distribution of the lands forfeited in each county in Ireland, in the Rebellion of 1641, we find further reference to Richard Fitz Gerald of Rostellane:—

"County of Corke—Proprietor; *Richard fits Gerald, late of Rostillan.* Denominations; *Dongandonevane, Balivogher, and Killcountie.* N°. of profitable Acres; *984 : 3 : 08.* Acres disposed of on ye act; *518 : 0 : 00.* To whome so disposed; *E., Inchiquin.*"

"County of Corke—Parish of Rostillane—Proprietor; *Rich^{d} fs Gerald, in right of his wife.* Denominations; *Ballinauwillen, Ballyneclassy, and Ballydeere.* (No further particulars)."

The above extracts prove clearly enough that the widow of James

Fitz Gerald had married a second time, and that her husband's name was Richard Fitz Gerald, but for a long time I was unable to discover which of the numerous Richard Fitz Geralds, at that period holding lands in the county Cork, was proprietor of Rostellane, *jure uxoris*. A passage in Windele's "Historical and Descriptive Notices of the City of Cork and its Vicinity,"[1] page 167, gave the necessary clue. He informs us that "In 1645, the notorious Murrogh O'Brien, Lord Inchiquin, took Rostellane then inhabited by Mrs. Fitz-Gerald, daughter of Lord Baron Britig [recté Brittas] . . . The place, however, was shortly after retaken by Lord Castlehaven; and Colonel Henry O'Brien, brother of Inchiquin, and Colonel Courtenay, who had been sent to demolish it, were made prisoners. In 1648, Inchiquin obtained a grant of this property, to the prejudice of its rightful owner Richard Fitz Gerald of Rostellane, *the descendant of the Seneschals of Imokilly*—a house now represented by the Fitz-Geralds of Castle Richard,—which grant was further confirmed to him, in the 18th year of Chas. II."

An Inquisition, taken at Mallow, 14th August, 1638, confirms this statement. The jury found that Edmond fz Gerrald, of Ballymartyr, in the county of Cork, esquire, being seised in his demesne, as of fee, of the lands of Dromsarane, Glanygeare, Killmurry, Ballyphole, Cnockanm^{c}-dirry, Carrickneryn, Carriggigran, Monymoroghow, Ballindeinish, and Lisinlaghlen, in the said county of Cork, by his deed, dated about the month of June, 1636, conveyed the said lands to Sir John Bourke, baronet, and William Bourke, esquire, to the use of Richard Fitz Gerald, his son and heir, and *Mary Fitz Gerald alias Bourke*, the wife of the said Richard, during their natural lives, and after their decease to the use of the heirs male of the said Richard and Mary Fitz Gerald, &c.

The final link in the chain of evidence is supplied by an entry on the Patent Roll, 11th Charles I. (1636):—

"A Lycence made vnto Mary fitz Gerald *alias* Bourcke widdowe, late wife of James fitz Gerrald late of Rostellan in the County of Corcke Esqr. deceased, to marry to whome shee pleaseth &c. Dat. xxvi^{to} die ffebr. Anno R. R. Caroli 11mo."[2]

It seems to me, therefore, to be conclusively proved that Richard Fitz Gerald, *of Rostellane, in right of his wife*, and Richard Fitz Gerald, *son and heir of Edmond Fitz Gerald, of Ballymartyr*, are identical.

Shortly after the capture of Rostellane, Lord Inchiquin besieged and took Ballymartyr; and both Edmond Fitz Gerald and his eldest son were outlawed, and deprived of their estates by the Parliament. Edmond Fitz Gerald appears to have sought refuge abroad. He was living at Brussels in 1654, as is proved by a deposition he made there, dated 24th July, 1654, concerning certain lands in the county of Cork.[3] He died

[1] Published at Cork, 1839.
[2] Calendar of Patent Rolls, Charles I., vol. ii., f. 85. P.R.O., Dublin.
[3] Betham's "Baronetage," vol. v., p. 533 (notes).

before 1661, intestate, administration of his effects being granted to Richard Fitz Gerald, his son and heir, dated 1st June, 1661.[1]

Richard Fitz Gerald was a colonel in the Royalist army, and his name is mentioned by Charles II., in his famous "Declaration," among the number of those who "without being put to any further proof, shall be restored to their former Estates, according to the Rules and Directions . . . concerning such as continued with Us, or served faithfully under our Ensignes beyond the Seas."[2] His will is in the Public Record Office, dated 20th December, 1677, and proved 30th March, 1680, in which he is styled "Richard Fz Gerald heretofore of Ballymartir in the Barrony of Imokilly and County of Cork, and now of Glannageare, in the Barrony and County affores[d]." He appoints as his executors, his "well beloved brother Maurice Fz Gerald of Incheneycranagh,[3] and John Roch of Ballynicanen"; and bequeaths to them all his lands and possessions, to be held in trust for his son and heir Edmond Fitz Gerald, with divers remainders over. He appears to have regained, at the Restoration, almost the whole of his father's estates, with the exception of Ballymartyr, which remained in the possession of the Earl of Orrery. He mentions also the lands of Cnockane M[c]deery, Carriginida, Carrigiguirane, Muanivoraghone, Lismilaghlin, and Faerannadahaderry, "sett and lett unto Mr. Thomas Uniacke of Barnegeehy for the time and tearme of thirty one yeares . . . and the said lands stand mortgadged to Mr. James Uniacke of the citty of Dublin in the summe of six hundred pounds ster."

This mortgage was executed 16th October, 1674, and the original deed is now in the possession of Major Lambert Uniacke, of Monkstown, county Cork, a direct descendant of James Uniacke, of Dublin. Thomas Uniacke, of Barnageehy, and of Ballyvergin, near Youghal, was the eldest brother of James Uniacke, and they were sons of Maurice Uniacke, of Youghal, who is mentioned in the will of James Fitz Gerald of Rostellane, in 1635. In a codicil to his will, dated 9th February, 1648, Maurice Uniacke appoints his "well beloved Cussen, Richard Fz Gerald Esquire of Rostelane," to be one of the overseers of his last will and testament, so that it would appear that James Uniacke of Dublin and Colonel Richard Fitz Gerald were related to one another.

In the Grants of Lands and other Hereditaments, under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, there is recorded a list of the lands in the

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[1] Prerogative Grant Books, P.R.O., Dublin.

[2] O'Hart's "Irish Landed Gentry"; Appendix, p. 427.

[3] Incheneycranagh, afterwards called "Castle Richard," is situate about four miles to the east of Ballymartyr. It continued in the possession of the descendants of Maurice Fitz Gerald, the younger brother of Colonel Richard Fitz Gerald, of Ballymartyr, until the middle of the present century, when Richard Fitz Gerald, of Castle Richard, Esquire, sold the property to Mr. Thomas John of Youghal. The old castle is still standing, and in excellent preservation. The Fitz Geralds of Castle Richard are the only known representatives, in direct male descent, of the Seneschals of Imokilly.

county of Cork (amounting to over 15,000 statute acres), granted to Murrough, Earl of Inchiquin. Among other estates forfeited by their royalist owners during the Commonwealth, and bestowed on the time-serving Parliamentary general after the Restoration, we find—"Rostellane, Ballinvolin, Ballynemony, Ballyneclassey, Ballycottygaunigg, Dwyletter, Killecunty, Ballinerostig, Barrada, Ballynevogher, and Dangindonovan," all or most of which lands had formerly belonged to the Manor of Rostellane. The grant is dated 20th December, 18th Charles II. (1666).[1]

Rostellane remained in the possession of the O'Briens, Earls of Inchiquin and Marquises of Thomond, until the death of the third and last Marquis of Thomond, without issue, 3rd July, 1855.

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[1] "Public Records of Ireland," Fifteenth Annual Report, 1825, p. 103.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

EARLY PAVEMENT TILES IN IRELAND.—FLORAL DESIGNS.

Scale ½.

EARLY PAVEMENT TILES IN IRELAND. PART III.

By W. FRAZER, F.R.C.S.I., Hon. F.S.A. (Scot.), Vice-President.

The first Paper which I contributed on Irish Tiles contained examples of "Armorial Tiles, those decorated with figures of animal life and ideal monsters, Ave Maria and educational tiles, and a few bearing satirical or humorous representations." These amounted to twenty-four examples. In the second Paper those tiles were considered which displayed shamrocks and *fleur-de-lis*, of which there were twenty-six different illustrations.

The present Paper (No. 3) is devoted to such tiles as have floral patterns, and a limited number with geometric designs. It contains drawings of twenty-one tiles derived from various localities in Ireland, and in all cases the specimens figured are referred to the churches and abbeys whence they were obtained. With few exceptions, the figures are drawn from tiles in my own possession at present, or from such as have a reliable history.

In all seventy-one of our Irish tiles are now figured, being more than double the number shown in Mr. Oldham's Plates; and from drawings in my possession, not yet represented, I hope hereafter to be able to contribute another Paper before concluding my descriptions of these interesting examples of mediæval art. For convenience in reproduction, the tiles have been uniformly reduced to one-fourth their original size, as it would have proved a serious difficulty to their appearance on the pages of our Society's Journal, unless such an arrangement was adopted for representing the patterns. I believe they will be found equally illustrative and useful as if drawn of full dimensions.

The character of the ornamentation observable in the present series leaves little room for observations of a critical character. The floral representations are, it will be noticed, rather imaginative than realistic; and, as they were intended altogether for ornamental purposes, perhaps the designers considered their productions more successful than simple Nature could produce. The juxtaposition of such tiles, it must be admitted, does display attractive and striking patterns, the effects of which can only be judged by placing a series of them in their proper arrangements. I regret to state that up to the present I have failed to obtain satisfactory proof that any of these tiles were made in Ireland, although it is possible some were burned here late in the sixteenth century. All our evidence at present goes to show that the better class especially of early tiles came from Wales or England.

TABULAR LIST OF TILES WITH FLORAL AND GEOMETRIC PATTERNS.

No. 1.—The juxtaposition of four tiles is needful to reproduce the perfect pattern of this design, which consists of a central rose-shaped figure, surrounded by leaves and flowers, executed with much freedom and skill, though it is difficult to refer either the flower or the leaf to any special plant. The tile was discovered in 1887, at St. Audoen's Church, Dublin, during repairs made there. The pattern was impressed into the body of the tile, and subsequently coated with a thick yellow glaze; the lead of this glaze became altered to a dark colour from the action of sulphur from decaying matters in the soil, as occurred in most of the specimens obtained from this locality. I have not obtained this pattern elsewhere.

No. 2.—A tile intended to be used for a border. The pattern well designed and graceful, although it is difficult to name the fruit and leaf intended to be drawn. It is figured by Mr. Oldham (see No. 7) in his Paper on Irish tiles. He considers it to represent the vine. I obtained it from St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, and a broken specimen from the ruins of St. Mary's Abbey in 1886.

No. 3.—There is a good example of this tile in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, and I obtained a worn specimen from St. Audoen's Church in 1887. It is of large size, composed of well-burned reddish clay, covered with pale-yellow glaze. The design is raised above the surface of the slab, and represented with much skill. But a botanist will find it difficult to recognise the plant so shown.

No. 4.—An impressed tile, of which I have two specimens, differing in minor details of ornamentation; both were found in St. Audoen's Church, High-street, Dublin, and one of them is figured in Street's work on the tiles found in Christ Church Cathedral. One tile was made from a pale-pink brick-clay, and the other had burned to a yellowish-red colour, a difference possibly due to varying degrees of heat in firing. The colour of the glaze was bright yellow. The pattern is formed by four of these tiles arranged together, and is rather handsome. Portion of a third tile made from reddish-brown clay, referable to this design was obtained in 1892, at Kildare Cathedral. The Dean of Kildare kindly submitted the fragment to me, it was sufficient to enable a sketch to be made.

No. 5.—A large-sized slab covered with yellow vitreous glaze, the pattern raised upon the surface of the tile. It was found at Great Connell Abbey, county Kildare, and is represented in a supplemental plate of Mr. Oldham's "Irish Tiles." Recently about eighteen specimens of it were purchased for the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, that were dug up about ten years since near the altar of Newtown Abbey,

[*To face page* 172.

Fig. 5.

Fig. 6.

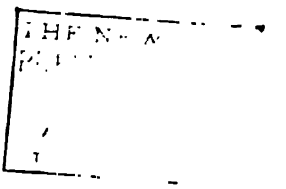
Fig. 7.

Fig. 8.

EARLY PAVEMENT TILES IN IRELAND.—FLORAL DESIGNS.

Scale ½.

ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.



[*To face page* 173.

Fig. 9.

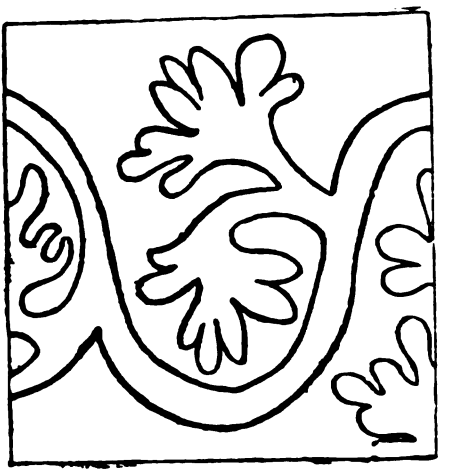


Fig. 10.

Fig. 11.

Fig. 12.

EARLY PAVEMENT TILES IN IRELAND.—FLORAL DESIGNS.

Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

Trim, and sold by the workmen employed there to a person in Trim. The complete pattern is intended to be formed by four of these tiles placed in a square. At the same time a couple of tiles with the arms of the Earl of Kildare were obtained; they were roughly burned, and belonged to the variety described in my first Paper, without the letters E. C.

No. 6.—This handsome tile, designed to constitute portion of a large pavement surface, was obtained from St. Patrick's Cathedral, and also from Newtown Abbey, Trim. It is figured by Mr. Oldham (in No. 10), and he gives a representation of nine of these tiles so disposed as to show the complete details of the ornamentation, four tiles being required to display the convoluted branches in a perfect circular arrangement.

No. 7 is a more elaborate and ornamental modification of No. 6. It is an impressed tile, and was obtained, when Christ Church Cathedral was restored and repaired by Mr. Street, in whose plates it is represented.

No. 8.—Also represented in Mr. Street's plates. The pattern is impressed on the clay body of the tile. I have examples of the usual square form, and also one of a perfect sectional half tile, both got from Christ Church Cathedral.

No. 9.—Obtained from St. Patrick's, Dublin. It is represented in Mr. Oldham's tiles (No. 13), and a perfect half tile was also found at St. Audoen's Church, Dublin, in 1887. The design is impressed and covered with a good yellow glaze. A similar pattern was got on a tile from Norton Priory, Cheshire, having acorns, in addition to the oak leaves.

No. 10.—The pattern was utilised in many places, for specimens were obtained from Christ Church and St. Patrick's Cathedrals, from St. Audoen's Church, Dublin, and from the Abbey of Mellifont. The figure was impressed, and had a thick yellow vitreous glaze. It was intended for use as a border, and although roughly drawn made an effective design.

No. 11.—This affords another example of floral ornament intended for a border pattern. It is an encaustic tile, the design being filled in by a paler coloured clay, forming a contrast with the red surface of the tile itself, the external surface being subsequently covered with vitreous glaze. It was got from Christ Church Cathedral.

No. 12.—Four tiles require to be placed together to obtain the perfect design; it is impressed on the surface of the slab, which has burned to a pale red colour of considerable hardness. Like many of the mediæval floral designs it is difficult to identify the plant intended to be represented, possibly it was a small branch of oak leaves. It was found in the explorations made in 1886, at St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, and subsequently got at St. Audoen's Church, High-street, Dublin.

No. 13.—There is no difficulty in recognising the oak leaves and acorns on this specimen. The design was impressed on the clay slab by a die, and then glazed. I obtained it from St. Audoen's Church in 1887.

No. 14.—This represents a transitional design, in part floral, and partly geometric, of which there are some variations. See Mr. Oldham's No. 14, in which circular dots occur on the arched band, running across the pattern, and the heart-shaped portion has a somewhat different arrangement. Mr. Oldham's modification came from St. Patrick's, and also from Christ Church. The one now figured was obtained in St. Mary's Abbey, and St. Canice's, Kilkenny.

No. 15.—Is a geometric pattern found at Christ Church, of which Mr. Oldham has represented a modified example, not showing annuli in the angles of the design, which was obtained from St. Patrick's, Dublin. This is an encaustic tile, with paler clay inlaid into the surface of the slab. I have also a tile of smaller size than that figured, got from the ruins of the Chapter House in Christ Church Cathedral, without these annuli, and having a large ring with triradiate partitions shown in the centre space. A similar tile to that figured was got in England at St. Cross, Winchester.

No. 16.—A large-sized tile, intended to form the pattern by juxtaposition of several slabs. Mr. Oldham (No. 3) gives a representation of a modified form of this design, and of the effect produced by arranging a series. He describes it as obtained from St. Patrick's and Bective Abbey. I obtained the specimen now figured from Christ Church and from St. Audoen's.

No. 17.—A tile of exceptional thickness and small size, measuring one inch and one-third in depth. The encaustic pattern impressed on clay that had, by strong burning, acquired a pale-red hue. I got it from the excavations at St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, where also was found a similar pattern spread out so as to cover over four contiguous tiles, each showing a fourth of the design.

No. 18.—A small-sized and exceptionally thick tile, similar to the last, well burned, and having the encaustic design shown in paler colour; from long-continued use the surface of this tile had become much worn. It was one of the specimens got from St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin.

No. 19.—This handsome design raised in strong relief from a die impressed on the surface of the tile, was obtained from the Abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul at Newtown, near Trim, and from Great Connell Abbey, Co. Kildare. It is figured in the rare supplemental plate attached to a few copies of Oldham's Paper on "Irish Tiles." The specimen I have is covered with a thick layer of yellow vitrified glaze.

Fig. 13.

Fig. 14.

Fig. 15.

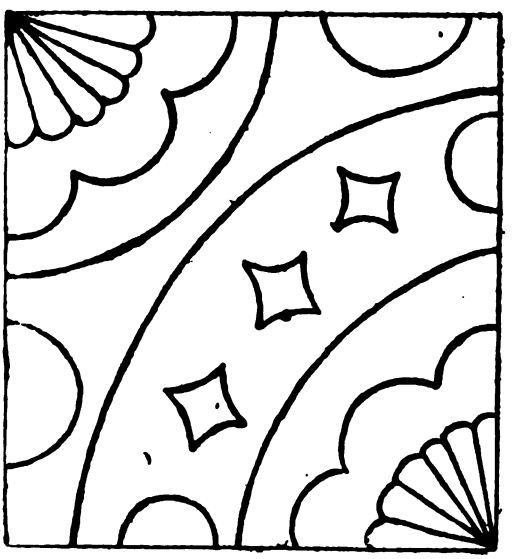


Fig. 16.

EARLY PAVEMENT TILES IN IRELAND.—FLORAL AND GEOMETRIC DESIGNS.

Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

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TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

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Fig. 17.

Fig. 18.

Fig. 19.

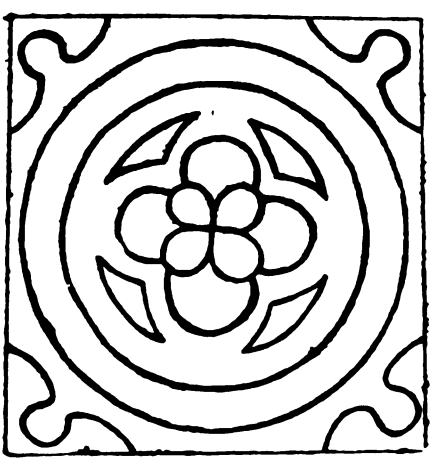


Fig. 20.

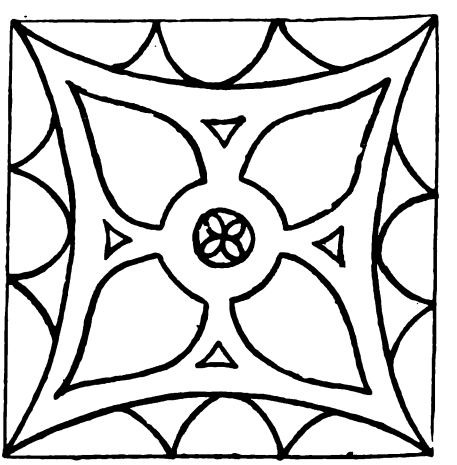


Fig. 21.

EARLY PAVEMENT TILES IN IRELAND.—GEOMETRIC DESIGNS. Scale ½.

No. 20.—The tile shown in this sketch was obtained from St. Audoen's, Dublin, in 1887. Its pattern is impressed and covered with the usual vitrified material.

No. 21.—The design would be better represented with thicker dark lines. It was found in Christ Church Cathedral, and a triangular half tile, similarly figured, came from St. Patrick's. It affords a good illustration of a simple geometric pattern.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WORKS OF REFERENCE RELATING TO TILES OBTAINED IN VARIOUS PARTS OF ENGLAND.

"Oxford Glossary of Architecture" contains an Article by the late Albert Way, Esq., Director of the Society of Antiquaries.

"Examples of Decorative Tiles." By John Gough Nicholls, F.S.A. Published in four parts, 4to, 1845. Representing 101 examples of Tiles obtained from sixty different places. Engraved in *facsimile*, with twenty-nine pages of descriptive letterpress.

"Specimens of Tile Pavements drawn from existing Authorities." By Henry Shaw, F.S.A., 1858. In imperial 4to. Giving descriptions of 48 different patterns of tiles.

"The Uses and Teachings of Ancient Encaustic Tiles." By Frank Renaud, M.D., F.S.A. In the "Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society," vol. ix. 1892. Illustrated by twenty-four full-sized reproductions of heraldic and other specially interesting tiles.

This is a valuable paper, and I owe Dr. Renaud special acknowledgments for a large series of coloured drawings of English tiles which he gave me.

"Armorial Tiles found in Worcestershire." By Rev. A. S. Porter. Published in the Transactions of the "Worcester Architectural and Archæological Society," vol. xix.

"Encaustic Tiles of the Middle Ages, especially those found in the South of Hampshire." By B. W. Greenfield, F.S.A. From the "Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club." Containing illustrations of ninety-two different tiles. I am indebted to Mr. Greenfield for a copy of this paper which he sent me.

"Strata Marcella Abbey, Wales." Nineteen tiles from this Abbey are figured in a Paper by J. W. Williams, Esq., describing the Excavations made under his superintendence in 1890. Published in the "Montgomeryshire Collections," vol. xxv.

Mr. Oldham, in his Work on Irish Tiles, gives references to several authorities of earlier date, which it is needless to republish, as they can be consulted, if desired, by examining his Notes.

Miscellanea.

Danish Spear-head.—The flint spear-head here illustrated has nothing in itself to commend it more than others of the same type and fashion that are found in Sweden and Denmark, and are met with in all collections of Scandinavian stone antiquities. But it is of extreme interest to both Irish and Danish archæologists because of its having been found in Ireland: not purchased yesterday and brought home by a collector or dealer, but dug up from the bottom of a dried-up lake at Scarriff, in the county Clare, by John O'Brien, a peasant farmer, who lives near Tullow. It is unquestionably of Danish origin, made of flint peculiar in colour and texture to Denmark, and is altogether foreign to the South of Ireland.

Irish antiquaries are familiar with gold and bronze ornaments of Scandinavian origin, found from time to time in this country, the decoration, form, character, and workmanship of which distinguish them from their Celtic companions. But this is the first example in stone that I have either heard of or met with whose original home can with certainty be assigned to Denmark, and whose original owner must have been among the very first of the adventurous and plucky bands of sailor-soldiers, freebooters, pirates, or whatever else they were, who made descents upon our eastern and western seaboards, and left the terror of their name as a legacy to the little scattered tribal families who then inhabited the shores of our harbours, river estuaries, and inland lakes. How long this spear-head, with broken point, lay in its old lake bed we will leave others to conjecture, but the fact remains that there it was found, and that it adds a link of stone to the gold, the bronze, and the iron chain that had already united two countries, so far apart, and yet so close in their ancient and old-time intercourse. The old lake bed at Scarriff is not far from the mouth of the River Shannon, whose sheltered waters and quiet harbours would have afforded a welcome anchorage to the Danish Viking's ship, while he with his crew would have started upon their predatory inroad upon the adjacent country. It is more than probable that it was in some such raid that this weapon, and possibly its owner, were lost in what may then have been the lake with its island crannog. The spear-head is of grey flint, and measures 5¼ inches in extreme length, and 1¾ inches at widest part of the blade.—ROBERT DAY, F.S.A., *Vice-President.*

The Seal of Emly.—"The ancient seal of the chapter of Emly, now in possession of Mr. William Morgan, at Ross Hill, Kildysart, county Clare,

Flint Spear-head of Danish origin, found at Scarriff.

was found in that neighbourhood about two years ago by a poor man who turned it up with his spade while tilling his garden. It is composed of bronze, and a small chain of the same metal, about 6 inches long, was attached to it by a ring which passed through a hole in the handle, which is vertical to the back of the seal, and in length about one-third of its diameter. The legend is 'SIGILLUM . CAPITULI . IMELACENSIS,' and the building represented was the Cathedral of Emly. The antique was for some time used as a plaything by the children of the family, and the ring and chain were lost, having probably been taken by some country woman to decorate her cloak, as the chain resembled those used for that purpose. The seal was brought to Mr. Morgan some months since by one of the family, and was offered to him for one shilling or anything he pleased to give."

This letter has no date, and was lent me by the Morgans of Old Abbey, county Limerick, along with some impressions and a lead cast of the seal. The original matrix is at present in the Collection of the Royal Irish Academy and has been figured by Mr. Caulfield in "Sigilla Ecclesiæ Hibernicæ," plate 2, as kindly pointed out to me by Mr. J. R. Garstin; it was found in 1848, which fixes the date of the letter to 1850. I may note that the building shown on the seal is quite conventional, and differs too much from Dinely's view of Emly to be considered (as it is by some antiquaries) an intended likeness.—T. J. W.

The Shamrock.—Dr. Frazer's Paper on the history of the shamrock has raised an interesting discussion regarding the antiquity and identity of our national emblem. According to some authorities the three-leaved clover was venerated as a sacred symbol by the ancient Germans, typifying the three grades of Druids, Bards, and Neophytes; and Vallancey tells us the mistletoe was sacred to the druids, because not only its berries, but also its leaves, grew in clusters of *three* united to one stock. St. Patrick, understanding the obstinate character of the Celt, changed, but did not eradicate, the cherished rites and observances of our pagan forefathers, and although O'Curry's statement that "there is not even a vestige of authority for the (modern) legend of the use made by St. Patrick of the shamrock, whether clover or wood-sorrel, in explaining the mystery of the Trinity to King *Laeghaire*," may be accepted as conclusive upon this point, still it must be admitted that many pagan customs have descended to us through unwritten tradition.

The assertion that wood-sorrel (*oxalis*) is the real shamrock may be set down as a genuine British blunder. Sourock, or *sour-oge*, is the name by which the sorrel plant is known in Ulster and the south of Scotland. Hence it came to be miscalled *shamrock* by writers ignorant of the language and habits of the Irish people.

It appears the unfortunate peasantry understood the medicinal

qualities of the wood-sorrel, for, according to the "British Flora Medica," "it has had the reputation of being refrigerant, &c., appeasing thirst, diminishing febrile heat. The infusion of the leaves is a pleasant drink in ardent fever."

As to the question whether *Trifolium minus* represents the true shamrock we must allow the botanists to argue it out; but ask an Irish peasant of ordinary intelligence and he will describe it as possessing a long, creeping stalk, with leaves of pure green, devoid of spot or stain. It is only in some sequestered nook, half hidden beneath the moss, that you are likely to find it.—PATRICK BARDAN.

A "Find" in Coolasluasty Lough, Co. Clare.—Mr. Arthur Gethin Creagh, of Fiaghmore, *Member*, reports that when the drainage works in the Carrahan district lowered Coolasluasty lake (Ordnance Survey Sheet 34) he made a curious discovery. Under 4 feet of good turf, which has been 6 feet under water, he found several planks. One was 5 feet long, and perfect, with a round hole in it; the edges worn as if by a rope. The other boards were in fragments, and all so soft that the hand sank into them. All round and under these planks were deers' bones, recalling the (alleged) meaning of the name Fiaghmore, "Great Deer," and directly beneath were found three human skulls (two female and one male), all the teeth sound, though worn, and with the lower jaws in the sockets; also arm bones and shoulder blades. Among these were two long oak poles, one neatly shaped with a sharp instrument, but no metal was found; perhaps weapons still remain deeper in the bog.

About 1000 yards farther on was found a fragment of a very neat gritstone quern, about 8 inch ring, and probably some 20 inches diameter. The central hole was surrounded by three concentric ridges, each 1 inch wide and rounded. A straight band crossed these and girdled a small handle-hole which did not go through the slab. The quern-stone was 1½ inch thick at the ring, and came to an edge.

All round the margin of the lake were gritstone hearths, about 6 feet in width, some twenty in all, with wonderfully fresh charcoal, and pigs and goats' bones, the long ones broken for marrow. Great stems and roots of bog-deal lay everywhere; all had fallen towards the east; the tops of many had been burned, and those of a few had been cut and the roots burned.—T. J. W.

Irish Kingdom of Dublin.—In the *Journal* for June, 1894, Mr. Goddard Orpen says (p. 126) that "there is no record of Dublin ever having been the seat of an Irish king."

I should like to mention that in the life of St. Molagga, who

flourished in the seventh century, the saint is represented as crossing over from Wales to the Fort of Dublin (*Dun Duibhlinne*), where he cured the King of Dublin, transferring his illness to his crosier. This being before the arrival of the Danes, the king must have been Irish. The Danish stronghold afterwards erected is called by a different name, *Longphort*. (See Life of St. Molagga in the "Dictionary of National Biography.")—T. OLDEN, M.R.I.A.

"Find" in Co. Roscommon.—The following objects were recently found by me on a crannog at Cloonglasnymore, Parish of Clooncraff, Co. Roscommon:—A bone comb toothed on both sides, resembling that figured in Sir W. Wilde's "Catalogue" (fig. 178, No. 149) as found at Lagore, Co. Meath, but larger, being about 5 inches long and 1¼ wide, and of a more artistic construction and pattern, being entirely of bone, including the rivets, and decorated with a lattice pattern; the ends curved in outline, and bearing the dot and circle ornamentation.

A small portion of a double-toothed comb, which I believe to be of some very hard wood.

A whetstone of a reddish brown colour, about 4¼ inches long, square in section, about 1 inch on the side at centre, tapering to ¾ inch at the ends, one end bears some incised figures which may have been intended as a private mark by the owner or manufacturer.

A bone ornament quite unique in character, there being nothing like it in the National Museum, Kildare-street, Dublin. It is formed from a section of a hollow bone of deer or sheep, and measures about 1¼ inches long. In shape it resembles a barrel, having a projecting moulding at each end. The intervening surface is carved with the *nodus Hibernicus* in relief. It may have been a pendant to, or one of the beads of, a necklet, or have formed part of the hilt of a sword or dagger, or been used to tighten a girdle or cincture.—GEORGE A. P. KELLY, M.A., *Fellow, Hon. Secretary for Co. Roscommon.*

The Boyne Obelisk.—The Members of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland may be interested to hear of the work now in progress for preservation of this monument. For some years past the obelisk had been in a dangerous condition from want of pointing. There was a serious crack running through several courses of the stones; grass was growing between the stones of the basement, and dislodging them; the monument had the appearance of having been struck by lightning, and had evidently suffered from the effects of frost. I had been assured by Sir T. Deane that if no steps were taken to preserve it, the monument would fall.

As the Board of Works were unable to undertake the charge of the obelisk, Col. Coddington and I made ourselves responsible for the work, which is being executed by Mr. Faulkiner, electrician, of Manchester, under the superintendence of Mr. Fuller.

We require a little over £100, and if any of our Members are disposed to assist in the preservation of this historical monument, I shall be happy to receive their contributions.

We have carefully avoided giving the matter a political or sectarian aspect.—B. R. Balfour, Townley Hall, Drogheda, *June 22nd*, 1895.

Notices of Books.

[Note.—*Those marked * are by Members of the Society.*]

***Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office.** Prepared under the superintendence of the Deputy-Keeper of the Records. Edward II. A.D. 1307–1313. (London: Printed for Her Majesty's Stationery Office, by Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1894.)

The present volume is one of seven, which have recently been issued by the English Record Office. The importance of the English Patent and Close Rolls for early local and family history is very great, and the publication of full calendars is most desirable for historical students in England, and to some extent for those of our own country.

This volume, while it adds somewhat to the materials for Irish history, reminds us afresh of our loss in the discontinuance of the Sweetman Calendar, for though there is no name on the title page, a brief prefatory note intimates that this is the work of Mr. G. F. Handcock, to whom the duty of continuing Mr. Sweetman's work had been intrusted before its further progress was stopped. In this volume we have assurance that that work could not have been placed in more careful or capable hands. When the discontinuance of the Sweetman Calendar first aroused dissatisfaction in Ireland, the English Record authorities replied to the complaints of Irish antiquaries, that the work was being continued in a more comprehensive way by this new series of calendars to the Patent and Close Rolls; and they pointed to the undoubted fact that the majority of the entries abstracted by Mr. Sweetman were obtained from these two series of rolls. This is quite true, but it is also the case that the most interesting and important documents, and much the greater bulk of the matter published by Mr. Sweetman was obtained from sources other than these. His calendar was in fact the result of an examination of some thirty series of Records.

While, however, we indulge in complaint, it must be admitted that there is some gain in bringing thus together all the entries on the rolls. The men occupied in the government of Ireland in the 13th and 14th century were chiefly new importations, and gathering the references to them in England as well as Ireland we can better understand the position of some of those mentioned. Thus we find in the present volume a Nicholas de Hugate presented to the church of Carlow. If this entry stood alone we might fancy Hugh an English clergyman settling down to parish work at Carlow. But other entries here show that he also held

benefices in the dioceses of Bangor, York, and Lincoln. Similarly, a Roger Wyngefeld obtained the church of Dungarvan, one of the richest rectories in Ireland. These patent rolls tell us that he already held benefices in the dioceses of York, Lincoln, Norwich, and Exeter. Both of these pluralists are described as King's Clerks—secretaries or clerkly attendants of the Royal Household, who, probably, never saw their Irish churches.

A still more interesting opportunity of comparing the entries relating to England and Ireland is offered by the requisitions to the seaport towns for aid in the war against King Robert Bruce. To support the royal army some 20 English towns on the south and west coast of England were required to furnish 40 ships (p. 353). The chief of these towns were Bristol, Southampton, and Dartmouth, each of which was to provide three. At the same time 22 ships were called for from the ports on the south and east coasts of Ireland, 3 each from Cork, Waterford, Drogheda, Dublin, Ross, and Youghal, the remainder from Wexford, Carrickfergus, and Coleraine.

Though light is thus gained by a comparison of entries relating to Ireland with those concerning England, the gain is, on the whole, less than might be expected, and the series, valuable as it undoubtedly is, can only to a limited extent be considered to supply to Ireland the place of the Sweetman Calendar.

The present volume seems to be admirably done; the entries, while giving every necessary detail, are never needlessly diffuse, and the book is made thoroughly useful by an ample index.

Armorial Families: a Complete Peerage, Baronetage, and Knightage; and a Directory of some Gentlemen of Coat-Armour, and being the First Attempt to show which Arms in use at the moment are borne by Legal Authority. Compiled and Edited by Arthur Charles Fox-Davies. (Edinburgh: T. C. and E. C. Jack, 1895.)

There is, perhaps, no subject concerning which more widespread ignorance prevails than the laws which regulate the right to use armorial ensigns. An enormous number of persons have assumed and use them—crests especially—under the mistaken notion that it is lawful for them to do so. This is due to a great extent to the erroneous idea, fostered by seal-engravers and jewellers, that all people of the same name are entitled to use the same arms. So far from this being the case, the right to bear arms is, like a title of nobility, only acquired by patent granted by the Kings of Arms, to whom the Sovereign, the fountain of honour, has delegated his authority in that respect. It was ordained by Royal Proclamation in the year 1417 that no man should in future bear

arms in England without lawful authority, and the Heralds' College, or College of Arms, subsequently incorporated, has control over all matters pertaining to the use of arms in that country. In Scotland similar jurisdiction is exercised by the Lyon Office. The Office of Arms in Ireland was called into existence for a like purpose in the year 1552 by the creation of the offices of Ulster King of Arms and Principal Herald of all Ireland, and of Athlone Pursuivant of Arms. Owing, doubtless, to the fact that prior to the creation of these officers no certain rules prevailed regulating the use of arms in Ireland, Ulster has power to grant a Confirmation of arms in cases where it can be proved to his satisfaction that certain arms have been continuously used by a family for three generations or one hundred years. Mr. Fox-Davies is in error in stating that the Officers of the College of Arms have the *sole* authority and control of armorial matters for the whole of Her Majesty's dominions except Scotland and Ireland. No such exclusive jurisdiction exists outside the United Kingdom. As a matter of fact Ulster exercises heraldic authority over persons of Irish descent wherever resident, and the other Kings have an equal right to bear similar sway over their subjects throughout the world. No person, then, is entitled to use arms without a Grant or a Confirmation to himself or his ancestor, and in the latter case his descent from such ancestor must be capable of proof in the same manner as would be required in proving title to an estate. Hence the necessity of having pedigrees duly registered in the Offices of Arms. But while the person who displays armorial ensigns without any right thereto struts in borrowed plumage like the jackdaw with the peacock's feather, strange to say, there are not a few instances of persons, whose right to a certain coat is undoubted, having wrongfully assumed another through mistake or ignorance, or, indeed, sometimes of *malice prepense*. Hitherto no attempt has been made to set forth clearly the lawful use, and also the abuse, of arms. This book is not an official publication. But neither is there any existing Peerage or Baronetage or other book treating in a similar manner of arms and titles, which possesses any official authority. The object of Mr. Fox-Davies' work is "to take every living person who claims or pretends to the display of arms, to quote the arms he uses, and to let it be widely known whether his armorial insignia are borne with or without authority." This being a first attempt, perfection is not to be expected, but the Editor believes that such information as he gives is correct. Every entry not in italics is that of a genuinely armigerous person. In this respect the greatest caution has been exercised, as some of the names printed in italics are those of persons who can, doubtless, establish their right to arms, but have not yet satisfactorily done so. Many names of undoubtedly armigerous persons are altogether omitted, but through no fault of the Editor, who has had to depend upon the assistance received in response to his 50,000 circulars issued requesting information. The names of all Knights and Companions of the different

Orders, whether they use arms or not, are included, and many of them have not, and make no pretension to, arms. The book is illustrated with engravings of some five hundred coats of arms from drawings by well-known heraldic artists, several of these coats, as appears by referring to the text, being unlawfully assumed. The Editor claims that this is the first and only book that has touched upon the subject of liveries, and the first and only attempt to regulate the usage of cockades. The cockade, it is pointed out, is purely a fighting badge, so that it is essentially ridiculous for civilians or ladies to pretend to it. The book is intended to take its place among the other recognised handbooks of the year. As at present produced, however, the volume is too bulky to be used conveniently as a book of reference. Exclusive of the introductory essay on "The Abuse of Arms" and the plates, 112 in number, the text occupies 1,086 double-column pages. Mr. Fox-Davies disdains the use of abbreviations, and insists on printing every word in full. There is also much needless repetition. If the end in view be eventually attained, and the name of every living person who claims arms be included, it will be absolutely necessary to avoid all repetition and to abbreviate as much as possible in order to keep the work within reasonable limits.

Mr. Fox-Davies makes some practical suggestions as to remedying the abuse of Arms, and appeals to the *Ex Libris* Society to pillory all book-plates of Arms assumed without authority. The obvious means to prevent abuse is for the Kings of Arms to publish official lists of the Arms registered in their offices. There is no reason why this should not be done, and the Lyon King has already issued a work of this kind.

Historical Reminiscences of Dublin Castle from 849 *to* 1895. By F. E. R. (Dublin: Sealy, Bryers, & Walker, 1895.)

We have here an outline of the history of the Castle and its principal occupants, from the earliest mention of the fortress of the Norsemen which occupied portion of the site. The information is derived chiefly from the works of Dr. J. T. Gilbert, and from Mr. W. J. Bayley's "Historical Sketch of the Castle," published some years ago. Of the Norman Castle, built at the commencement of the thirteenth century, the only portion which remains is the Wardrobe Tower, now occupied by the State Paper Office and Office of Arms. The rest of the buildings which constitute the Castle date from the middle of the last century. The State apartments are fully described, and also the ceremonies of the Viceregal Court and of the Order of St. Patrick, with some curious particulars of the manner in which Viceregal entertainments were conducted in former days. The book is illustrated from photographs of the Upper Castle Yard, St. Patrick's Hall, the State Dining Room, Viceregal Lodge, Throne Room, and Chapel Royal.

**Historical Sketches of Monaghan from the earliest times to the Fenian Movement.* By Denis Carolan Rushe, B.A., F.R.S.A. (Ireland). (Dublin: James Duffy & Co., 1895.)

MONAGHAN is one of the few counties in Ireland of which a history has been written, and is fortunate in having as historian a distinguished antiquary, the late Evelyn Philip Shirley, F.S.A., a Fellow also of our Society, whose work will ever remain as the foundation upon which all subsequent historians of the county must build. Under the title of "Historical Sketches of Monaghan" Mr. Rushe has included a collection of essays and papers, written by him at various times. They contain a great amount of interesting information, and much that is new, concerning the town of Monaghan and its neighbourhood; but owing to the circumstances in which the different chapters were written they are necessarily of unequal value. The most interesting and valuable contributions to local history are those on the United Irishmen in Monaghan, Local Geography and Topography, the Tithe War, and Secret Societies in the County after the Union. The last includes some of the principal occurrences in the county down to the year 1864. While, however, there is much to commend in Mr. Rushe's work from the standpoint of the historian, we cannot too strongly condemn the tone adopted in the introduction in reference to Mr. Shirley. This is not calculated to increase the value of the book.

Proceedings.

THE SECOND GENERAL MEETING of the Society, for the year 1895, was held (by permission of the Mayor) in the Council Chamber of the Tholsel, Kilkenny, on Monday, 6th May, at two o'clock, p.m.

DEPUTY SURGEON-GENERAL KING, M.B., M.A., M.R.I.A., *Fellow*, in the Chair.

The following took part in the proceedings in Kilkenny or Waterford :—

Fellows :—Robert Cochrane, F.S.A., M.R.I.A., *Hon. General Secretary and Treasurer;* The Most Rev. R. A. Sheehan, D.D., Bishop of Waterford and Lismore; G. D. Burtchaell, M.A., M.R.I.A.; P. M. Egan, J.P., *Hon. Secretary for Kilkenny City;* W. E. Kelly, J.P.; Richard Langrishe, F.R.I.A.I.; William R. Molloy, M.R.I.A.; M. M. Murphy, M.R.I.A., *Hon. Secretary for North Kilkenny;* The Rev. P. Power; M. J. Hurley, *Hon. Secretary for Waterford City.*

Members :—The Rev. W. Healy, P.P., *Hon. Provincial Secretary for Leinster;* The Rev. Canon Hewson, B.A., *Hon. Secretary for South Kilkenny;* R. J. Ussher, J.P., *Hon. Secretary for West Waterford;* E. W. Kelly, *Hon. Secretary for East Waterford;* W. J. Smith, J.P., Mayor of Waterford; the Very Rev. Thomas Hare, D.D., Dean of Ossory; F. J. Bigger, M.R.I.A.; C. P. Bolton, J.P.; the Rev. W. Carrigan, C.C.; Miss M. Chearnley; James Coleman; Alderman Coyle; the Rev. H. W. Davidson, B.A.; Edward Fennessy; Surgeon Lieut.-Col. Greene, M.B.; Thomas Greene, LL.B.; J. Ernest Grubb; the Rev. M. P. Hickey; Miss F. Keane; P. Kenny; Miss K. L. King; Brian Mac Sheehy, LL.D.; John M'Neill; the Very Rev. F. O'Brien, P.P., M.R.I.A.; the Rev. E. O'Leary, P.P.; Dr. G. O'C. Redmond; the Rev. Canon Rooke, M.A.; John F. Small; G. N. Smith, B.A.; the Rev. R. O. Thompson; Edmund Trouton; P. J. Tuohy, B.L.; J. N. White, M.R.I.A.; Miss Younge.

The Minutes of the Annual General Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following Candidates, recommended by the Council, were declared duly elected :—

FELLOWS.

M. J. Hurley, Hon. Secretary, Waterford and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society (*Member*, 1890), Abbeylands, Waterford: proposed by Robert Cochrane, F.S.A., *Hon. General Secretary.*

John Moran, M.A., LL.D. (*Member*, 1888), Boyne Villa, Trim: proposed by Robert Cochrane, F.S.A., *Hon. General Secretary.*

T. Barry Lillis, Rosemount, Booterstown: proposed by J. J. Digges La Touche, LL.D., *Fellow.*

Members.

Miss Badham, St. Margaret's Hall, Mespil-road, Dublin: proposed by John Cooke, M.A., *Fellow*.

Miss M. Josephine Bennett, Blair Castle, Cork: proposed by Joseph H. Bennett.

Alexander Mitchell Burden, C.E., County Surveyor, Kilkenny: proposed by R. Langrishe, J.P., *Fellow*.

George W. Casson, J.P., 25, Clyde-road, Dublin: proposed by J. Vincent Legge.

Miss H. F. Chamney, 15, Elgin-road, Dublin: proposed by Miss Reynell, *Hon. Secretary, Co. Westmeath*.

Robert William Christie, F.I.B., 21, Elgin-road, Dublin: proposed by H. Allingham, M.R.I.A., *Hon. Secretary, Co. Donegal*.

The Rev. Joseph W. Coulter, B.A., Cathedral Close, Ferns: proposed by G. E. J. Greene, F.L.S., M.R.I.A.

The Rev. Albert E. Crotty, M.A., Moyliscar Rectory, Mullingar: proposed by the Rev. W. Falkiner, M.A.

S. A. D'Arcy, L.R.C.P.I., L.R.C.S.I., Rossles, Co. Fermanagh: proposed by the Rev. G. R. Buick, LL.D., *Vice-President*.

Joseph Francis Dawson, Inspector, Munster and Leinster Bank, Cork: proposed by John H. Robinson.

The Hon. Edward A. de Moleyns, J.P., Dingle, Co. Kerry: proposed by D. de C. Mac Gillycuddy.

James Fleming, Jun., Kilmory, Skelmorlie, Scotland: proposed by the Rev. G. R. Buick, LL.D., *Vice-President*.

W. Blythe Gerish, 3, Oxford Villas, Wormley, Herts: proposed by L. M. Ewart, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*.

Graham Augustus Goold, Solicitor, Monkstown, Cork: proposed by Joseph H. Bennett.

Mrs. J. Greene, Monte Vista, Ferns: proposed by G. E. J. Greene, F.L.S., M.R.I.A.

Howard Guinness, Chesterfield, Blackrock: proposed by Rev. Dr. Stokes, M.R.I.A.

Thomas Hayes, C.I., R.I.C., Hawarden Villa, Mullingar: proposed by S. K. Kirker, *Fellow, Hon. Secretary, Co. Cavan*.

George Hickson, Woodville, Castleisland, Co. Kerry: proposed by D. de C. Mac Gillycuddy.

Benjamin Hughes, *Independent* Office, Wexford: proposed by G. E. J. Greene, F.L.S., M.R.I.A.

The Rev. John Humphreys, B.A., The Manse, Tullamore; proposed by the Rev. J. Tweedie Agnew.

The Rev. David Jones, M.A., Canon of Bangor Cathedral, Llandegai, N. Wales: proposed by D. Griffith Davies, B.A.

Ernest A. Kinnear, Ballyheigue Castle, Co. Kerry: proposed by D. de C. Mac Gillycuddy.

P. M. Laffan, L.R.C.P.I., Belper Hill, Tara, Co. Meath: proposed by the Rev. Oliver Brighton, M.A.

Z. J. Ledger, 27, George-street, Limerick: proposed by Thomas J. Westropp, M.A., M.R.I.A., *Fellow, Hon. Provincial Secretary for Leinster*.

Joseph Lewis, Sandycroft, Bloomfield, Belfast: proposed by W. J. O'Neill.

William Irwin Mahaffy, Solicitor, Ward Villa West, Bangor, Co. Down: proposed by S. W. P. Cowan, B.A., *Fellow*.

Miss H. G. Manders, 17, Waterloo-road, Dublin: proposed by W. Frazer, F.R.C.S.I., M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

The Rev. P. M'Girr, Adm., Westport: proposed by P. Newell, B.A., *Hon. Secretary, Co. Mayo*.

The Most Rev. Thomas J. M'Redmond, D.D., Bishop of Killaloe, Bishop's House, Ashline, Ennis: proposed by Thomas J. Westropp, M.A., M.R.I.A., *Fellow, Hon. Provincial Secretary for Leinster*.

James Montgomery, 5, Carlisle-road, Londonderry: proposed by Thomas Watson, *Fellow*.

John W. Mullen, Physician and Surgeon, Ladywell Sanatorium, Eccles, Lancashire: proposed by Ben. H. Mullen, M.A., *Fellow*.

Mrs. Murtagh, 9, Raglan-road, Dublin: proposed by John Robert O'Connell, LL.D., *Fellow*.

Miss Murtagh, 9, Raglan-road, Dublin: proposed by John Robert O'Connell, LL.D., *Fellow*.

The Very Rev. Thomas O'Meara, P.P., V.G., Roscrea: proposed by H. C. Brett, B.A., *Hon. Secretary, Co. Tipperary*.

George L. O'Connor, Architect, 198, Great Brunswick-street, Dublin: proposed by William Stirling.

Frank Hugh O'Donnell: proposed by William P. O'Neill, M.R.I.A.

Patrick M. O'Halloran, Corofin, Co. Clare: proposed by Thomas J. Westropp, M.A., M.R.I.A., *Hon. Provincial Secretary for Leinster*.

Miss Edith Oldham, 33, Upper Leeson-street, Dublin: proposed by George Coffey, B.E., M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

James Perry, M.E., M. INST. C.E., Co. Surveyor, Well Park, Galway: proposed by Robert Cochrane, F.S.A., M.R.I.A., *Hon. General Secretary*.

Robert A. Simms, Lisdoron, Ballymena: proposed by the Rev. G. R. Buick, LL.D., *Vice-President*.

Robert Wolfe Smyth, J.P., Portlick Castle, Athlone: proposed by Edward M. Gleeson, J.P.

Miss Stacpoole, Edenvale, Ennis: proposed by Thomas J. Westropp, M.A., M.R.I.A., *Fellow, Hon. Provincial Secretary for Leinster*.

Michael B. Stokes, The Square, Tralee: proposed by D. de C. Mac Gillycuddy.

Thomas Courtney Townshend, B.A. (Dubl.), 23, South Frederick-street, Dublin: proposed by Everard Hamilton, B.A.

Chas. Francis Walker, Kilmore-quay, Wexford: proposed by J. J. Perceval, *Fellow*.

Thomas Walpole, J.P., Monadrehid, Borris-in-Ossory: proposed by B. P. J. Mahony, M.R.C.V.S., *Hon. Secretary, Queen's County*.

John S. Weir, J.P., Carrickbrack, Convoy, Co. Donegal: proposed by Walter Bernard, F.R.C.P.

The Rev. Percival S. Weldon, Nurney Rectory, Bagenalstown: proposed by the Rev. J. F. M. ffrench, M.R.I.A., *Fellow, Hon. Secretary, Co. Carlow*.

W. H. Welply, Inspector of National Schools, 5, Ely-place, Galway: proposed by A. P. Morgan, B.A.

Miss Westropp, Deer Park, Clonlara, Limerick: proposed by Thomas J. Westropp, M.A., M.R.I.A., *Hon. Provincial Secretary for Leinster*.

F. P. C. Wheeler, 64, Hatton Garden, London: proposed by the Rev. W. Falkiner, M.A.

Robert C. Wilson, Tops, Raphoe: proposed by Walter Bernard, F.R.C.P.

Thomas Wray, Hanover-place, Coleraine: proposed by John Kennedy.

The following Report was read and unanimously adopted on the motion of Alderman Coyle, seconded by Mr. M. M. Murphy, M.R.I.A., *Fellow*:—

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS OF THE TREASURER'S ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1894.

"The Receipts for the year 1894 amounted to £878 18*s.* 7*d.*, being slightly in excess of those for 1893. The amount received by subscriptions, £664 8*s.*, shows an increase of £31 10*s.* on the preceding year, and is the largest amount yet received under that head, although there has been a slight diminution in Entrance Fees. The Expenditure is considerably less than in 1893. It amounts to £884 7*s.* 7*d.*, including the sum of £100 transferred to the Capital Account, which now stands at £900, leaving a balance on the General Account of £100 5*s.* 3*d.* in the Provincial Bank to the credit of the Society."

By permission of the Mayor, the Civic Sword and Mace were laid on the table for exhibition.

Mr. P. M. Egan, *Fellow, Hon. Secretary for Kilkenny City*, exhibited an old Pistol presented to the Museum of the Society by Mr. Edward O'Grady. It was found near St. Francis Abbey, where the city was assaulted by Cromwell.

The following Paper was read and referred to the Council:—

"On a recently-discovered Monument at Inistiogue, county Kilkenny," by the Rev. Canon Hewson, B.A., *Hon. Secretary for South Kilkenny*.

On the motion of Mr. Langrishe, *Fellow*, seconded by Dr. MacSheehy, a vote of thanks was passed to the Mayor of Kilkenny for having so kindly granted the use of the Council Chamber in which to hold the Meeting of the Society.

The meeting then adjourned to 8.30 p.m. at Waterford.

ACCOUNT OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND FOR 1894.

CHARGE.

1894.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Jan. 1.	To Balance from 1893,		105 14 3
Dec. 31.	„ Subscriptions—Fellows,	158 0 0	
„	„ „ „ Members,	506 8 0	
			664 8 0
„	„ Entrance Fees—Fellows,	21 10 0	
„	„ „ „ Members,	62 0 0	
			83 10 0
„	„ Life Compositions—Fellows,	27 10 0	
„	„ „ „ Members,	27 10 0	
			55 0 0
„	„ Sale of Publications,		14 2 0
„	„ Interest on 2¾ per cent. Consols,	20 14 9	
„	„ „ Current Account,	1 13 10	
			22 18 7
„	„ Donations to General Funds,		3 0 0
„	„ Messrs. Burtchaell and Cullinan, proportion of one year's Rent, 7, St. Stephen's Green, to 30th June, 1894,		36 0 0
	Total,		£984 12 10

CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

	£ s. d.
Amount in 2¾ per Cent. Consols invested in the names of Edward Perceval Wright and Robert Cochrane (Trustees).	803 19 2
Amount invested in 1894,	100 0 0

DISCHARGE.

1894.		£ s. d.
Dec. 31.	By Messrs. Ponsonby & Weldrick's Account for Printing, Binding, and Distributing Four Quarterly Parts (1500 copies each) of the *Journal*,	354 19 4
„	„ Messrs. Ponsonby & Weldrick's Account for Miscellaneous Printing,	58 16 5
„	„ Extra Publications Account and Drawings, Blocks, &c. for do.,	54 4 0
„	„ Illustrations for *Journal*,	45 2 7
„	„ Stationery Account,	7 5 9
„	„ Postages and Incidental Expenses Account,	20 9 5
„	„ Expenses of General Meetings and Excursions in 1894,	13 17 5
„	„ Mr. R. Day, *Vice-Pres.*, Expenses incurred by him for Special Trains at Cork Meeting, 1893,	6 8 3
„	„ Rent and Insurances, Museum, Kilkenny, and 7, St. Stephen's Green, Dublin,	91 3 9
„	„ Assistant-Secretary and Treasurer for one year (1894),	80 0 0
„	„ Expenses of Photographic Survey,	31 7 2
„	„ Drawings purchased from Mr. J. G. Robertson,	15 0 0
„	„ Purchase of back Numbers of the *Journal*,	2 12 6
„	„ Amount invested in 2¾ per Cent. Consols, 1894,	100 0 0
„	„ Refund of Subscriptions paid in error in 1894,	1 0 0
„	„ Subscription to Archæological Conference, 1894,	1 0 0
„	„ „ „ "Henry Bradshaw Society," 1894,	1 1 0
„	„ Balance, 31st December, 1894,	100 5 3
	Total,	£984 12 10

(Signed) { ROBERT COCHRANE, Hon. Secretary and Treasurer.
G. D. BURTCHAELL, Secretary and Treasurer.

We have examined this Account, with the Vouchers and Books, and find it correct, there being in the Provincial Bank to the Credit of the Society on 31st December, 1894, £100 5s. 3d. The Capital Account now amounts to £900 invested in 2¾ per Cent. Consols in the names of the Trustees.

(Signed) JOHN COOKE, J. G. ROBERTSON, } *Auditors.* (23rd April, 1895.)

Approved—H. King, *Chairman*, 6th May, 1895.

EXCURSION—FIRST DAY.

MONDAY, *6th May*, 1895.

The Members visited St. Canice's Cathedral, where they were received by the Very Rev. the Dean of Ossory, who exhibited the church plate. They were subsequently conducted over the Cathedral by Mr. Langrishe, *Fellow*. On the invitation of the Dean, a visit was paid to the Deanery to see a curious cabinet of the sixteenth century. The Black Abbey, St. Mary's Church, where the Keteller monument (described by Mr. Egan and Colonel Vigors, *Journal*, pp. 72–79) has been placed, and the Museum were visited, and at six o'clock, p.m. the Members left Kilkenny by train for Waterford.

EVENING MEETING.

The Society again met after dinner in the Imperial Hotel, Waterford, where they were joined by several Members of the Waterford and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society.

DEPUTY SURGEON-GENERAL KING, M.B., M.A., M.R.I.A., *Fellow*, in the Chair.

The following Paper was read and referred to the Council:—

"The Crannog of Ardmore," by R. J. Usher, *Hon. Secretary for West Waterford*

The Meeting then adjourned to Tuesday evening, 7th May.

EXCURSION—SECOND DAY.

TUESDAY, *7th May*, 1895.

The Members of the Royal Society of Antiquaries and the Waterford and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society left Waterford at 9.40 a.m. *via* the Waterford, Dungarvan, and Lismore Railway for Ballylynch crossing, on the line midway between Durrow and Dungarvan, whence they proceeded by cars to visit the Ogham-lined caves of Drumloghan. They then went on to Dungarvan, passing the great glacial boulder called Cloghlourish, and visited Abbeyside Castle and the Augustinian abbey church. After luncheon at the Devonshire Arms Hotel, Dungarvan, the Members drove to the old church of Kilrush, visited the Great Moate or Tumulus known as "Gallows Hill," the Holed Wall in the churchyard, Old House in Barrack-street, and Dungarvan Castle and Tower, returning to Waterford by special train at 5.10 p.m. The party was conducted by Mr. R. J. Usher, *Hon. Secretary for West Waterford*, to whom a vote of thanks was passed before leaving Dungarvan.

EVENING MEETING.

The Members of both Societies again met, at eight o'clock, p.m., in the Council Chamber of the Town Hall, Waterford, kindly placed at their disposal by the Mayor, Mr. W. J. Smith, *Member*:

The MOST REV. DR. SHEEHAN, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, *Fellow*, in the Chair.

His Lordship, in opening the Meeting, said:—

"LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—We are met here this evening for the continuation of the work of the visit of the Royal Society of Antiquaries to this city of ours, and in taking the chair I feel very great pleasure in bidding a welcome to the Members of this important Society. There is no one who knows anything of the efforts that have been made in modern times to revive a knowledge of Ireland and of what belonged to her in days of old, that has not reason to feel deeply grateful to the Society of Antiquaries. They have gone through various parts of the country, and wherever they have gone, I believe it is true to say, that their visit has been marked either by a revival of interest in Irish antiquities, or, if such already existed, of increasing it. We have been trying in our own city to do something to bring back a knowledge of the various matters of antiquarian interest that exist in our locality, and, thanks to the great efforts that have been made by some of our Members, I think the work of our local Society has been not altogether unsuccessful. I am sure this visit of the Royal Society of Antiquaries will stimulate still more the interest which we should all take in everything that concerns the history of our country in olden days; and, consequently, from what it has done elsewhere, and from what it is likely to do for us, I have very great pleasure in taking the chair this evening at a Meeting of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland."

The following Papers were read, and referred to the Council:—

"The Holy Ghost Friary, commonly called the French Church of Waterford," by the Rev. Patrick Power, *Fellow*.

"The Danish Christ Church of Waterford," by Thomas Drew, R.H.A., *President*. (Read by the Hon. General Secretary).

The following Papers were taken as read, and referred to the Council for publication:—

"On the Irish St. Patrick or Floreat Rex Coinage, subsequently circulated in New Jersey by Mark Newbie, with reasons for connecting it with Lord Glamorgan's attempt to levy troops in Ireland for Charles I.," by W. Fraser, F.R.C.S.I., HON. F.S.A. (Scot.), *Vice-President*.

"History and List of the Goldsmiths of Cork," by Cecil C. Woods, *Fellow*.

A vote of thanks was passed to the Mayor of Waterford for his kindness in placing the Council Chamber at the disposal of the Society.

A vote of thanks was also passed to the Waterford, Dungarvan, and Lismore Railway Company for the facilities afforded the Society on their excursion.

ROBERT COCHRANE, F.S.A., M.R.I.A., *Hon. General Secretary and Treasurer*, having been moved to the second Chair,

On the motion of Mr. F. J. Bigger, seconded by Mr. Molloy, *Fellow*, a vote of thanks was passed to the Bishop of Waterford and Lismore for the manner in which he had presided.

His Lordship having acknowledged the vote of thanks,

The Society then adjourned to Monday, 8th July, 1895.

WEDNESDAY, 8*th May*, 1895.

The Members assembled at the Town Hall, Waterford, and inspected the numerous City Charters, which were taken from the Muniment Room to the Council Chamber for examination. The Cap and City Sword, the Parchment Book and other Records in the archives of the Corporation were also exhibited. From the Town Hall the party proceeded on foot to Reginald's Tower, the French church (where the Rev. P. Power read the concluding portion of the Paper read by him at the Meeting of the previous evening), St. Saviour's Priory, the Holy Trinity Cathedral, where the ancient vestments and plate were seen, the remains of the City Walls, Christ Church Cathedral, and the Deanery Crypt. The party was under the charge of the Rev. P. Power, *Fellow*, to whom, as well as to Mr. M. J. Hurley, *Fellow*, the thanks of the Members are due for the successful manner in which the arrangements in connexion with the Waterford meeting were carried out.

THE JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

OF IRELAND,

FOR THE YEAR 1895.

PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS—PART III. THIRD QUARTER, 1895.

Papers.

ORIGINS OF PREHISTORIC ORNAMENT IN IRELAND.

By GEORGE COFFEY, A.I.B., M.R.I.A., Fellow.

(*Continued from page* 29.)

VII.

Herringbone, chevron, and triangle ornament is characteristic of early Bronze Age decoration in Europe generally. As already stated, these forms are possibly of local origin, that is to say, native in Europe. But from the studies of independent investigators, referred to at some length in the earlier portion of this Paper, it would appear that, simple as these forms seem to be, they do not represent the first stages in the development of ornament. In the present state of the inquiry we have no reason to believe that geometric forms have ever been spontaneously invented. On the contrary they appear to have been invariably derived through a process of conventionalisation from realistic prototypes. The tendency to conventionalisation further appears be a general and continuing tendency, not confined to any one people or group of peoples.

Whatever the starting-points in naturalistic form, conventionalisation (determined by limitations of materials worked in and means of execution) would appear to lead to similar geometric forms. How far then all prehistoric ornament, including herringbone, chevron, and

triangle forms, is to be considered as of outside origin is a subject on which it is not safe to generalise freely. The argument for a borrowed origin —to recapitulate—is: That before any of these forms could have been reached independently in Europe, they would have been communicated from the older centres of civilization in which they had been already developed. This argument assumes that there was no period of isolation in Europe during which ornament would have been independently developed.

It must, however, be conceded that the characteristic manner in which the triangle ornament of the Bronze Age is so frequently filled in with overlapping triangles or with hatching (possibly a simplification of the former) carries with it a suggestion of common origin, and supports a reference to the overlapping triangles of Egypt. The overlapping triangle enrichment of Egyptian ornament is frequently replaced by a filling of dots. A similar replacement by dots occurs also in European Bronze Age decoration, and may be a further point of relation.

The black ware incised with chevron and triangle ornament, found in Egypt in association with XII. Dynasty remains, is believed to be of European origin. There is evidence, as we shall see presently, that Egyptian influence was felt in the Ægean as early as the XII. Dynasty (about 2700–2500 B.C.) Whether, therefore, these patterns represent a still earlier wave of Egyptian influence in the Mediterranean, or independent European ornament, is a question which must remain in suspense for further evidence.[1]

But, however the case may be for the forms mentioned, and whether the chevron and triangle have been originally derived from Egypt, or the incoming of these forms in company with other patterns, chiefly from Egypt, has simply incorporated previously existing geometric patterns, the evidence for the relation of the group of forms discussed in sections II.–IV. is not disturbed by these considerations. In the sections referred to we traced the derivation of a definite group of associated forms, associated by reason of organic relation in the parent patterns. Though the derived forms have probably been caught up again and again at various stages in the process of conventionalisation, and locally adapted for decorative purposes, the recurrence on the trade-routes of the well-marked features of the group bespeak their common origin and diffusion by trade.

One of the most clearly marked instances of Egyptian influence in the Ægean patterns is the dominant spiral motive of Mycenæan ornament. This, as already explained, is accounted for by the great development of spiral patterns in Egypt during the XVIII. Dynasty, comprising a

[1] The highly developed geometric patterns of Chaldæa, as seen in the chevron, triangle, and lozenge patterns on the temple buildings at Uruk, may indicate a contributing source in the spread of these patterns.

period when commercial relations between Egypt and the Mycenæ world were fully established. The XVIII. Dynasty is dated by the most recent corrections at 1587–1327 B.C.[1] The relations of Egypt with the Ægean in this period are established, not only by evidence of influence, such as the ceiling at Orchomenos and the wall painting at Tiryns, executed under the immediate influence of the Egyptian decoration of the XVIII. Dynasty, but also by numerous finds of Mycenæan pottery in Egypt, and of Egyptian objects at Mycenæ and Ialysos, dated with names of the XVIII. Dynasty. Inscriptions of Thothmes III. (1481–1449) recount among his tributaries the kings of the Phœnicians and the isles of the Great Sea. It thus appears that in the fifteenth century B.C. commercial relations and even political relations existed between Egypt and the Ægean. We shall not therefore be far astray if we set down the fifteenth century B.C. as the period at which the spiral of the Mycenæ patterns entered Europe through the gate of the Ægean.

A point of much interest raised by the recent discoveries of Mr. A. J. Evans in Crete has to be here considered: Mr. Evans has found in Crete scarabs of the XII. Dynasty. As he remarks, we have not to deal "with cartouches containing names which might possibly have been revived at later periods of Egyptian history, but with a peculiar class of ornament and material that forms the distinguishing characteristics of the Egyptian scarabs of XII. Dynasty date, and which, though partly maintained during the succeeding dynasty, gives way in later work to other decorative fashions."[2] The returning spiral motive was highly developed on the XII. Dynasty scarabs, and, as shown by Mr. Evans, was copied on seal-stones by the native Cretan engravers.

The following extract from Mr. Evans's Paper bears directly on our subject. I quote it at length:—

"From Crete, where we find these Ægean forms in actual juxtaposition with their Egyptian prototypes, we can trace them to the early cemeteries of Amorgos, presenting the same funeral inventory as that of Phæstos, and here and in other Ægean islands like Melos can see them taking before our eyes more elaborate developments. Reinforced a thousand years later by renewed intimacy of contact between the Ægean peoples and the Egypt of Amenophis III., the same system was to regain a fresh vitality as the principal motive of the Mycenæan goldsmith's work. But though this later influence reacted on Mycenæan art, as can be seen by the Orchomenos ceiling, the root of its spiral decoration is to be found in the earlier 'Ægean' system engrafted long before, in the days of the XII. Dynasty. The earliest gold-work as seen in the Akropolis Tombs is the translation into metal of 'Ægean' stone decoration. The spiral design on the stele of Grave V. is little more than a multiplication of that on the Phæstian seal.

[1] Petrie's "History of Egypt," p. 252.
[2] "Journal of Hellenic Studies," vol. xiv., p. 326.

"In the wake of early commerce the same spiraliform motives were to spread still further afield to the Danubian basin, and thence in turn by the valley of the Elbe to the Amber Coast of the North Sea, there to supply the Scandinavian Bronze Age population with their leading decorative designs. Adopted by the Celtic tribes in the Central European area, they took at a somewhat later date a westerly turn, reached Britain with the invading Belgæ, and finally survived in Irish art. The high importance of these Cretan finds is that they at last supply the missing link in this long chain, and demonstrate the historical connexion between the earliest European forms of this spiral motive and the decorative designs of the XII. Dynasty Egyptian scarabs. And it is worthy of remark that in Egypt itself, so far as it is possible to gather from the data at our disposal, this returning spiral system, which can be traced back to the IV. Dynasty, is throughout the earlier stages of its evolution restricted to scarabs. The primitive Ægean imitations are also in the same way confined to stonework, and were only at a later date transferred to metal and other materials. The whole weight of the archæological evidence is thus dead against the generally received theory that the spiral ornament, as it appears on Mycenæan art, originated in metalwork, though its later application to this and other materials naturally reacted on its subsequent development.

"It seems by no means improbable that this early Ægean spiral system, born of this very ancient Egyptian contact, was beginning to spread in a Northern direction at a date anterior to the great days of Mycenæ."[1]

Mr. Evans adds that it is noteworthy that in some Bronze Age deposits of Hungary certain clay stamps have come to light with a quadruple spiral design which might be taken as direct copies of a Cretan example which he figures, "nor are there wanting indications that the Ægean spiral system was leaving its impress on Italian handiwork before the days of Mycenæan contact."

Some of the preceding statements require a few words. The statement that "the spiral motive, adopted by the Celtic tribes in Central Europe, took at a later date a westerly direction, reached Britain with the Belgæ and survived in Irish art," is too general. I shall hope to show that the spiral reached Ireland, not by way of the Belgæ, but from the North in the early Bronze Age, as an extension of the movement of the spiral from the Ægean to the North. The later westward extension of the Late Celtic spiral, though it may be indirectly related to the earlier northward movement, is, I believe, historically distinct from it. The importance of this distinction is fundamental in any attempt to affix dates to the respective periods.

The interest for us of Mr. Evans's discoveries lies in the fact that

[1] "Journal of Hellenic Studies," vol. xiv., p. 329.

the spiral is now shown to have reached the Ægean as early as the XII. Dynasty. It is therefore probable, and this he points out and supports with some evidence, that the Ægean spiral system of that period was beginning to spread northward before the great days of Mycenæ. But I cannot think it is correct to regard the Mycenæ spirals as an outgrowth of these earlier spirals in the Ægean. The reference is direct to the great development of spiral decoration in the XVIII. Dynasty.

Traces of the earlier spiral wave may no doubt underlie Mycenæan ornament, but the great development of spiral patterns which marks the flourishing period of Mycenæan art would appear to be justly referred to the corresponding development of spiral decoration in Egypt during the XVIII. Dynasty, when intercourse with Egypt was frequent. And it is to the impress of this later wave of influence that the spread of spiral patterns in the Bronze Age in Europe is most fitly attributed. From all that we know of the conventionalisation of ornament, and derivation of forms through copies of copies, we should expect degradation of types, not development, in the period succeeding the introduction of XII. Dynasty spirals in the Ægean. This we know was the case with regard to the Mycenæ spirals, not only within the Mycenæ area, but along their line of march to the Baltic. The Cretan examples adduced by Mr. Evans, already indeed show elements of debasement. Further, even in the case of an ascending civilization which has adopted the simplified forms of foreign ornament, we should expect modification and departure, as in the case of Hungarian and Northern modifications of Mycenæ patterns, rather than a development in the groove of the foreign patterns. And so the higher orders of the Mycenæ patterns are closer to Egyptian models than the simplified forms, pointing to the introduction of the patterns at the higher stages of the series, and the subsequent local simplification and exhaustion of the motive. The evidence of the Mycenæ patterns as a whole points, I think, to local simplification of Egyptian models, rather than a development from an existing spiral motive. The presence of an earlier wave of spiral motive may enable us to explain points of detail, but the body of evidence from Mycenæ, Hungary, and Scandinavia, seems to show that its influence was limited, and submerged by the later great decorative wave of the spiral patterns of the XVIII. Dynasty.

Retracing our steps for a moment, a few additional words may be said here on the question of the origin of the spiral. Mr. Evans lays stress on the statement that so far as it is possible to gather from the data at our disposal, the returning spiral system, which has now been traced back to the IV. Dynasty, is throughout the earliest stages of its evolution restricted to scarabs. The primitive Ægean imitations are also, he says, confined to stonework, and were only at a later date transferred to metal and other materials. The whole weight of evidence is thus, he adds,

against the generally received theory that the spiral ornament, as it appears on Mycenæan art, originated in metal work. In other places he speaks of the spiral motive as "developed to an extraordinary degree," on the XII. Dynasty scarabs, and again of the simple spiral system having attained its "apogee" under the XII. and XIII. Dynasties. The moment the dependence of the Mycenæ spirals on those of Egypt was recognised, the theory of local origin in metal work was necessarily abandoned; and as Mr. Goodyear has pointed out, in Egypt it would be difficult to prove that the spiral was derived from jewellers' work, as, on the contrary, Egyptian jewelry shows dependence on other Egyptian ornament rather than influence on it. For some years, therefore, it can hardly be said that the theory of the metal work origin of Mycenæan spiral ornament has been generally received. The returning spiral is highly developed on the XII. Dynasty scarabs, but the apogee of the motive is, I think, more fitly found in the ceiling patterns of the XVIII. and XIX. Dynasties. The spirals of the XII. Dynasty are, with one or two exceptions, confined to scarabs, as are the earlier examples, but surely it is a very large assumption that the spiral was developed, or even came into use on the scarab. It is difficult to believe that the spiral is original on the scarabs. The evolution of the spiral cannot be traced on them, and, from what we know of the conventionalisation of ornament, it is well nigh certain that behind or aside the scarabs must lie series in which the evolution of the form has yet to be found. Mr. Evans refers to a vase of black ware in the Ashmolean Museum, from Egypt, of a style characteristic of XII. and XIII. Dynasty deposits, with a punctuated returning spiral ornament; and is of opinion that it would therefore appear that, at least as early as the XIII. Dynasty, this spiral decoration was beginning to spread to other objects besides scarabs.[1] But may not the movement have been the other way? There is a temptation in archæology to assume that "finds" are representative of the periods to which they are ascribed. Every day it is becoming clearer that we must make large allowances for the imperfection of the archæological record. And the record for the early periods in Egypt is admittedly very imperfect. The asserted restriction of the spirals to the scarabs is guarded by the words, "so far as it is possible to gather from the data at our disposal." But the data at our disposal are obviously too imperfect to support an inference so particular.

These remarks apply equally to the Cretan spirals. The spirals on the Cretan seal stones are, no doubt, copied from XII. Dynasty scarabs; but we must not assume that the decorative use of the spiral is exhausted by these examples. At sec. I., p. 355,[2] I advanced reasons for stating that Mr. Goodyear had not proved the derivation of the spiral from the lotus. The association of the spiral with the lotus could be explained as a case of

[1] "Journal of Hellenic Society," vol. xiv., p. 330, *note*.
[2] *Journal*, 1894, Part 4.

attraction of form. On this point Mr. Goodyear writes to me: "The dating of spirals on scarabs does not really affect the argument. These were certainly not the original objects on which the evolution occurred." In support of this view he points to the deficiency of detailed lotus forms on the scarabs in all periods. "The scarabs," he adds, "are valuable as proving hieratic significance for the spiral and concentric rings, but they are not the monuments on which to search for the evolution. It need not then concern us that we can date a V. Dynasty spiral on scarabs earlier than the XI. Dynasty instance (with lotus). The discovery of such objects is wholly fortuitous, and the deficiencies in our knowledge for early Egyptian art are just as enormous as those in the geologic record for the history of man." Until we know more of the beginnings of Egyptian art, the origin of Egyptian spirals must remain an open question, as Mr. Goodyear willingly concedes.

In returning on the question of the origin of the spirals, I am led to add here a few words regarding the incised ornaments of early Cyprus pottery, especially as the argument from the geometric lotus forms is liable to be misunderstood. In his great work on the antiquities of Cyprus, Dr. Ohnefalsch-Richter adopts a somewhat similar line of argument concerning these patterns to that applied by Mr. Evans to the spirals. On plate ccxvi. he sets forth a number of examples of incised hand-made pottery from the Copper-Bronze Age period of the island. The patterns on this class of ware, consisting of concentric circles, concentric half-circles applied to horizontal and vertical lines, lozenge and chevron forms, Dr. Ohnefalsch-Richter considers to be indigenous ornament invented and developed in Cyprus.[1] With the introduction of the potter's-wheel and compass in the succeeding Iron Period, which may reach back to 1000 B.C., came greater regularity of execution and variation of type seen in the painted ware, the concentric circle systems of which he regards as developed from the incised patterns of the preceding period.

The half-circle motive he regards as arising from the intersection of groups of concentric circles, from which he derives the intersecting circles of the painted ware, as on fig. 13. The latter groups of intersecting circles are, however, always completed circles, whereas on the incised pottery they do not intersect, but are stopped as half-circles. The intersecting circles of the painted pottery may be traceable to a suggestion of form from the incised patterns, but this explanation of the latter cannot be read back into the former. The individual character of the half-circle motive, which we shall find maintained even in Ireland, is altogether overlooked in such attempted explanations.

Dr. Ohnefalsch-Richter is no doubt right in seeing in the incised pottery the presence of carved gourd models, and probably the influence of straw or palm-leaf plaiting, but these suggestions do not explain the

[1] "Kypros, the Bible, and Homer." London, 1893, pp. 354 and 490.

origin of the patterns, or the manner of their disposition on the vases. From the point of view of the natural history of ornament, if I may use the expression, these patterns represent the lowest terms of a series of conventionalisations. They cannot be regarded as original on the pottery or supposed gourd models, but have to be traced back through an ascending series to naturalistic prototypes. In this connexion a further consideration may be advanced. As far as the ornament of primitive peoples has been studied, it appears to be generally associated with religious ideas, and to be talismanic or ceremonial in purpose. Illness, death, and misfortune are not regarded by the primitive mind as due to natural causes, but as the direct effect of the malign influences of superior beings, or powers controlled by hostile persons. The evils of life are to be averted by talismans, and the theory of medicine is based on magic. These ideas have persisted through periods of advanced civilization, and are perhaps better described as unscientific rather than primitive. They were, we know, deeply rooted in Egypt and Chaldæa.

From this point of view ornament is not a department of æsthetics, but belongs to the serious business of life. How far the ornament of domestic pottery may be related to the idea of a spirit life associated with the vase itself, as with the Zuñi Indians, is a matter for evidence in each particular case; but we are, I think, justified in assuming the prevalence of at least a ceremonial use of ornament in the case of sepulchral pottery. It would therefore appear that, although technique may influence the form of conventionalisation of patterns, it could not, according to the preceding line of argument, originate the patterns, which would thus be purposeless. They are, on the contrary, to be traced to the conventionalisation of objects to which a religious or talismanic meaning was attached, and for which they are signatures or symbols.

The geometric lotus forms of the later Cyprian pottery furnish us with a series which explains how the incised forms may have been derived. But inasmuch as the geometric lotus pottery is possibly a thousand years later than the incised, there is no proof that the incised forms have been so derived. The probability that the incised patterns have been derived through a lotus series, rests, however, on the fact that, behind the incised pottery, lies the vast stretch of the lotus ornament of Egypt, reaching back possibly some two thousand years behind the earliest pottery from Cyprus. It may be said that the tracing of everything to the lotus presses the argument too far. But it must be remembered that the lotus is everywhere in Egypt, that practically the entire body of Egyptian ornament, ranging through a period to be counted in millenniums, consists of modifications of the lotus motive, and that therefore it is consistent with the facts that the special features of the great school of design which Egypt presented to the ancient world should constantly recur in the ornament of the Mediterranean peoples.

To what extent the incised patterns of Cyprus have been influenced

by the Mycenæan patterns, or *vice versa*, is still in controversy. Dr. Ohnefalsch-Richter considers that the Cypriote pottery is earlier than that of Mycenæ, and contends that the concentric circle ornament was developed as a special feature in Cyprus, where it so abounds on incised and later pottery. On plate ccxvi., he figures No. 14, a vase with incised pattern of a waving band of lines with concentric circles in the alternate spaces. This pattern is found at Mycenæ and in Hungary, whence, with modifications, it spread to the North (see pattern on pommel of sword, fig. 38). It may be instanced in favour of the priority of the Cyprus examples.

It may be further observed that on Mycenæ pottery we have examples of lozenge and half-circle patterns, and the system of half-circles applied to vertical lines (figs. 20 and 22). It is thus seen that patterns of the order of the geometric lotus patterns of Cyprus can be put back in the eastern basin of the Mediterranean to a period closing on that of the incised pottery. That the remarkable development of the concentric circle patterns of the incised ware exercised a conservative influence on the later painted pottery of Cyprus may be admitted, but in the period represented by the painted geometric lotus pottery, in which we find normal lotus forms in company with the entire series of conventional derivatives, it seems probable that under the improved conditions of freer methods of execution and increased artistic skill, the series of conventionalisations was re-ascended, and that, taking the incised and geometric lotus forms of Cyprus and the Ægean forms as a whole, we have a body of allied forms in the application of which decorators were constantly passing up and down the series throughout the period of their use. We must wait, however, for systematic excavations in the Syrian coast-lands, and Asia Minor, before the problems raised by the incised pottery can be finally approached, or the position of Cyprus, in relation to the bronze culture of Europe, fixed.

This digression has run to greater length than I anticipated, but will be found not without a bearing on subsequent portions of our subject.

We may now resume the direct line of our inquiry. Taking the Mycenæ spiral system as our starting-point on European soil, we find that, as we move westward, the tendency of the spiral to degrade to, and be replaced by, concentric circles is one of the most decisively marked features of Bronze Age ornament in Europe. As already shown, this tendency is noticeable within the Mycenæ area itself; and it would seem that with the extension of spiral patterns to every-day objects the original decorative impulse was degraded and exhausted.

Figure 36, of a funeral urn, one of a number of urns discovered a few years since in Crete,[1] illustrates admirably the process of degradation of Mycenæ ornament, and may here fitly summarise the argument of the earlier sections.

[1] Reproduced from "Revue Archéologique," 1892, p. 93.

On the upper portion, inability to cope with the complexity of interlocking spirals, or cheapness of production, has led the decorator to substitute for the systematic treatment of returning spirals of the original models a number of irregularly-placed single spirals. A crude attempt is made to obtain the effect of continuous returning spirals by joining these single spirals by the loose end one to another. On the lower portion of the urn the middle row is formed of spirals joined by tangents, with the exception of the last, in which the spiral is replaced by concentric circles. At both ends of the row, tag lines are added to suggest the idea of a continuous line. The lower row, except the first which is spiral, consists wholly of concentric circles joined by tangents. The ornament filling the centres may be considered as a simplification of the rosette. The pattern on the end of the urn is no doubt a lotus derivative.

Fig. 36.—Funeral Urn found in Crete.

West of Greece the spiral rapidly drops out of Bronze Age ornament. The single spiral is found on objects from the lake dwellings and the Terremare of northern Italy,[1] marking extension of influence to the head of the Adriatic, but it is no longer a characteristic or dominant motive. In Gaul and Spain even the single spiral is not found. Concentric circles, half-circles, lozenge, and x patterns are, however, fully represented in Western Europe.

In contrast with the failure of the spiral westward, we find that if we take a line from the Ægean by the Danube Valley through Hungary to the North, the full impulse of the Mycenæ spiral system is maintained to the Baltic.

In this connexion the following extract will be of interest from a review by Mr. A. J. Evans of Dr. Naue's work on the "Bronze Age in Upper Bavaria[2]" :—In reference to the source of the spiral ornament in the Upper Bavarian region, Dr. Naue institutes a comparison with the spiraliform motives of the Bronze Age decoration of Hungary and Northern Europe on the one side, and of Mycenæ on the other, and refers to the parallel decoration of the Egyptian scarabs from the IV. Dynasty onwards. In some respects Mr. Evans is unable to agree with Dr. Naue's conclusion, "and as," he adds, "the diffusion of the spiral

[1] Munro's "Lake-Dwellings of Europe," figs. 63, 64, 84, and 85.

[2] "Die Bronzezeit in Oberbayern." By Dr. Julius Naue (Munich, 1894).—*Academy*, April 27th, 1895.

motive is of first-rate importance in the history and chronology of the primitive European culture, a few remarks may not be out of place."

"Dr. Naue suggests that foreign merchants may have introduced this decorative motive into the Upper Bavarian region from the South—that is over the sea from Egypt—laying stress on the occurrence of a single glass bead in one of the graves; and he seems to imply that these foreigners may have been Phœnicians. He considers that the Northern traders from the mouth of the Elbe, to whom was due the amber so plentiful in these Bavarian graves, may have here exchanged their native product for Mediterranean wares, and that in this way the spiral ornament found its way to North Germany and Scandinavia. But the answer to this is that the Bronze Age culture and ornament of this northern province stands in a much more intimate relation with that of Hungary, and that the arrival of the spiral ornament over the Brenner Pass would involve its early occurrence in Northern Italy, where it is as non-existent in Bronze Age remains as in Gaul and Britain."

Figs. 37 and 38.—Bronze Sword-Hilts—Hungary.

Dr. Naue brings down the introduction of the spiral motive in Greece to the fifteenth century B.C., "probably through Phœnician agency." Here Mr. Evans again joins issue, raising the question of the pre-Mycenæan spiral motive in the Ægean, with possible Hungarian extension, discussed in the preceding pages. He concludes that, "whether through the earlier or later agency, there seems, then, every reason for believing that the spiral motive was introduced into the Danubian basin from the Ægean side, and replenished from the same quarter."

The distribution of spiral, undoubtedly, as Mr. Evans says, points to the Ægean and Hungary as giving the line of march to the North. The presence of the spiral in the eastern districts of Germany is naturally

accounted for by lateral extensions from the main route. In Upper Bavaria, we are still within reach of the Danube and Elbe connexions.

The views, stated by Mr. Evans, which refer the spiral decoration of the Hungarian and northern regions to a south-eastern line of communication with the Ægean have been steadily gaining ground for some years, and may now be regarded as practically accepted in Archæology. As far back as 1881, in an important

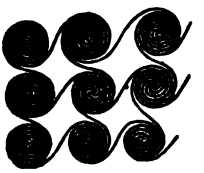


Fig. 39.—Denmark.

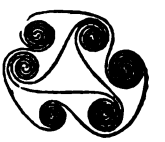


Fig. 40.—Jutland.

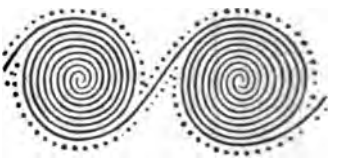


Fig. 41.—Scania.

Fig. 42.—Oland.

Paper on the Ornamentation of the Bronze Age in the North, Professor Oscar Montelius published a series of illustrations of spiral and false-spiral

Fig. 43.—Denmark.

ornaments, showing the connexions of the Mycenæ group with those of Hungary, and the Scandinavian and North German region. Having pointed out that from Italy we have scarcely any trace of the spiral prior to the Iron Period, he states the conclusion that the spiral reached the north from the south-east, namely from Greece, by the Danube valley, and probably by way of the Elbe.[1] Figures 39 to 43—details from bronze axe-heads, diadems, &c., are reproduced from Professor Montelius's Paper, where the references will be found.

Figure 44[2]—details from a bronze celt of the Danish "paalstab" type, is of unusual interest, as showing the survival in the North of the associated lotus and spiral motive: compare figs. 3 and 4.

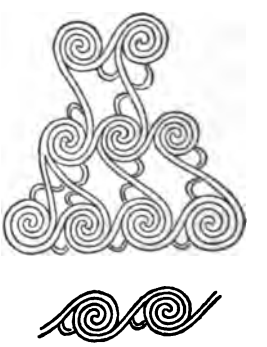


Fig. 44.
Denmark.

[1] "Kgl. Vitterhets Historie och Antiquitets Akademiens Månadsblad," 1881, pp. 34 and 67.

[2] "Memoires des Antiquaires du Nord," 1887, p. 258.

It is worthy of note that along the path travelled by the spiral from the Ægean to the North, we find a recurring tendency to substitute false spirals (concentric circles and tangents) for true spirals, and finally to replace the false-spiral by free concentric circles. This movement of simplification does not appear to be strictly related to progression in time, it is found, as already pointed out, side by side with true spirals, in the flourishing period of Mycenæan art, as also on early examples from Hungary and Scandinavia. It is rather to be attributed to technical simplification. But though the reduction of the ornament to its lowest terms of simplification appears alongside of true spiral forms, from the Ægean to the Baltic, the tendency to replace the spiral by concentric circles increases in a marked degree in the later stages of the Bronze culture, and accompanies the debasement of types which set in as the fine models of the earlier period were abandoned before the advancing influence of the Iron culture.

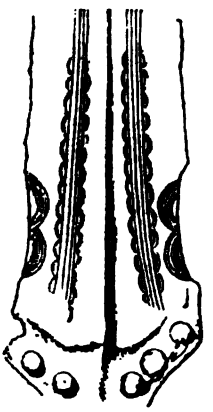


Fig. 45.
Hungary.

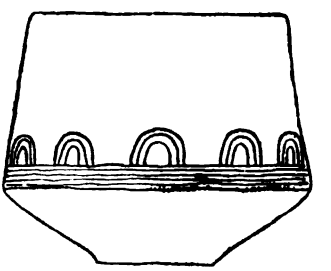


Fig. 46.
Brandenburg.

In the early Iron Age, concentric circles have become well nigh universal throughout Europe as a simple form of ornament for domestic objects, bone combs, &c.

In addition to the spiral, the half-circle motive may be followed to the North

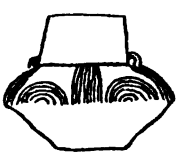


Fig. 47.
Brandenburg.

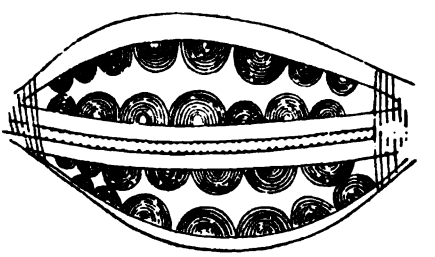


Fig. 48.—Sweden: detail, bronze collar, Stockholm Museum.

(figs. 45 to 48[1]). The latter form is, however, not restricted to the spiral districts, but is found throughout the entire range of the

[1] Fig. 45, "Cong. Préhist. Budapest," vol. ii., plate xcii.; figs. 46 and 47. "Nachrichten über deutsche Alterthumskunde," 1895, pp. 5, 7.

Bronze Age culture in Europe. The tendency of the spiral to degrade to concentric circles, which we have noticed along the path of the extension of the spiral system to the North, and which is increasingly marked in the later stages of the Bronze Age, has, as pointed out, a counterpart in the substitution of concentric circles for spirals in the westward extension of spiral influence. The lower state of the bronze culture in the lands west of the Danube and Elbe systems, indicated by the absence of the finer forms of bronze remains which mark the "Golden Age" of bronze in Hungary and the Scandinavian region, explains the widespread use of the lower forms of ornament in the Western lands. It appears that, in some instances, the half-circle motive was confounded with halved concentric circles, as on a sword-blade, fig. 49 (*Atlas for Nordisk Oldkyndighed*, plate ii.), but, as a rule, its identity is maintained.

Panel patterns of upright lines and x forms are found in the North, as on the horn found at Wismar, in Mecklenburg, ascribed to the close of the earlier Bronze Age, but examples are not numerous. In the Swiss lake-dwellings and Rhone Valley districts, this form of ornament is more common, and on the Dipylon pottery, which represents the dawn of the classical period of Greece, it occurs frequently in border patterns.

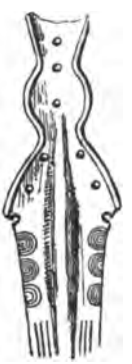


Fig. 49.

Panels of small lozenges, in lattice form, also occur on the Wismar horn, and hatched lozenges appear in the decoration of some massive bronze axe-heads of the early period.[1] Incised lozenges are likewise found on some of the pottery from Scandinavian Late Stone Age graves,[2] but it does not appear to be easy to establish, at least from published examples, the continuity of the lozenge and chequer patterns along the path of the spiral. Westward the whole body of concentric circles, half-circles, lozenge and x forms, are well represented, and in company with the ever-recurring herringbone, chevron, and triangle motives, constitute the ornament of the developed and later periods of the Bronze Age in Western Europe. It is therefore remarkable that lozenge forms are so rarely represented in the Scandinavian region. The same may be said of the Bronze Age remains of Hungary. The tendency of triangle to interchange with lozenge patterns, may partly account for this. In many instances where triangle ornaments are placed point to point, the intervening spaces form lozenge patterns, in other instances the triangles give the effect of halved lozenges. It is

[1] Montelius, "Les Temps Préhistoriques en Suéde," plate vii., fig. 3. Madsen, "Antiquités Préhistoriques du Denmark—L'Âge du Bronze," plate i.

[2] Madsen, "L'Âge de la Pierre," plates xv. and xvi.

not always clear whether the pattern is to be regarded as of triangles or as of lozenges (formed by the left spaces on a hatched ground or with contrasted halves). In some examples of this class of decoration on Hungarian axe-heads, the lozenge space bears a central ornament, showing recognition of the lozenge form. But though, I think, the left lozenge spaces of this class of ornament were recognised as lozenges, it is, nevertheless, remarkable that independent lozenge forms should be so rare in the decoration of the Bronze Age remains of Hungary and Scandinavia.

Fig. 50.

On the other hand, much allowance must be made for the imperfection of the record. The lozenge is well represented in western areas of Europe, but relatively speaking, examples are not numerous when compared with triangle and chevron ornament. The two wooden batons, however, from Castione (Munro, fig. 195), elaborately carved with chevrons, triangles, and lozenges, indicate how large a portion of the evidence has perished, and in the loss of the wood-carving, and the painted decoration of the period, how imperfect the record may be. It may be noted in this connexion that the half-circle and lozenge motives of Mycenæ ornament are, it would appear (with rare exceptions of the lozenge in metal), confined to pottery, and are not found in stone and metal work.

Fig. 51.

Within the past few years a number of remarkable urns of black and black-and-red pottery, have been found in tumuli in the west of Hungary and Lower Austria, between Hallstadt and Pressburg (figs. 50 to 53).[1] The black pottery is, in some instances, plain, in others decorated with triangle ornament in graphite, and, in several notable instances, with spirals in relief. The decoration of the red and black urns is confined

[1] "Mitth. Prähistorischen Commission der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften." Vienna, 1890 and 1893.

to lozenge and panel patterns in graphite. But both classes of urns have been found together in the same tumuli. They partake of the character of the Iron Period, and are more or less closely related to the Halstadt culture.

They are here introduced not only as showing the persistence of the spiral in the Hungarian region, but more especially as showing the tendency, above referred to, of triangle and lozenge ornament to replace each other. On vase, figure 50, triangle ornament is associated with boldly-marked lozenges. Triangles when thus arranged in a sort of chequer pattern of halved lozenges, seem to be classed with lozenge patterns. On figure 51 we have a panel formed of a chequer of lozenges, and next it a panel in which some of the spaces are filled as lozenges, whilst others are halved, forming contrasting triangles. These chequer patterns, as also those of figure 53, are clearly referable to the Cyprian patterns. The occurrence, as we shall see, of this system of patterns on early Bronze Age remains in Scotland, in some instances identical with Cyprian forms, and the close association of lozenge, chequer, and × patterns with the spiral in the Bronze Age ornament of Ireland, is, I think, strong evidence that lozenge and chequer

Fig. 52.

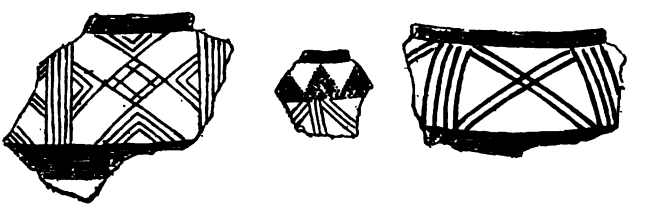


Fig. 53.

patterns, which we can put back to the Mycenæ Period in the Ægean, travelled northward across Europe on the path of the spiral; unless it be suggested that the lozenge patterns represent a wave of ornament which spread westward to Ireland, and there met and entered into association with the spiral coming from the North. But a movement of lozenge patterns westward, in isolation from the Danube route,

does not appear probable, though lozenge motives in the West would, no doubt, be replenished directly from the old Greek lands. That the great highway of the Danube and Elbe systems was at any time isolated from pattern movements, so fully represented in Scotland and Ireland, can hardly be supposed. At the same time, when all has been said to meet objections, it must be admitted that the gaps in the evidence for lozenges are not explained. And it is difficult to resist the impression that the chequer and lozenge patterns which, at a later time, centre round the geometric pottery of Cyprus, represent, in their extension, a somewhat later influence than that of the spiral. Something further may be said on this subject when we have the Scotch and Irish examples before us.

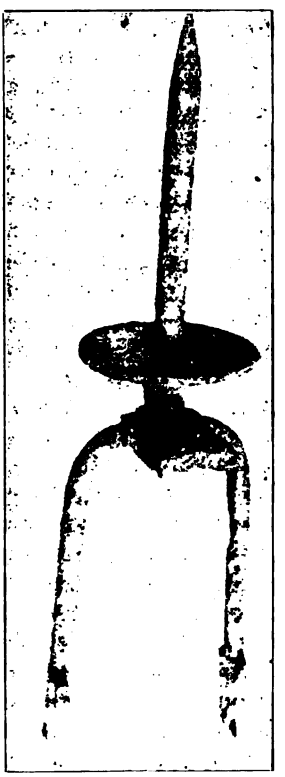
It will be useful here to review briefly the question of dates. Adopting Professor Petrie's computation, the flourishing period of Mycenæan art is placed between 1500 and 1200 B.C.; from the latter date is a period of decadence till 800 B.C., when pre-Hellenic art finally perished under the Dorian invasion. Taking 1400 B.C. as the date when the spiral system of ornament had been localised in the Ægean, we may assume that by 1200 B.C., it was fully established in the North. Worsaae places the beginning of the Bronze Age in Scandinavia at about 1000 B.C.; Montelius puts it back to 1500 B.C. When we consider that the introduction of bronze in the northern lands was not dependent on race movement, but was largely due to trade intercourse, the earlier date, which squares with the Ægean dates, is to be preferred. Dr. Naue estimates the approximate chronology of the earlier Bronze Age in Upper Bavaria at 1400 to 1150 B.C., and the later Bronze Age from 1150 to 900 B.C. Concerning these dates, Mr. A. J. Evans observes that "there seems good warrant for believing that the central point of Mycenæan culture belongs to the fourteenth or fifteenth century B.C. But it is upon the fabrics of the later Bronze Age of this Bavarian region that the characteristic spiral decoration of Mycenæ first appears: and it might naturally be supposed that this influence made itself felt at a date nearer to the fourteenth than the twelfth century before our era." On the other hand, he would bring down the close of the Bronze Age in Upper Bavaria to as late as 800 B.C. Thus from several centres of observation we find a close agreement as to the main dates. 1200 B.C. may, therefore, be taken as the approximate inferior limit for the arrival of the spiral in the North.

The importance of these dates in relation to the Bronze Age in Ireland will be seen at once. If we can establish a connexion between the spiral ornament of Ireland, and that of the North of Europe, we have fixed approximately the date of the most interesting monuments of that period in Ireland.

NOTES ON A GOAD-SPUR FOUND IN THE CO. WICKLOW.

By the Rev. J. F. M. FFRENCH, M.R.I.A., Fellow,
Hon. Secretary for the County Wicklow.

The spur that I have to bring under your notice is what I may be permitted to call an unconventional spur. It is not of a well-known type that, like silver bearing a satisfactory hall-mark, can be at once set down to a known and given period. No; it is one of those objects about which there is room for antiquarians to differ, as they so often do, and which fortunately they can do, without producing disastrous effects, as their patients do not die. They live on in the most happy way, so as to enable successive generations of antiquarians to devise theories, likely and unlikely, to account for their existence. I will not go so far as Sir Robert Ball did before he became a member of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, and say that we antiquarians are never quite sure whether a given object should be dated B.C. or A.D., but I will say that it is most difficult to date many antiquarian finds. And why do such unlikely things turn up, in such unlikely places? Why should a lamp of Roman type be found under the well-known cromlech on Brown's Hill in the county Carlow? Why should porcelain seals bearing Chinese characters of ancient type turn up in the most out-of-the-way neighbourhoods? Why should a beautiful prick-spur be found in a prehistoric sepulchral mound in the county Louth? and why should it be of bronze when at the period when the prick-spur was worn in Ireland the age of bronze was long past and over? Why should a bovine mask of East Indian type be found in an Irish bog? and why should a spur of Moorish type that once was resplendent in its covering of polished silver and niello work be found among our Wicklow hills?



Goad-spur found near Tinahely.

Why should stone Celts of New Zealand type have a known place among our finds? Can it be that the long-expected New Zealander has already arrived to meditate over our ruins, or have the Tuatha De Danaan, the fairy host of former days, returned to the green hills of Erin again, in order that they might carry out a well-devised plan to teach us antiquarians how little we know, and how hard it is to know that little well.

The spur which I have now to bring under your notice was dug out of the earth at Ballybeg near Tinahely in the county Wicklow. It certainly must have existed at a period that had not felt the influence of Martin's Act against cruelty to animals; for it is a fearful instrument of torture. The prick or goad of this spur is no less than five inches long, and projects from a circular shield or heel-guard which measures two and seven-eighths inches in diameter, and is nine inches in circumference. This shield is attached to the iron straps which lie against either side of the boot, by a stout circular iron shank about three-quarters of an inch in length; and beneath this shank, attached to it there is a square projection which seems to have fitted on something like an iron rivet which doubtless was inserted in the heel of the boot, and gave great stability to the fastening. The iron straps (or framework) by which the spur was secured to the boot are each seven inches long, and terminate in double square eyelet-holes or loops through which the leather straps were passed which went around the foot. The ornamentation of this spur was most gorgeous; it was entirely overlaid with a thin plate of silver, and that was again covered by a beautiful flower pattern with conventional foliage in black niello work. The flowers somewhat resemble a narcissus with six petals. If this spur was part of a whole suit of armour, similarly adorned, the knight, or gentleman-at-arms, who wore it must have been truly resplendent when the sun lit up his silver adornments; we can well imagine him glittering in the sunshine as he rode carefully, for fear of an ambush, through the passes of the Wicklow woods on his way to Dublin. Now let us try and date our spur, and give it a nationality. Is it an Irish spur, a true Celt racy of the soil? I think we must at once admit that it is not. On this one subject, if on no other, we agree, for all antiquarians are united in the belief that Irish knights did not wear spurs, while antiquarians of the Ledwich and Froude type would assure us that Irish knights did not wear boots—a statement which (like many others that they have made) is not true; for the ancient Irish wore several kinds of boots and shoes, not only of leather, but even made

Heel-guard of Spur. Pattern in niello work on silver. (Scale, ½ linear.)

of thin sheets of bronze[1] and of that highly prized metal Findruine. They wore a shoe called the Cuaran or Brócc, also the Assai, and the Beirn Brócc which was the prototype of the Bróg. We may safely conclude that the ancient Irish did wear boots, and did not wear spurs, and that consequently our spur cannot be of Celtic origin. Nor is the fact that the Irish did not wear spurs at all a singular or exclusive peculiarity of theirs; for neither the Etruscans nor the Assyrians wore spurs, nor are they figured on the Persian or Egyptian monuments; and the Greeks of the heroic ages are stated to have been ignorant of this appliance. Now comes the question, are these spurs Norman? and, if so, of what date? Meyrick, in his "Critical Inquiry into Ancient Armour," brings the use of the prick or goad-spur down to the days of Henry III. (1216). At that period he believes that the rowelled spur came in; at the same time he admits that it has been asserted that there are earlier specimens; for instance it has been stated that the effigy of Albericus de Vere, surnamed the Grim, Earl of Oxford, bearing date 1194, and the effigy of Robert Fitz-Hardyng, bearing date 1170, are arrayed in rowelled spurs. If this be the case our Norman invaders should have worn rowelled spurs; but, as far as Ireland is concerned, we hope to show reason why this should be called in question. Auguste Demmin, in his "History of Arms and Armour," page 49, says:—"The spur in use till the eleventh century had a straight point but no rowel: after that time the point was made so as to slope upwards slightly, while in the thirteenth century it was made with a bend or crook in the shank; but the rowel does not appear to have been used till the fourteenth century, when it generally had eight points. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the shank became longer and longer, till at last it was transformed through the fancy of the artist into a mere toy." The testimony of contemporary seals quite bears out this statement, and seems even to bring down the use of the prick-spur to a later date. The seal of Sir Thomas de Beauchamp, K.G., bearing date 1344, represents him as wearing prick-spurs. Hume tells us that the prick-spur is figured on the great seals of Henry II., Richard I., and John; and I have an engraving of the reverse of the Great Seal of Edward IV., and on it the king is represented as a knight on horseback with a pair of prick-spurs strapped on his heels. But let us see what evidence we can find in our own country. I think the most important evidence we can obtain as to whether our Norman invaders wore the prick or the rowelled spur is that supplied by a recumbent monumental effigy lately brought to notice in the churchyard of Timolin in the county Kildare, on which a Paper was written by Mr. Albert Hartshorne for the *Journal* of the County Kildare Archæological Society. This monument he dates at the time of King John (1199 to 1216). He says:—"The mail of the Chausses is of large size, and characteristic,

[1] Probably like the short metal boots worn by the Roman soldiers.

like the treatment and style of the prick-spurs, of the sculpture of the extreme end of the twelfth century, the period to which the effigy must be attributed. It will be noticed that the mail hood takes its particular shape on the head from the iron skull-cap worn under it. This arrangement was the immediate successor of the conical helmets which had been in use since the Conquest, such as may be seen in their latest forms, with or without a nasal, respectively, in the first and second Great Seals of Henry II. The Great Seal of John shows a headpiece like that on the Timolin effigy. Its precise period can therefore be ascertained from the form of the headpiece alone." I think this Timolin effigy affords convincing proof that some, if not all, the Norman knights who invaded Ireland wore prick-spurs, although in this, as in countless other instances, the two periods may have overlapped one another. The Timolin effigy does more for us than even this, for it disproves a statement, which I quote from a good authority, who says that "the ancient equestrians wore the spur on one heel only; no instance appears to be known of Norman spurs occurring in pairs"; and the reason Hume gives for this habit is, that the Norman knights felt quite satisfied that if one side of the horse went on, the other was sure to follow. Now, the Timolin figure shows a pair of prick-spurs, and that ought to provide a very conclusive denial to that assertion. I think that the earliest definite proof we have as to the time when rowelled spurs were introduced into Ireland can be derived from the very fine "Cantwell" effigy which is to be seen at Kilfane in the county Kilkenny. The late Rev. James Graves says, in his description of that figure, that "probably it was sculptured in memory of Thomas de Cantwell, who, by a writ dated at Thomastown in the county of Kilkenny in the year 1319, was exempted from attending at Assizes, on the plea of being worn out with age (Rot. Pat. 13 Edward II. No. 33). Tombs, it is well known, were occasionally erected by persons before their decease; perhaps such was the case in this instance. A suit of mail without any portion of plate defends the body; and the head and throat are protected by a chaperon of mail which falls over the hauberk; this is flattened at top, presenting the appearance of a slightly elevated cone; the right leg is crossed over the left. The feet are supported by well carved clusters of oak leaves with acorns, and the spurs are broadly rowelled. The entire absence of plate-armour prevents us from assigning this effigy to the successor of Thomas de Cantwell, as the latter was not dead in 1319, but was an old man at that period. The broad rowelled-spur forbids us to assign it to his predecessor who must have died early in the thirteenth century, and the character of the oak-leaf foliage would also point to about 1319, it being carved with the marked vigour and truth to nature characteristic of the decorated style which then came in vogue." I think that these extracts from the writings of known experts make it clear that we cannot much err if we place a prick-spur, when dating it, somewhere about the time of the

Norman invasion. The next question that will arise is, can we say that our spur is of the usual Norman type? This question I must answer in the negative. Auguste Demmin, in his "Weapons of War," figures seventeen prick-spurs, but none of them exactly resemble the spur which is now under our notice, while it almost exactly resembles a spur which is depicted on a stained glass representation of Saint Louis of France to be found in Chartres Cathedral (dated between 1226 and 1270), and which is engraved in Lacombe's "Arms and Armour in Antiquity and the Middle Ages." That the spur is of eastern type may be admitted, but that scarcely tells for or against its antiquity; for as early as the reign of King John the Normans had come under the influence of the Crusades, and had learned to fashion their armour in resemblance to the Eastern mail which the warriors of Western Europe brought from the Crusades, and subsequently established among themselves. This is noticed in Boutell's notes on Lacombe's "Arms and Armour"; and it can scarcely be doubted that they not only fashioned their armour in accordance with Eastern type, but also brought over specimens of that armour with them; so that the spur of which we are treating, and which Dr. Franks of the British Museum tells us is of Moorish type, and resembles two specimens they have from the Meyrick collection, may easily have reached Ireland from foreign lands in the days of Strongbow or one of his successors. "Strongbow lived at a time when the flower of English chivalry were bound by a vow to prosecute the war of the Cross in the Holy Land; and two of his sons by his first wife became Crusaders, and perished on their way to Palestine." This spur may be the trophy of a victory won over some Saracen knight in Palestine, and lost in one of those skirmishes that so often took place when the Norman knights were fighting their way through the passes amid the woods that separated Wexford and Dublin, and in that part of the country which is now known by that somewhat modern name of the county Wicklow.

The niello work, Dr. Franks says, suggests a Turkish origin; but he continues—"Mahometan arms and appliances are much the same everywhere"—and to this I would add, at all periods;—"The mail armour worn by the Sikhs, in their fierce but unavailing struggle with the English troops, and which is now preserved in the Tower of London, appears to be identical in manufacture and general treatment with the mail of the twelfth and following centuries which the warriors of Western Europe brought home from the Crusades." This spur may consequently be a trophy brought from the Crusades to Ireland in those early days. It may be truly stated that, if not the Saracens, at all events the Moors came much nearer to us than the Holy Land at a comparatively late period, for instance the well-known sack of Baltimore by a fleet of Algerine pirates took place in June, 1631; and during the seventeenth century these North African Moors seem to have hung about the coast, so that the spur might be attributed to that period were it not that it would

be an unheard-of proceeding for a man to go to sea in spurs. I might even venture to say that no sea-captain would embark a man with a pair of spurs like those strapped on his heels, unless he had an assurance they were only to be used as a kind of stage properties, or in the figurative way that they were made use of in the time of the old border frays between England and Scotland, during that period. When any of the great families found the meat in the larder getting scarce, the lady of the house sent up a pair of spurs for the last course to intimate that it was time for the gentlemen to put spurs to their horses, and to make a raid on England for a further supply.

NOTE.—Colonel Vigors, *Vice-President*, has kindly sent me some notes gathered from a book called "Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas" (printed at Brussels in 1677), which throw much light on the use of the prick-spur in Portugal. A plate in this book represents Henry, Count of Portugal, the date of whose death is given as 1112, as wearing a prick-spur on the right foot and no spur on the left foot, so that something may be said in favour of one man, one spur.

Don Sancho, King of Portugal, who died in 1212, is represented as wearing a pair of prick-spurs.

Don Dionis, who died in 1325, is represented as wearing rowelled-spurs.

Don Fernando, who died in 1383, is represented as wearing prick-spurs.

Don Juan, who died in 1439, is represented as wearing large eight-pointed rowelled spurs.

Don Juan (the Second), who died in 1495, is represented as wearing regular Norman prick-spurs (usual type).

Don Manuel, who died in 1521, is represented wearing rowelled spurs.

If we can rely on these plates, the overlapping which I supposed may have occurred in Ireland existed to a marked extent in Portugal.

THE GOLDSMITHS OF CORK.

By CECIL C. WOODS, Fellow.

It is no less true than strange that, for many years previous to 1878, the city of Cork had forgotten its ancient goldsmiths—men whose labours had enriched it, and done it honour, and that not one amongst the many persons who possessed fine pieces of plate stamped with the initials of those who were, in every sense, masters of the goldsmith's art, knew the names of the makers. Fortunately in that year the O'Donovan tankard, marked with R G and two castles (in three stamps), was seen by Robert Day, M.R.I.A., F.S.A., who at once formed the opinion that it had been made in the latter half of the seventeenth century in the city of Cork. Going immediately to the late Richard Caulfield, LL.D., F.S.A. (who for many years before his death was *the* authority upon all matters touching the history of Cork), he put the query, "who was R G who made silver plate in this city about two hundred years ago?"—the reply soon came, "Robert Goble, Master of the Goldsmiths' Guild in 1694." Mr. Day thereupon began to collect fine specimens of old silver of local manufacture, and a few years sufficed to add to the thousands of beautiful and valuable things with which his antiquarian information and artistic acumen had already filled his house, a large number of magnificent pieces of old silver plate.

It is probable that useful and beautiful articles of gold and silver have been manufactured in the city of Cork for several hundred years, and it is certain that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there were goldsmiths in it, and that in the latter century were moulded some of those exquisite chalices and patens of local manufacture which still remain.

Cork appears to have never had a regularly appointed assay officer, and purchasers seem to have trusted—not in vain—to the honesty of its goldsmiths (who probably were ready, on occasion, to assay each other's plate). Under the Charter of James I., dated the 9th of March, 1608, to the town of Youghal, the Corporation was given power to subdivide itself into guilds, and the Mayor authority to appoint a clerk of assay; and Cork, by its Charter from Charles I., dated the 7th of April, 1631, was granted *the same privileges as those enjoyed by Youghal*, without specific mention of what all those privileges were. However, the power to appoint an assay officer, thus indirectly conferred upon the mayors of Cork, appears to have never been exercised. Under date the 4th of January, 1713 (1714), I find the following entry in the Council Book:—"Whereas the Company of Goldsmiths of this City are very desirous to

have an Essay Master within this city, as conceving it will tend very much to the advantage, not only of those of the trade, but to all the inhabitants who have occassion to buy or make up any plate, which being a new thing, there never having been any such person in this city, ordered, that Mr. Thomas Browne do write to Dublin to some friend to enquire the nature of such an officer, as to his commission, who constitutes and empowers him, and as to his fees what he receives, and report to this board." Mr. Browne's inquiries bore no fruit, for in the same record, under date the 6th of February, 1786, I find this entry:—"Ordered that the Bill formerly presented to Parliament for building a bridge over the North branch of the river Lee, &c., be forthwith proceeded on." . . . "It., that a clause for establishing an Assay office, for assaying plate in this City, be added to the above Law." This also seems to have come to nothing, as in the *Cork Directory* for the following year there is no mention of an assay officer; neither is there mention of one in any of the several Directories of subsequent dates which I have examined, though most of them give the name of even the humblest petty office-holder in the city. The fact appears to be that the body of goldsmiths, after due consideration, came to the conclusion that a regularly appointed assay officer would be an unnecessary expense, and a luxury without which they could very well do. But there was some kind of assay office; and I believe that, at the close of the eighteenth century, it was at the Cork Customhouse all the Cork gold and silver was assayed.

Unfortunately *Cork never had a date letter*, and before 1656 no marks were stamped upon its plate, but in that year the goldsmiths' guild was formally incorporated in "the city by the Lee," and thenceforward a maker's mark was almost always used; and for the first sixty years a town mark was sometimes, and after that period invariably, used on pieces of any importance, until shortly before the guild ceased to exist. From the date of the incorporation of the guild, each maker generally stamped his handiwork with his initials; and down to about 1715 each also usually added some heraldic device—generally in the same punch with the initials—as a *fleur-de-lis* above G R, for George Robinson (Warden in 1690). During these sixty years the town-mark was sometimes the full city arms—a ship in full sail between two castles (either all in one stamp, or in three separate stamps); sometimes part of the arms—a ship with one castle, or two castles—one at each side of the maker's mark. However, before the time of George I., the town-mark was often entirely omitted, plate bearing any of these four varieties of it being the exception rather than the rule. Articles stamped with the full city arms are now extremely rare and valuable. About the year 1715 STERLING (sometimes spelled STARLING, or abbreviated to STER) was adopted as the town-mark, and thereafter invariably used; and down to about 1730 an heraldic device was sometimes added in the maker's mark, as, for instance, a lion rampant between two I's, for John James (living in 1722). From that time down

to about 1800 the initials of the maker with STERLING, are the only marks which appear to have been used; and cases where any attention was paid to *the shape of the punch* were very infrequent. I believe that, with the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Dublin hall-marks appear—added to the Cork STERLING; but the earliest combination of Dublin hall- and Cork town-marks which I have seen, is dated a few years later than 1801. I do not think the STERLING mark was much used after about 1830, and certainly before 1850 it was laid aside for ever.

During the eighteenth century immense quantities of silver were manufactured in Cork; and the business was so lucrative, that some of the best county families in the South of Ireland were glad to apprentice their younger sons to leading goldsmiths in "the capital of Munster," and some of these apprentices became wealthy merchants, and high office-holders in the municipality; thus William Newenham was Sheriff in 1732, and George Hodder Mayor in 1754. The corporate existence of the goldsmiths' guild of Cork lingered on to about 1840, but by 1850 it had ceased to exist even in name. However, I am glad to say that the manufacture of the precious metals has never altogether ceased in the city, where Goble and Hodder produced works of art of which any city might justly be proud, and that many useful and pretty articles, in gold and silver, are still made in it. In 1891 the city arms was readopted as the distinguishing town-mark of Cork.

I apprehend that the records of the goldsmiths' guild are lost—probably they were destroyed long ago, and such information as I have been able to obtain has been gathered in leisure hours, during the last ten years, from many different sources.

The list of goldsmiths with which I conclude this Paper is so inferior to what I once hoped it would be, that I give it only because it possesses one quality valued by all antiquaries—it is unique—it is the first list of goldsmiths of Cork ever compiled. I earnestly hope that someone else may make a better list; but the dispersion, in 1888, of the late Dr. Caulfield's invaluable collection of manuscripts relating to Cork, and the destruction of municipal muniments in the disastrous fire which occurred at the Cork Courthouse on the 27th of March, 1891, render it all but certain (and I say it with extreme regret) that a perfect list is now a thing for ever impossible. It was originally my intention that this list should conclude with the year 1800, but, on second thoughts, I have brought it down to 1850. As I have been able to give but very little attention to the part referring to the nineteenth century, that portion must be taken as only intended to give the names of the principal goldsmiths, and, in some instances, as merely suggesting a date which may be only approximately accurate, as that at which the goldsmith retired or died. These dates, and, indeed, many others in my list, I trust that other hands will correct, and thus kindly improve this list of the goldsmiths of the ancient city of Cork.

LIST OF CORK GOLDSMITHS FROM 1601 TO 1850.

[In this list, whenever a man is not described as "goldsmith," "silversmith," or "jeweller," it is not *certain* that he was a goldsmith, &c.; but in every instance there is good reason to believe that he was one.

The leading goldsmiths' names are those given in heavier type than the others.]

Initials.	Earliest notice.	Names, &c.	Latest notice.	Remarks.
M L	1601	**Morice Leyles**, goldsmith, mentioned.	1617	Mentioned as then living.
R G	1618	Richard Gould, goldsmith, then living.	1656	Then dead.
I R	1626	James Rowe, goldsmith, mentioned.	1630	Then living.
I H	1632	John Huethson, goldsmith, then living.	1656	Probably then dead.
I P	1643	James Piersey, then living.	1656	Probably then dead.
I S	1656	**John Sharpe**, goldsmith, admitted a freeman, and elected master of the guild.	1675	Probably then dead.
N G	1667	Nicholas Gamble, master, admitted a freeman, 1670.	1675	Then living.
I R	1673	James Ridge, master.	1700	Probably then dead.
R S	1674	Richard Smart, warden of the guild.	1691	Then living.
I W	1675	John Webb, warden.	1687	Then living.
S P	1678	Samuel Pantaine, warden.	1686	Then living.
I H	1680	**John Hawkins**, warden.	1702	Then living.
A S	1685	Anthony Semart, goldsmith, "a French refugee," admitted a freeman.	1700	Probably then dead.
G R	1690	**George Robinson**, warden.	1729	Probably then dead.
I I	1691	**John James**, silversmith, warden.	1722	Then living, but probably dead in 1729.
C B	1693	Charles Behegle, warden.	1729	Probably then dead.
W B	1694	Walter Burnett, warden.	1729	Probably then dead.
R G	1694	**Robert Goble**, goldsmith, admitted a freeman, and elected master.	1719	Then living, but dead in 1722. The period during which he wrought was probably from 1691 to 1720.
A B	1699	Adam Billon, admitted a freeman.	1719	Then living.
G B	1702	George Brumly, warden.	1729	Probably then dead.
C R	1702	Caleb Rathrum, warden.	1746	Died.
I H	1706	John Harding, warden.	1729	Probably then dead.
W C	1710	**William Clarke**, goldsmith, warden, admitted a freeman, 1712.	1733	Died.
I M	1710	John Mawman, mentioned.	1729	Probably then dead.
I F	1712	**James Foulks**, goldsmith, warden, admitted a freeman, 1718.	1727	Then living, but probably dead in 1729.
I F	1714	James Foucauld, jeweller, admitted a freeman.	1728	Then living, but probably dead in 1729.
B B	1715	Bernard Baldwin, mentioned.	1729	Probably then dead.

Initials.	Earliest notice.	Names, &c.	Latest notice	Remarks.
W M	1716	William Martin, goldsmith, warden, admitted a freeman, 1722.	1761	Dead.
R G	1719	Robert Goble, Jun., goldsmith, warden.	1729	Then living.
I B	1719	John Biss, master.	1729	Probably then dead.
W N	1721	William Newenham, goldsmith, warden, master, 1726, admitted a freeman, 1727; Sheriff of Cork, 1732.	1734	Died.
R M	1722	Ruben Millerd, silversmith, admitted a freeman, warden, 1723.	1775	Dead.
S P C	1725	Simon Peter Cadier, jeweller, admitted a freeman.	1759	Probably then dead.
D C	1727	Daniel Crone, silversmith, admitted a freeman.	1759	Probably then dead.
I R	1728	John Rickotts, silversmith, admitted a freeman.	1738	Dead.
I L	1731	James Lilly, then living.	1759	Probably then dead.
P L	1737	Peter Lane, silversmith, admitted a freeman.	1759	Probably then dead.
G H	1746	George Hodder, goldsmith, admitted a freeman; Mayor of Cork, 1754.	1771	Died. The year in which he first wrought as a master was probably 1745.
T K	1752	Thomas Knox, silversmith, admitted a freeman.	1783	Dead.
I K	1756	Joseph Kinselagh, jeweller, mentioned.	1780	Then living.
M D	1757	Michael M'Dermott, silversmith, then living.	1783	Probably then dead.
W R	1758	William Reynolds, goldsmith, admitted a freeman.	1790	Then living.
S W	1761	Stephen Walsh, jeweller, then living.	1783	Probably then dead.
P B	1761	Peter Baker, goldsmith, admitted a freeman.	1783	Probably then dead.
F T	1761	Francis Taylor, silversmith, admitted a freeman.	1783	Probably then dead.
G L	1761	George Lee, silversmith, admitted a freeman.	1789	Then living, but probably dead in 1795.
I H	1762	John Hillery, goldsmith, then living.	1789	Probably then dead.
C T	1766	Carden Terry, goldsmith, mentioned.	1785	Then living.
R W	1768	Richard Walsh, silversmith, mentioned.	1783	Probably then dead.
A D	1770	Alexander Douglas, goldsmith, admitted a freeman.	1783	Probably then dead.
C B	1770	Croker Barrington, silversmith, then living.	1771	Probably then dead.
I N	1770	John Nicholson,[1] silversmith, then living.	1805	Probably then dead.
I F	1772	John Foley, goldsmith, then living.	1800	Probably then dead.
B H	1775	Bligh Harrison, jeweller, mentioned.	1789	Died.

[1] About 1775, or 1780, John Nicholson appears to have had a partner whose initials were S N—probably his relation, Samuel Nicholson.

Initials.	Earliest notice.	Names, &c.	Latest notice.	Remarks.
I W	1775	John Warner, goldsmith, admitted a freeman.	1799	Then living.
P W	1777	Peter Wills, jeweller, admitted a freeman.	1789	Then living, but probably dead in 1795.
S R	1777	Samuel Reily, goldsmith, mentioned.	1810	Then living, but dead or retired in 1812.
I K	1780	Joseph Kinselagh, jeweller, admitted a freeman.	1783	Probably then working for someone else.
I H	1783	John Humphreys, silversmith, then living.	1787	Probably then dead or migrated.
W R	1783	William Roe, goldsmith and jeweller, then living.	1795	Probably then dead.
I E	1783	John Egan, jeweller and plater, then living.	1795	Probably then dead.
C P	1783	Charles Purcell, jeweller, mentioned.	1787	Probably then working for someone else.
C T	1785	Carden Terry, Jun.,[1] goldsmith, admitted a freeman.	1810	Then living, but dead or retired in 1812.
T H	1786	Thomas Harman, silversmith, admitted a freeman.	1799	Probably then dead.
I S	1787	John Sheehan, silversmith and cutler, mentioned.	1795	Then living.
R S	1788	Richard Stevens, silversmith, admitted a freeman.	1830	Then living, but died soon after.
M C	1790	Michael Cooper, silversmith, mentioned.	1795	Probably then working for someone else.
W R	1790	William Reynolds, silversmith, admitted a freeman.	1795	Not then in business.
I W	1795	John Williams,[1] silversmith, mentioned.	1810	Then living, but dead in 1812.
I G	1795	Joseph Gibson, silversmith and jeweller, mentioned.	1820	Died about then.
S F	1795	Samuel Fryer, silversmith, admitted a freeman.	1830	Then dead.
I H	1795	James Heyland, silversmith, mentioned.	1812	Then living, but died soon after.
I L	1795	John Long, silversmith, mentioned.	1800	Probably then working for someone else.
I T	1795	John Tolekin, silversmith, mentioned.	1831	Retired from business.
W T	1795	William Toulon, silversmith, mentioned.	1844	Retired from business.
I W	1799	James Warner, silversmith, admitted a freeman.	1830	Then dead.
I N	1805	John Nicholson,[2] silversmith, admitted a freeman.	1824	Then dead.
N N	1810	Nicholas Nicholson,[2] silversmith, mentioned; admitted a freeman, 1813.	1840	Then living, but retired or dead before 1842.
W E	1824	William Egan, jeweller, mentioned.	1850	Then living.
I A	1824	John Armstrong, goldsmith, mentioned.	1828	Then dead.
I H	1824	James Hackett, jeweller, mentioned.	1850	Died about then.
P G	1835	Phineas Garde, silversmith, admitted a freeman.	1845	Gave up work about then.

[1] From about 1795 to about 1810, Carden Terry and John Williams were in partnership, and, I believe, that after that till about 1815, Mrs. Williams carried on the business under the name of "Terry and Williams."

[2] From about 1810 to about 1820, John and Nicholas Nicholson were partners.

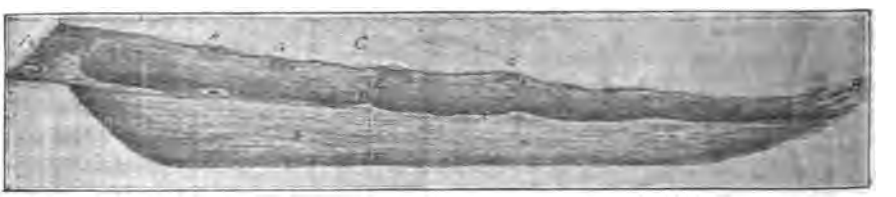
NOTICE OF AN ANCIENT IRISH COTT FOUND AT MAGHERY, COUNTY ARMAGH, AUGUST, 1894.

By C. WINSTON DUGAN, M.A.

During the course of an excavation for a boat-pier and slip at Maghery in the S.W. corner of Lough Neagh, and close to the mouth of the Blackwater, the workmen lately came upon an ancient Irish cott embedded in the peaty soil under the surface of the shore. It was carefully raised, and is now lying in the yard of a neighbouring farm-house.

The annexed sketch gives a pretty accurate idea of the form and dimensions.

This cott or canoe lay in a slanting position, the stem being about three feet below the surface, the stern about one and a-half. It was carefully examined and measured by Colonel Waring, Rev. E. D. Atkinson, a fellow-member of our Society, and myself. Its length,



One-piece Boat found at Maghery, Co. Armagh, on Lough Neagh, August, 1894.

Length (A to B), 22 feet 9 inches. Breadth of Beam (C to D), 3 feet 11 inches.
Inside Depth (E to F), 2 feet 1 inch.

in its present condition, is nearly 23 feet. From the slope at prow we calculated that the boat in its perfect state must have been at least 3 feet longer. The projections for the insertion of the rowlocks, of which three remain perfect (G, G on sketch), are internal and opposite each other, and carved out of the solid oak on a level with the gunwale; the remains of two other rowlock projections, which had been broken away, were also found: these projections are pierced with square holes about one and a-half inch in diameter, in which the rowlocks rested. Along the bottom of the boat are five sets or pairs of foot-rests or stretchers, opposite each other; these have an angular form, entrant angles towards the sides, about two inches thick, and also cut out of the solid wood. There is no mark of a stern-post or rudder of any kind. Slots for the support of the rowing benches are cut out, close to the gunwale; only four remain perfect. The stern, which is shaped like a duck's breast, has a broad projecting flat plate on a line with the gunwale, pierced with

three holes about three-quarters of an inch in diameter, quite clean, as if done with an auger. These perhaps served for some arrangement for steering. Along the bottom of the boat in the central line are four exactly similar holes. These were filled with wooden plugs at the time of finding; the plugs subsequently fell out and have been lost. I regret this, as they would have assisted me in forming an opinion as to whether they were used for fastening in timber for masts. The bottom of the boat has a flattish, rounded form, tapering towards the stern with a sharp slope, and inclining upwards. This must have been a steady, fast boat, fit to run into any of the shallow landing-places with which Lough Neagh abounds, or to make a rapid dash up the rivers flowing into it. It was probably propelled by ten oars worked by five rowers, each seated in the centre of a bench, and using two oars, the benches being too short to accommodate two oarsmen. Ten paddlers could, of course, have worked the boat, but the rowlock slots show that oars were used. The foot-stretchers are so placed as to give the greatest power to the rowers. There is no trace of in-timber of any kind remaining, if we except the holes at the stern and bottom. Several feet of the prow was decayed and had fallen away, so I conjecture that the boat may have lain on the shore for some time before it became embedded; otherwise it would have been found more intact. Most likely it sank by degrees into the peaty soil, and then became gradually covered by mud and silt from the flooding of the lough and adjacent river.

Sir W. Wilde[1] describes three varieties of the ancient Irish one-piece canoe. I should say that the Maghery cott belongs to the third or later variety. This is larger than any of those described by him, the external dimensions being at least 25 feet long, 4 feet wide, and 2½ feet deep. The oak tree from which it was carved must have been 30 or 40 feet long, and 5 feet across in the stem.

Sir J. Ware[2] also describes the Irish *coiti*, or one-piece *cott*, and mentions them as being used on some of the rivers in his day. Similar boats, called by Pliny *Monoxylæ*,[3] "Lintres ex uno ligno excavatæ," and by Livy "Alvei," were common enough amongst the ancient Germans and Gauls. The Greeks also had such vessels which were termed, Scaphi, *i.e.* vessels *hollowed* or *scooped* out.

Columbus and Vespucci[4] make frequent reference in their letters to one-piece canoes, quite similar to the Irish *coiti*, in use by the natives of the Carribean shores of South America, and of the West Indies. The former, referring to the island Guawahani, where he first landed in the New World, says[5] the natives visited our ships in canoes made of one piece, fashioned in a wonderful manner, some of the large ones containing

[1] "Catalogue" of Museum, R.I.A., "Veg. Materials," pp. 202, 203.
[2] "Antiquities of Ireland" (Harris), pp. 180–181.
[3] Μονον ξυλον.
[4] "Littera di Amerigo Vespucci" (Primo Viaggio).
[5] Personal narrative. (Translated.) Boston, 1827, p. 35.

as many as forty-five men, and they rowed with an oar resembling a baker's shovel, and went very fast. Now this shovel exactly corresponds to the ancient Irish paddle depicted by Sir W. Wilde.[1] Fernando Columbus[2] describes the capture by his father, of a one-piece canoe near Honduras, in 1502, which was as long as a galley, and eight feet wide, containing twenty-five men, a number of women and children, and loaded with commodities.

Verrazano, the celebrated Florentine navigator, who discovered portion of North America (Carolina and Virginia) in 1523, describes[3] the boats of the natives as constructed out of single logs with admirable skill, 20 feet long and 4 feet wide, without the use of stone, iron, or other metal. They hollow the log to the proper shape by burning, and then form the bow and stern by same means. Also, describing the natives met with in Narragansett Bay, he says, "they cut down trees with jasper and other hard stones, and with them construct their boats of single logs, hollowed out most admirably, and large enough to seat ten or twelve persons." The oars are short, with broad blades, rowed by the force of the arms. These are also like the Irish paddles described by Wilde. Robertson also describes the construction of these one-piece canoes.[4]

The Maghery cott is pretty smooth on the inside, and must have been finished off with metal tools, perhaps after the burning out in the Indian fashion.

I mention these instances in order to show that certain uses and practices in a community are not always safe guides in forming an opinion as to its state of civilisation. The use of one-piece canoes by the aborigines of Venezuela and North America, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, does not prove that people in other countries, using similar kinds of boats, were in a similarly barbarous state. Ware says they were used by many Irish in his day; but surely no sane person will assert that any of our countrymen, at that period, 1654, were in the social condition of the natives of the countries described by Columbus, Vespucci, and Verrazano.

The *currach* or *coracle*, a canoe made by covering a slender frame of wood or wicker-work, with skins, &c., was in use from the earliest times,[5] as described by Cæsar,[6] and is still in use by the hardy fishermen of Aran and Tory Islands. Of course, owing to the perishable nature of the materials, no ancient specimen of the currach has come down to us.

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[1] "Catalogue," *supra*, p. 204.
[2] "Historie del F. Columbo," cap. 88.
[3] "Letter to Francis I.," 8th July, 1524.
[4] "History of America," Book IV., cap. vi.
[5] *Vid.* Herodot. Clio. Lucan, lib. 4. Solinus, cap. 35. Pliny, lib. 4 et 7.
[6] Comment. Belli Civ., lib. 1. Ed. Elzevir, p. 492. This passage is interesting, since it shows that Cæsar learned the art of making such boats from the Britons.—"Imperat Cæsar ut naves faciant cujus generis usus Britanniæ docuerat. Primum statumina ex levi materiâ fiebant: reliquum corpus *viminibus* contextum, *coriis* integebatur."

Miscellanea.

The Cow Legend of Corofin, Co. Clare.—Corofin and its neighbourhood is a happy hunting-ground for folk-lore even in these degenerate days. Much more so in 1840, when Eugene O'Curry took some pains to gather a few sheaves of that abundant harvest, much of which may still be saved, though till lately left untended. We still hear among the peasantry legends of Claraghmoor (Richard de Clare, 1318), Tige Ahood (Teige Acomhad, 1460), and Maureen Rhue (Mary O'Brien, 1641); with recollections of Ossian, and of the wonderful leap of the hound, Bran, and the deer, from the top of Inchiquin hill; of the discovery of turf-cutting by the warriors cleaning their blood-stained swords in the peat, and throwing the clods on the fire; with wild and sometimes beautiful beliefs in the swan maidens of Inchiquin, the banshees of Rath, and the "cursing-stone of Kilmoon," the turning of which "maledictive stone" twisted the mouths of the victims awry. But a still more famous story was told by the older generation, and this I adapt from the invaluable pages of the Ordnance Survey Letters. It was told, in 1839, by Shane Reagh O'Cahane, an old tailor and shanachee of Corofin, and it coincides with the shorter form of the legend still told at Tullycomane :—

On the ridge of Glasgeivnagh, in Teeskagh townland, in Kilnaboy parish, the high land adjoining the edge of Burren, ages ago, lived Lon mac Leefa (Liomhtha), a Tuatha De Danaan, and the first smith who made edged weapons in Erin. He was strange to behold, for he had only one leg and three arms, the third of which grew out of the middle of his chest, and enabled him to turn the iron on the anvil, while he wielded the heavy sledge with the others. When he walked he would bound over valleys and hills, his one leg acting as a powerful spring. He had gone to Spain, and stolen a famous cow called Glasgeivnagh, on whose milk he lived. His race having been defeated by the Milesians, he long sought a 'desert' place sufficiently fertile to support his cow, and at last found it at Teeskagh. There the Seaċt ꝼꝼoċa na Ƭeaꝼcaiġe ('Seven Streams of Teeskagh') still attest the legend how a lady made a bet that she would find a vessel which the cow could not fill, and milked her into a sieve; the milk ran down the hillside, forming the pretty waterfall and streams, which run across a deep gorge to sink into clefts of the rock. Beside the water were shown the 'Leabas,' or beds, of the cow and her calf; no grass could grow on them. Many sought to steal the cow, but her hoofs grew backward, so

they could never track her (though her footprints remain all over the rocks of the district), for one of Lon's seven sons, holding her tail, would follow her each day of the week to the top of the hill, and then pull her round and let her graze home again.

Lon's life of obscurity was, however, to end. Unlike others of his race, who sulked in the 'sidhs,' or fairy hills, he longed to astonish the Milesians, by making a famous sword for the most illustrious of their warriors. The fame of Fin mac Cumhal reached him, and he set out in his usual expeditious method, and reached the fort of Ben Edar, or Howth. Springing into the presence of Fin and his astonished court, "I am Lon," he cried, "skilled in smiths' art, and a servant of the King of Lochlin; I lay on thee a 'geasa' to overtake me ere I reach home." Off he bounded, and the Fenians were soon hopelessly distanced, except Caoilte, "of the slender, hard legs," who kept the smith in sight, and coming up with him just as he entered his cave in Garraidh-na-Ceartan, where the ashes of his forge remain, to refute all sceptics, he slapped him on the shoulder. "Stay, smith," said Caoilte, "enter not thy cave alone." "Success and welcome, true soldier of the Fionna," said Lon, in delight, "not for witchcraft did I visit thee, but to lead thee to my forge, and give thee a weapon to make thee famous"; and they worked at the forge for three days. At last Fin and seven of his men arrived, and Lon sold them eight swords. There the work ended, for the anvil was broken under the strokes of Goll and Conan, the sons of Morné.

Meanwhile a party of the Tuatha De Danaan mustered on Ceann Sleibhte (now Keentlae), or Inchiquin Hill, and posted troops on the causeways round Glasgeivnagh, namely, Corad mac Burin,[1] opposite Ballyportry, Corad mhic Eoghain, one mile west of Corofin, and at the Corad Finn itself. Their precautions were of no avail, for the strangers routed the outposts, and exterminated the main army in a pitched battle near Suidhe Finn, where bones are still found.

The legend ends tamely and abruptly, by stating that "an Ulsterman stole the cow."

This legend is widely spread,[2] and of ancient descent; it occurs at Ballynascreen, in Derry, and in Donegal, opposite Tory Island. Professor Rhys gives fully the legend (singularly like the myth of Danaë), of Balor's daughter, and Kineely, "the wolf head," the owner of the stolen cow, Glasgaivlen. Similar legends are found in Glengaulen, Cavan, on

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[1] The Coradh mac am burion of the "Wars of Torlough" in 1317, lay where "Kells Bridge" is marked on the maps, as established, from the recollection of the older peasantry, by our Local Secretary for North Clare, Dr. Mac Namara.

[2] Ordnance Survey Letters, Co. Clare.—R.I.A., p. 66; also those of Cavan and Donegal. "Hero Tales of Ireland" (J. Curtin) — Introduction, pp. xliv. and l. Rev. J. Campbell's "Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition." "Hibbert Lectures, 1886" (Professor Rhys), p. 315. "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., p. 18, note. Our *Journal*, 1852–1853, p. 315. "Journal," Cork Historical and Archæological Society, May, 1895, p. 210.

the Hill of Tara, and in Kerry. Nor are they confined to Ireland. The Rev. James Campbell tells an identical smith story of Tiree and Argyll: "Lon mac Liven, son of Una, daughter of Vulcan," with "one leg, and one eye on the top of his forehead," comes to Fin, stating that he worked for the Norse King of "Givlen," and flies, "taking a desert and a glen at each step," to "a grey, sickly glen," being overtaken by Caoilte Daorglas, who finds "seven ugly smiths" in the cave, and the tale ends in the splitting of the anvil, and a fierce combat. In Skye a Glasghoilean cow, the property of Fin, had "a bed," which is still shown. The Scotch stories have more classic affinities (to Vulcan and the Cyclops) than our Clare myth, while the Glas Gavlen cow descends from the sky at Dun Kinealy, and is unmistakably a relative of the rain cows of the Vedas.—T. J. W.

"Archæologia Cambrensis."—The latest number of the "Journal of the Cambrian Archæological Association" (July, 1895) contains a careful architectural study of the church of Conway, visited by our Society last year. It also contains the concluding notices of the Excursion then joined in. We are glad to notice that steps are about being taken for the survey and preservation of the extremely interesting prehistoric fort of Treceiri, in Carnarvonshire. The committee in whose hands this work has been placed is, we are sure, a sufficient guarantee that the task of preservation will not become an excuse for restoration, which, as some of the finest of our own stone forts testify, is one of the greatest evils from which they need to be preserved.

Fethard and Baginbun Inscriptions.—The same number of *Archæologia Cambrensis* contains a Paper by Professor Rhys, dealing with various inscriptions in Wales. Among others he studies afresh the inscription on the cross at Carew, in Pembrokeshire, which has attracted new interest from the discussion in the pages of the *Academy*, of the similar inscriptions at Fethard and Baginbun, county Wexford. Mr. Romilly Allen, in another part of the same number, has brought together facsimiles of the three inscriptions, made from rubbings—those of the two Irish stones supplied by Colonel Vigors.

Whatever may be the meaning of the inscriptions, and however great the improbability of an inscription in Ireland being a copy of a stone at the other side of the Channel, or the reverse, Mr. Romilly Allen shows that the similarity, not only in form, but in arrangement of the characters, is such as scarcely to admit of any other reasonable explanation than the hypothesis, which he supports, of successive copies debased by unintelligent transcription.

Antiquarian Handbook Series.—Under this title it has been arranged to re-issue the most important of the Guide-books prepared from time to time for the use of the Members taking part in the Society's Excursions. The first number of the series has recently been issued, containing the descriptions of Tara, the Church of Dunsany, and the Churches of Glendalough. The next number will contain the accounts of Aran and Galway, visited in July. It is gratifying to find that the *Antiquary*, in its September issue, expresses much appreciation of the scheme, and in particular of our Galway Excursion Programme. We hope that these reprints will succeed in stimulating and educating a still more general and more intelligent interest in our National Antiquities.

Ancient Smelting Works.—Rev. E. F. Hewson, *Hon. Local Secretary Kilkenny East*, forwards the following communication from a lady Member living in county Waterford, near the foot of the Comeragh mountains:—"We opened lately a curious mound (hollowed in the centre) in one of our fields here. We cut a deep trench right across it, and found it to be nothing but broken sandstone (all burnt stone) and charcoal! No one seems to know what it was. The stone is broken about as small as road metalling. There are several small heaps of the same all over the field. My mother thinks they smelted here for iron! Lord Cork certainly did all round Youghal in Queen Elizabeth's reign. The field would appear to have been the shore of a bog lake. We cut right down into the marl and yellow clay, and found absolutely nothing but these burnt broken stones and charcoal and burnt earth."—C. G. Fairholme.

Recent Find of Silver Coins of Elizabeth.—Some well-preserved coins of Queen Elizabeth were found a few months since (date uncertain) 8 or 10 feet beneath the surface of Cloncanny Bog, near Creggs, county Roscommon, wrapped in coarse woollen fabric, and concealed within the hollow of a cow's horn, pierced at its top (such as was used for containing gunpowder). They are a series remarkable for belonging to different dates, from the year 1561 to 1584, with few exceptions. Thus there are 2 sixpences of the year 1565; 3 of the year 1568; 2 of the year 1569; 2 of the year 1581; the rest being solitary specimens for each year of the following dates:—1561, 1562, 1565, 1567, 1568, 1569, 1573, 1574, 1575, 1578, 1580, 1581, 1582, 1583, 1584—in all 20 sixpences. There were in addition two shillings, one with *Lis* mint-mark, the date of which is not fully known, and another with Hand mint-mark, usually referred to the year 1590.—W. F.

Ennis Friary in 1306.—By the kindness of Mr. Standish Hayes O'Grady, I am able to give a full translation of the two passages in John Macgrath's "Wars of Torlough," quoted from an old English version in the Royal Irish Academy, on page 135, *supra*:—

"On the *north* (recte *south*) bank of the Fergus, abreast of Inishalee (at this day called Clonroad), in the very heart of his own near dependants, and of his domain, he built a circular hold and residence."

"The monastery of Ennis, diversely beautiful, delectable; washed by a fish-giving stream; having lofty arches, walls lime-white; with its order of chastity, its sweet, religious bells; its well-kept graves, homes of the noble dead; with furniture, both crucifixes and illuminated tomes, both friar's cowl and embroidered vestment; with windows glazed; with chalice of rare workmanship—a blessed and enduring monument which, for all time, shall stand a legacy and memory of the Prince (Torlough O'Brien) that raised it."—T. J. W.

Photographs of the Excursions.—Mr. R. Welch, 49, Lonsdale-street, Belfast, has completed a nice series of views of the principal objects of Antiquarian interest visited. He has succeeded in getting some very clear negatives, which he has printed off in his permanent platino process, and he writes to say he will be very pleased to send copies to any Members of the Society who may wish to see them. His views of Tory Island and Inismurray are excellent, and the pictures taken on the Aran Islands are very interesting. His series include, in addition to the foregoing, Clare Galway, Galway Town, Corcomroe, Mac Dara's Island, and Clonmacnois.

Mr. A. M. Geddis, 6, Crofton-terrace, Kingstown, was fortunate in getting some fine views to add to his extensive collection. Some of his groups are very good.

Mrs. Shackleton, Anna Liffey House, Lucan, secured many very good negatives, and her group at Ballintubber Castle is excellent.

Mr. Goddard H. Orpen, Erpingham, Bedford Park, Chiswick, London, took a very extensive series of views during the whole of the Excursion (about 50 negatives, 5 inches × 4 inches), and he writes to say he will have copies printed for Members at 6*d.* each.

Dr. Norman, 12, Brock-street, Bath, has, as usual, been successful in adding largely to his stock; he took a great number of negatives in the Aran Islands, and he, too, has arranged to supply Members with copies at 6*d.* each.

Notices of Books.

[Note.—*Those marked * are by Members of the Society.*]

* *Through the Green Isle: a Gossiping Guide to the Districts traversed by the Waterford, Limerick, and Western Railway System.* By M. J. Hurley, F.R.S.A. Illustrated from original sketches by T. O'Scully, B.A., B.E. (Waterford: N. Harvey & Co., 1895.)

Many of our railway companies have of late most wisely sought to attract public attention to the charms of scenery and association connected with the localities along their lines, by issuing illustrated Guide-books. One of the best of these we have seen is the little book now noticed.

Carrick Castle, Elizabethan Front.

It chattily describes the objects of interest as they are met in passing along the line of railway from Waterford to Tuam and its branches, and is well and brightly written. Almost every page has an illustration; the subjects being well chosen and cleverly drawn. Mr. O'Scully is most successful in his mountain sketches; his peasant-women seem much idealised. While the picturesque is the prominent motive in the choice of subjects, the artist has also done justice to many of the ancient buildings remaining in the district. The above view of Carrick Castle,

one of the early seats of the Earls of Ormonde, is an example. It shows the side erected in the time of Queen Elizabeth by the 10th Earl, the towers of the earlier castle rising behind. Many other sketches are of equal or greater merit.

The book is an excellent sixpennyworth.

**Notes on the Cross of Cong.* By Margaret Stokes, Hon. Member of the Royal Irish Academy, and of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. (Dublin: The University Press, 1895.)

THE Cross of Cong has especial interest for Irish antiquaries and art lovers. The elegance of its form, and the beauty of its ornament, place it in the first rank of the remains of ancient Irish art; while the fact that its origin and history are clearly traceable, gives it an additional interest, greater than that of almost any other specimen of Irish art in metal work.

The Annals relate that, in 1123, a portion of the True Cross, which was believed to be the actual instrument of the Saviour's death, was brought to Ireland, and that Terlagh O'Conor, the king, commanded a shrine to be made to receive it. The inscription, still legible on the cross of Cong, fully corroborates the statement in the Annals; and this corroboration has all the appearance of being undesigned. The inscription tells us that the cross was made by command of King Terlagh; mentions two bishops who were his contemporaries; and, in reverent piety, explains its purpose in the line—

"Hac cruce crux tegitur qua passus Conditor orbis."

The evidence of the purpose of the cross and of its age are thus singularly complete.

The artist who designed and executed this beautiful work, though we know nothing more of him, deserves to be remembered.—Maelisu mac Bratdan O'Echan.

Of the further history of the cross—we are told that it was made for Muredach O'Duffy, who was Bishop of Tuam. He, we learn, died at Cong, whither, no doubt, the cross accompanied him. There, in the abbey, it seems to have been preserved. When the abbey was dissolved the care of the cherished relic passed to humbler but not less reverent hands, by whom it was preserved until the present century, when it was wisely entrusted to Professor M'Cullagh.

Through the patriotic generosity of M'Cullagh, it was presented to the Royal Irish Academy, where it became practically the nucleus of that great collection of Irish antiquities, of which it may still claim to be the crowning gem.

The present book, with other illustrations, contains two beautiful pictures, admirably printed in colours. One shows the front of the cross, the other gives the lower part full size. Each plate is 14¼ by 11¼ inches. To describe the beauty of these pictures, it is only necessary to say that they are from the pencil and brush of Miss Margaret Stokes, and that the process-engraver has done full justice to her work.

In the letterpress we would gladly have some fuller illustrations of a matter of much interest, on which the authoress touches lightly. The cross belongs to a later type of Irish work, and Miss Stokes hints that in the work of this period there is probably some trace of French influence; and she suggests comparison with French reliquaries of the same period. We much regret that Miss Stokes, than whom no one is so well fitted for such a work, has not herself undertaken this comparison, and given us details, which might have a very interesting bearing on the history of the development of Irish art.

We hope that Miss Stokes's beautiful pictures will become as widely known as the very limited issue of this book will permit; for as only 200 copies are issued, the book should soon become very scarce.

Proceedings.

THE THIRD GENERAL MEETING of the Society, for the year 1895, was held at the Railway Hotel, Galway, on Monday, 8th July, 1895, at 8 o'clock, p.m.;

THE MOST REV. JOHN HEALY, D.D., LL.D., M.R.I.A., Coadjutor-Bishop of Clonfert, *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

The following took part in the proceedings:—

Fellows:—The Right Hon. The O'Conor Don, LL.D., M.R.I.A., *Vice-President;* the Rev. George R. Buick, M.A., LL.D., M.R.I.A., Moderator of the General Assembly, *Vice-President;* Lavens M. Ewart, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President;* William Gray, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President;* Seaton F. Milligan, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President;* Robert Cochrane, F.S.A., M.R.I.A., *Hon. General Secretary and Treasurer;* Julian G. Wandesford Butler; S. W. P. Cowan, M.A., M.R.I.A.; Patrick J. Donnelly; the Rev. J. F. M. ffrench, M.R.I.A.; W. E. Kelly, J.P., *Hon. Secretary, South Mayo;* W. P. Kelly, Solicitor; Deputy Surgeon-General King, M.B., M.A., M.R.I.A.; S. K. Kirker; James Mills, M.R.I.A.; William R. Molloy, M.R.I.A.; Robert Munro, M.A., M.D., HON. M.R.I.A., Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, *Hon. Fellow;* George Norman, M.D.; the Rev. P. Power, C.C.; George A. Stevenson, Commissioner of Public Works; Thomas J. Westropp, M.A., M.R.I.A.; William W. Wilson, M. INST. C.E., M.R.I.A.; Edward Perceval Wright, M.A., M.D., Secretary, R.I.A.

Members:—Edward Martyn, D.L., *Hon. Provincial Secretary for Connaught;* the Very Rev. J. Fahey, P.P., V.F., *Hon. Secretary for South Galway;* R. J. Kelly, *Hon. Secretary for North Galway;* John Harris, *Hon. Secretary for Galway Town;* Alexander Agnew; William Anderson, J.P.; the Rev. E. D. Atkinson, LL.B.; Miss Atkinson; Robert Baile, M.A.; the Rev. Canon Baillie, M.A.; Joseph H. Bennett; Miss M. J. Bennett; Fleet-Surgeon Brereton; W. Law Bros; Michael Buggy; John Burgess, J.P.; the Rev. R. S. D. Campbell, D.D.; the Rev. W. W. Campbell, M.A., R.N.; John Carolan, J.P.; M. Edward Conway; Samuel Cunningham; Miss Mary E. Cunningham; D. Griffith Davies, B.A., Bangor, North Wales; Frederick Franklin, F.R.I.A.I.; James Frost, M.R.I.A.; Michael Geoghegan; Thomas Greene, LL.B.; Francis Guilbride; the Very Rev. Dr. Hare, Dean of Ossory; the Rev. Canon Hogan, B.D.; the Rev. Canon Jones, M.A., Bangor, North Wales; the Rev. Canon Keene, M.A.; P. Kenny; Miss K. L. King; Miss K. Knox; the Rev. Alexander G. Lecky, M.A.; the Rev. Alexander Mac Mullan, P.P.; the Rev. J. H. Maconachie, M.A.; Dr. G. U. Mac Namara; the Very Rev. Owen M'Cartan, P.P., V.F.; John P. M'Knight; R. T. Martin; the Rev. David Mullan, M.A.; Sharman D. Neill; Dr. E. P. O'Farrell; Dr. George W. O'Flaherty; Goddard H. Orpen; J. E. Palmer; W. H. Patterson, M.R.I.A.; A. Patton, M.D.; James Perry, M.E., M. INST. C.E.; Thomas Plunkett, M.R.I.A.; the Rev. A. D. Purefoy, B.A.; S. A. Quan-Smith; T. W. Rolleston; A. G. Ryder; Mrs. A. G. Ryder; Conway Scott, C.E.; Mrs. J. F. Shackleton; Michael Shanley, M.D.; Mrs. Simpson; John F. Small; the Rev. Canon Smith, D.D.; E. Weber Smyth, J.P.; Miss Nora Steen; Mark Stirrup, F.G.S.L.; Alexander Tate, C.E.; Dr. H. P. Truell, D.L.; P. J. Tuohy, B.L., Secretary, Board of Works; Thomas Walpole; John S.

Weir, J.P.; William J. Woodside; the Rev. A. Sadleir Woodward, M.A.; the Rev. Robert Workman; W. M. Campbell; William Henning Corker; the Rev. Robert M. M'C. Gilmour; Davys Bowman; Professor W. Boyd Dawkins, F.S.A., F.R.S., &c.; R. A. S. Macalister; James M'Connell; Miss Richardson; William Stirling, C.E., F.R.I.A.I.; Rev. Isaac Warren, M.A.

Associates.—Henry J. Boyd, M.D.; William Brown; Mrs. Cochrane; Robert Crawford; Mrs. Carlisle; Bryan Corcoran; Miss J. R. Corcoran; Miss Hazlett; Philip Kermode; Joseph Lockhart; Miss Milligan; Mrs. M'Connell; Charles L. M'Lorinan, LL.D.; the Rev. Arthur Neeson, C.C.; Colonel R. T. Orpen, R.E.; Miss Orpen; the Rev. Arthur Rose; J. F. Shackleton; Mrs. Conway Scott; Mrs. W. J. Woodside; Miss Nora Workman; W. H. Warren; William Webster; Miss Baillie; Miss Tate; Miss Patton (Finglas, Co. Dublin); the Misses Patton (2) (Morehampton-road, Dublin); Mrs. P. J. Tuohy; W. H. Wilson, Jun.; Mrs. Anderson; the Rev. A. F. Hogan; Mrs. Purefoy; Mrs. Hare; Miss Blanche Fitz Gibbon; Miss Edith Fitz Gibbon.

The Chairman, in opening the Meeting, welcomed the Society to Connaught.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read by the Hon. General Secretary, and confirmed.

The following Candidates, recommended by the Council, were declared duly elected:—

MEMBERS.

The Rev. Canon Beresford, M.A., Inistioge Rectory, Co. Kilkenny: proposed by the Rev. Canon Hewson, *Hon. Secretary, South Kilkenny.*

Mrs. Emily Betham, 9, Belgrave-square, Monkstown, Co. Dublin: proposed by Thomas Drew, R.H.A., *President.*

John Burke, J.P., Consul for Mexico and Uruguay, Corporation-street, Belfast: proposed by Seaton F. Milligan, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President.*

John F. Calderwood, J.P., 51, Mountjoy-square, Dublin: proposed by P. Kenny.

William Marshall Campbell, 69, Fitzroy-avenue, Belfast: proposed by Seaton F. Milligan, *Vice-President.*

William Henning Corker, Solicitor, 52, Grand-parade, Cork: proposed by J. J. Mahony.

R. B. Fair, Rosetta House, Rosetta Park, Belfast: proposed by Seaton F. Milligan, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President.*

The Rev. Robert M. M'C. Gilmour, The Manse, Ballymena, Co. Antrim: proposed by the Rev. Mr. Maconachie.

Edwin Hall, J.P., D.L., Blackrock, Cork: proposed by Robert Day, F.S.A., *Vice-President.*

The Rev. Frederic Hartley, B.A., B.I.A., Wellington-square, Kilkenny: proposed by the Rev. Canon Hewson, B.A., *Hon. Local Secretary, Kilkenny East.*

William Healy, J.P., Donard View, Downpatrick: proposed by J. B. Skeffington, M.A., LL.B.

T. H. Holding, 7, Maddox-street, London, W.: proposed by the Rev. W. W. Campbell, M.A., R.N.

The Rev. Hugo R. Huband, M.A. (Cantab.), Killiskey Rectory, Ashford, Co. Wicklow: proposed by H. P. Truell, D.L.

Thomas Hugh Kenny, Solicitor, Limerick: proposed by H. C. Cullinan, LL.B., *Fellow.*

H. K. M'Aleer, Beragh, Co. Tyrone: proposed by S. F. Milligan, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*.

The Rev. James E. M'Kenna, C.C., Enniskillen: proposed by Thomas Plunkett, M.R.I.A.

Robert M'Mullan, Giant's Causeway, Bushmills: proposed by William Gray, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*.

Thomas Henry Mahony, Clonard, Blackrock-road, Cork: proposed by J. J. Mahony.

John J. Murphy, H. M. Customs, Culgreine, Ballintemple, Cork: proposed by Joseph H. Bennett.

Thomas O'Hanlon, 8, North Frederick-street, Dublin: proposed by John F. Small.

Henry S. Persse, J.P., Glenarde, Galway: proposed by Richard Langrishe, F.R.I.A.I., *Fellow*.

The Rev. William B. Steele, B.A., Levally Rectory, Enniskillen: proposed by Thomas Plunkett, M.R.I.A.

William N. Strangways, Inspector of Taxes, Custom House, Dublin: proposed by Thomas Plunkett, M.R.I.A.

Edward Tipping, J.P., Bellurgan Park, Dundalk: proposed by G. D. Burtchaell, M.A., M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

William Bergin, M.A., Professor of Natural Philosophy, Queen's College, Cork: proposed by Charles H. Keene, M.A.

Edward Stuart Cromie, District Inspector of Schools, Killarney: proposed by the Ven. G. R. Wynne, D.D., Archdeacon of Aghadoe.

W. H. Drennan, Assistant Registrar of Deeds, Henrietta-street, Dublin: proposed by Bedell Stanford.

The Very Rev. Martin K. Dunne, P.P., Canon, Blackwater, Enniscorthy: proposed by J. J. Perceval, *Fellow*.

Michael Andrew Ennis, J.P., Ardmadh, Wexford: proposed by J. J. Perceval, *Fellow*.

Michael Gill, B.A., Roebuck House, Clonskeagh: proposed by G. D. Burtchaell, M.A., M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

Miss Jephson-Norreys, Mallow Castle, Mallow: proposed by G. D. Burtchaell, M.A., M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

John Latimer, Board of Works Inspector, Killarney: proposed by the Ven. Archdeacon Wynne, D.D., Archdeacon of Aghadoe.

Benjamin A. W. Lett, J.P., Ballyvergan, Adamstown, Co. Wexford: proposed by J. J. Perceval, *Fellow*.

Henry Colley March, M.D. (Lond.), F.S.A., 2, West-street, Rochdale: proposed by A. C. Haddon, M.A., F.Z.S.

Miss Gertrude Pim, Glenageragh House, Kingstown: proposed by the Rev. Professor Stokes, D.D.

Francis P. Thunder, Municipal Buildings, Cork Hill, Dublin: proposed by the Very Rev. Canon O'Hanlon, M.R.I.A.

Mr. Perry read a Paper on "The Antiquities of the County Galway," which was referred to the Council.

The Hon. Secretary of the Revising Committee, for Mr. R. J. Kelly, read a Paper on "The Wardens of Galway," which was also referred to the Council.

The remaining Papers on the list, viz. :—

"The Church of St. Nicholas, Galway," by Thomas Drew, R.H.A., *President.*
"The Islands of the Corrib," by Richard J. Kelly, B.L., *Honorary Local Secretary for North Galway.*
"Ardfert Friary and the Fitzmaurice Lords of Kerry" (Part II.), by Miss Hickson.
"The Shamrock in Literature: a Critical Chronology," by Nathaniel Colgan, M.R.I.A.

were taken as read, and referred to the Council.

The Hon. Secretary made an announcement of the arrangements for the Excursion to the Loughcrew Hills on Monday, 5th August, and the Quarterly Meeting at Wexford on Monday, 9th September.

On the motion of Mr. Milligan, *Vice-President*, seconded by the Rev. J. F. M. ffrench, *Fellow*, it was resolved—

"That the best thanks of the Society be given to the Harbour Commissioners and people of Galway for their kindness in offering the hospitality of the port, and the interest taken in the visit of the Society to Galway."

The Rev. Dr. Buick, *Vice-President*, proposed—

"That the best thanks of the Society be given to the Most Rev. Bishop Healy for his kindness in presiding, and his dignified conduct in the Chair."

The motion was passed by acclamation, and his Lordship having responded, declared the Meeting of the Society adjourned to Monday, 9th September, 1895.

EXCURSION TO ARAN ISLANDS, GALWAY, &c.

JULY, 1895.

On the days preceding and following the Galway Meeting, Antiquarian Excursions had been arranged, and were joined in by many Fellows and Members of the Society.

The Excursions preceding the Meeting were carried out by two separately organised parties. One left Belfast by steamer on Tuesday morning, July 2nd; the other travelled by railway from Dublin on the following Thursday afternoon.

The Belfast party, under the guidance of Mr. Seaton F. Milligan, *Vice-President*, left Donegall-quay, Belfast, in the steamship "Caloric," at 11 o'clock, a.m., on Tuesday, in a severe thunderstorm. The storm was at once left behind, and the steamer in fine weather followed the Antrim coast to Fair Head, which was reached at 2.30. Here the ship entered a dense fog which for about half an hour obscured all view.

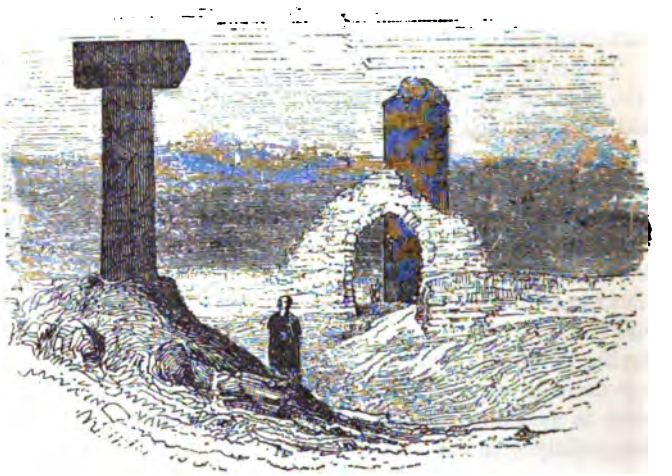
It had been proposed to sail round Rathlin, and afford an opportunity of seeing that island. The fog rendered this impracticable, and when the ship emerged from the mist Rathlin lay astern. Bengore Head, and the bold coast about the Giants' Causeway and Dunluce were far away to the south. The ship being now directed north-westward, towards Malin Head, the coast of Antrim and Londonderry soon sank into the distance. The weather continued dull, and as the headlands of Inishowen were approached the wind rose stronger from N.W. The low island of Inishtrahull, the most northern land claimed by Ireland, was left far to the right. Then, on the other hand, the rocky islets of Garvan were passed, the ocean waves breaking high over their bare rocks. Malin Head was then rounded, and the ship's course being now S.W., she rolled heavily in the beam sea for an hour or so, during which those whose turn it was to dine had a very bad time.

Entering Lough Swilly, and passing within Dunree Head, the ship was once more in calm water, in which she anchored off Rathmullan. This place is associated with the kidnapping of Red Hugh O'Donnell, and subsequently with the flight of Hugh O'Neill. Here a thick misting rain, and the summons to the second dinner, deterred all but a very few from landing and inspecting the remains of a small Carmelite house at Rathmullan.

The morning of Wednesday, the 3rd, was most unpromising. A dull sky, a high wind, and driving scuds of rain, seemed to threaten very bad weather. The ship had been arranged to leave Lough Swilly early, but as the state of the weather rendered it extremely improbable that the intended landing on Tory Island and Inismurray could be carried out, the start was postponed until after breakfast. About 8 a.m. anchor was

weighed, and the "Caloric" faced towards the ocean and the N.W. gale. Nearing the open sea the weather became still more threatening. Fanad Head, at the west of the outer opening of Lough Swilly, was rounded, and the ship's course was directed towards the distant cliffs of Horn Head, passing at no great distance the low rocky headlands of the district of Fanad. Arrived off Horn Head, our course was continued still westward towards the bold rocky cliffs of Tory. At Tory we were again in shelter. The island lies nearly east and west, and the ship sailing along its southern shore was protected from the northerly wind. Easttown, an irregular group of huts, could scarcely be distinguished from the rocky land around it. A little further the ship came to anchor off Westtown. Here the sea was sheltered and calm. A landing was soon effected, partly in the ship's boats, and partly in some which came from the island. The native corraghs are still to be seen here, but the boats which put out to us were new, well built boats known as Norway yawls[1], supplied by the Congested Districts Board, the cost being treated as a loan repayable by instalments.

Close to the landing place stands a stone cross of the T form. It is about 7 feet high above its pedestal; is without ornament, and appears to be in its original condition.

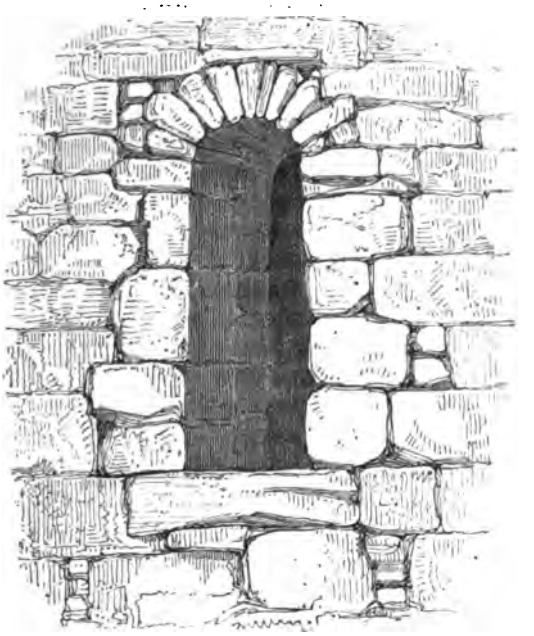


St. Columba's Cross, Church, and Tower, Tory Island. From a drawing by Dr. Petrie.

About 100 yards west of the cross is a Round Tower. The height, according to Mr. Getty (*Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. i.), is about

[1] For this and other statements the Editor is indebted to the account of the Excursion, written by Mr. S. F. Milligan for the *Belfast News-Letter*, and since republished.

51 feet, and as part of the roof remains at the east side it cannot have been higher. The door shown here from a drawing by Petrie, is about



Doorway of Round Tower, Tory Island. From a drawing by Dr. Petrie.

9 feet from the ground. There are some remains of vaulting, which appears to have covered the chamber next below the uppermost one of the tower. Part of the west side has been recently judiciously repaired by the Board of Works. The new work seems to have been necessary for the security of the rest of the tower, and is of a character readily distinguished from the older masonry.

Between the cross and the tower were two early churches of which no distinct remains survive. The arch in the middle distance in the accompanying sketch probably belonged to one of these churches. Its site is now occupied by a newly enclosed graveyard, in which are one or two incised stones of no special interest.

Nearer the tower is a small platform of stones on which stands a large stone having a long oblong hollow containing water. Here also are three or four fragments of stone, carved with elegant ornamental work not in very good preservation.

The party having returned to the ship, she weighed anchor, raising from the ocean bottom some twenty fathoms deep, a mass of granite wedged in the anchor. The stone was covered with minute corals and other deep-sea life.

The gale had now fallen to a breeze which before evening became a calm. The sea gradually became smoother, and the remainder of the voyage to Galway was of the most enjoyable character.

Steaming south from Tory, the ship passed Bloody Foreland. Conspicuous on it is one of the signal towers which are to be seen on so many prominent points on the west coast of Ireland. They were erected at the beginning of the present century, and formed part of a system by which the approach of a hostile force could be communicated by signal in the most rapid manner then known to military science.

The mountains of north Donegal were now to be seen to great advantage, dominated by the bold top of Muckish, and the grey cone of Errigal.

The smaller islands which stud the coast were left at some distance, but the steep cliffs of the northern Aran Island, or Aranmore, with their many trickling waterfalls swelled by the previous night's rain, were passed at a short distance.

South of Aranmore the coast recedes, and the ship bore on towards the bold headlands of south-west Donegal. Slieveatooey rises from the sea a little to the east. The cliffs of Glen Head are passed, and we look up the little Glen Bay, to the green slopes of the sacred Glencolumkille. The bold cliffs with their contorted strata round Malinmore Head are now reached. Then passing within the low island of Rathlin O'Birne, the giant cliffs of Slievleague break on the view.

Leaving these behind the ship pressed southward, and an hour later the little island of Inismurray lay beside us. There seemed nothing to suggest that this tame little isle was once the home of a fort-building prehistoric chief, or that for centuries saints and scholars had here lived, leaving graven in its hard stones the strange wealth of carved ornament, in which the great symbol of the faith is traced in such variety of quaint and sometimes elegant design.

It is unnecessary to describe what is to be seen on Inismurray. Mr. Wakeman's report on its remains has been published by the Society, as its extra volume for 1892, and it is needless to repeat here what he has so well represented with pen and pencil.

A landing was effected partly in the ship's boats, and partly in those of the island, at the new pier at the S.E. of the island, not marked on the map in Mr. Wakeman's report. Thence westward, about a quarter of a mile, by a road dotted with the comfortable cottages of the people to Leachta Coluimkille, one of the characteristic stations on the island. It consists of a small altar-like erection of stone with a flat upright stone rising from its centre, engraved with crosses; the whole surrounded by a low quadrangular wall of stone. Near this is Temple-na-mBan, the Women's church. Turning here up a narrow path we arrived almost immediately at the south gate of the cashel.

The cashel enclosing wall is pre-Christian, and much of it, especially

its outer face on the northern and eastern side, remains very much in its original state. Some re-construction, including two entrances, took place on the southern side after it became the abode of a Christian community, and some further restoration was carried out in recent years by the Board of Works. Some of the stone chambers connected with the wall are probably as old as the original erection of the fort, while one of the churches may be as late as the fifteenth century. Besides three churches and several bee-hive cells, the cashel contains three detached altars and a number of crosses. Only a very short time could be allowed here, and before more than a hasty examination of the cashel could be completed, the steamer's whistle, all too soon, recalled us from these remains of a far past to the requirements of the present.

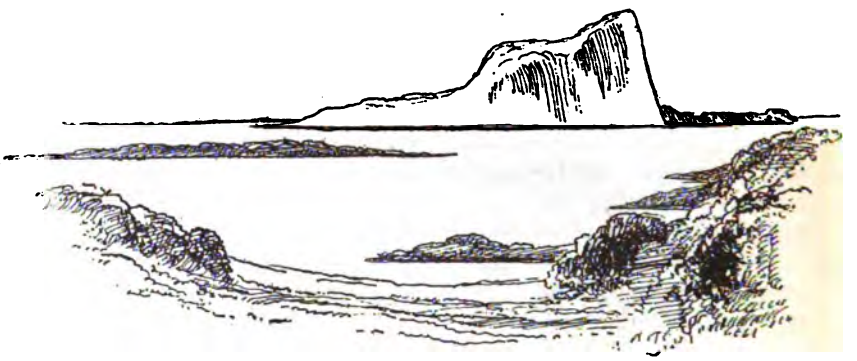
We should not leave the island without observing that the people, who seemed healthy and comfortable, showed a friendly and generally unobtrusive interest in our visit, and were ready when occasion arose to offer such hospitality as their circumstances admitted of.

Returned to the ship, we had time to look at the fine outline of the north Sligo and Leitrim range of mountains, Ben Bulbin standing strikingly out from the rest, with flat top, and strangely weathered, almost vertical sides.

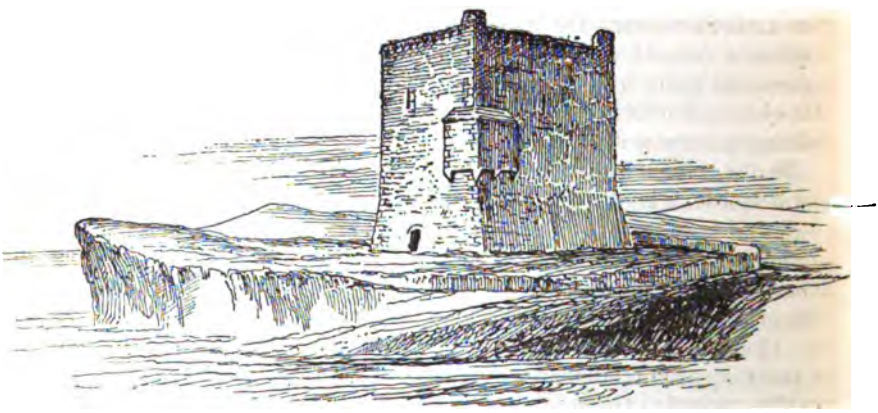
The "Caloric" was soon under way towards Sligo. Near Rosses Point at the entrance to Sligo river, she anchored for the night, the great cairn on Knocknarea looking down on us from the south, and Ben Bulbin keeping guard to the north-east.

A very early start was made from Sligo. So early that few were on deck, until the bare cliffs of Erris had been reached. Here there was a striking view of the weird rocks called the Stags of Crosshaven, rising perpendicularly from the ocean at some distance from land like the skeleton of a lofty island. Erris Head was passed and we steamed southward along the low coast of Mullet and its outlying islands. Now the giant cliffs of Achill loomed ahead. Gradually the great mass of Croghaun was neared. Then rounding Achill Head, an indescribably beautiful effect was produced by the height of Croghaun towering over the line of hills which ends in Achill Head. The ship now steamed towards Clare Island, our next stopping place, and the beauties of Clew Bay opened out, with the cone of Croagh Patrick in the centre of view.

Lying off the east end of Clare Island, a landing was effected near a quadrangular tower or house, which formed the castle, or part of the castle, of the celebrated Gràinia Uaile. More than a mile west of this, near the road, is the ruin of a building understood to have been a small house of the Cistercian Order. The western end is in ruins, the eastern end contains two chambers on the ground, each with a chamber above. The south-eastern lower chamber was a chapel, or may have formed a chancel to a larger church of which the nave is ruined. The plastered ceiling of the chapel vaulting retains indications of fresco painting, but nothing can



Clare Island from the Mainland. By W. F. Wakeman.



Grania Uaile, or Grace O'Malley's Castle, Clare Island. By W. F. Wakeman.

be distinguished of its design. The chapel also contains the tomb of Grania Uaile, or at least of some members of her family, the O'Malleys. The windows in the east wall indicate a very late date.

Tomb of the O'Maille (O'Malley) family Church, Clare Island.

The island has recently been purchased by the Congested Districts Board— a change which has revolutionised its land tenure. It is stated that until this change the land was worked by certain groups of tenants holding in common and sharing in the farm work, and having unlimited commonage rights over the pasture. The new proprietors have abolished this system, allotting certain lands in severalty to each tenant, and strictly defining pasturage rights.

Barley, rye, and potatoes are grown, but the chief industry is fishing and kelp burning.

It had been intended to take a pilot at Clare Island, to take the ship up the Killery Bay. At the time of our visit, however, the pilot was absent. The steamer sailed thence to Inishturk, and here a further attempt was made to secure a pilot, but in vain; so this deviation from our course had to be abandoned. Here was a most beautiful view of the Connemara Highlands. Opposite, the opening of the Killeries could be traced. Above it rose the dark mass of Muilrea, and its attendant mountains. A little to the south was the varied outline of the Twelve "Pins." To the north-east the blue cone of Croagh Patrick; and northward Clare Island, and still further the high ridges of Achill closed the view.

Leaving Inishturk, the ship proceeded outside Inishbofin, and Inishshark, and bore south-east to High Island (called also Ardillaun or

Ardoilean), a small uninhabited island some miles west of Aughrus point, the most westerly point of county Galway. Lying in deep water at the sheltered side of the islet, the ship's lifeboat was lowered and took a party of about twenty to its rocky and, except in one or two places, unapproachable shore.

This lonely isle, like so many on our coast, was the seat of an early religious establishment. There still appear the remains of a cashel, a very early small church whose lintel has an inscribed cross, two cloghauns, four crosses, and other remains.[1]

Leaving High Island, the "Caloric" directed her course towards the long low point of Slyne Head, with its dotted line of rocky islets stretching out to the furthest rock, on which a lighthouse stands. When this was rounded the course lay straight to Aran; and the blue hills of Connemara, and its low broken coast, fringed with the slowly rising smoke from scores of kelp fires, receded into the dim distance.

At 8 p.m. the ship anchored off Kilmurvey, in the Great Island of Aran. The little village lay opposite, up a little creek with a small beach of bright sand. To the right about Onaght there seemed nothing but bare rock marked by horizontal terraces like the opposite hills of Burren. Further south, rising slightly but sharply from the rounded outline of the hill, could be detected the great wall of Dun Aengus, on the opposite side of the island.

A few corraghs at once put out from shore, and in an hour there must have been more than twenty at the ship's side. Many of the natives came on board, and some of them sang Irish songs, and danced jigs remarkably well. The corraghs are in more general use in Aran than at any other place that the ship called at. They are the direct descendants of the hide-covered wicker-frame boats, which probably brought her earliest human inhabitants to Ireland. The corragh of to-day consists of a fairly strong wooden frame, on which are nailed length-wise light laths two to three inches apart. Over this frame is a double covering of canvas which is freely tarred within and without. The canoe thus formed is very buoyant, and can be rowed with great rapidity. They contain no seats except those for the rowers. This makes them inconvenient boats for passengers, who are obliged to accommodate themselves on the bottom of the boat sometimes in not very comfortable attitudes; while many carry away on their clothes reminders that tar takes some time to dry. They are excellent sea boats, however, riding over waves which would swamp a heavier boat, and with any reasonable care are perfectly safe. One accident only occurred during our stay—an accident which might have led to very

[1] A paper describing the antiquities of this island, written by G. H. Kinahan, appeared in the *Proc. R.I.A.*, vol. x. (1869), p. 551. He mentions that the remains were much injured about fifty years ago, and many of the most interesting of the carved stones carried away.

serious consequences but for the gallant conduct of the first officer of the ship. This accident was caused by an act of great carelessness on the part of a young boatman.

While the "Caloric" lay at Aran, a second party of the Members of the Society, shunning the perils of the sea, had started from Dublin on Thursday afternoon, and occupied the Railway Hotel at Galway, ready to start for Aran in the morning.

An early start was made on Friday morning, and by 8.30 most of the "Caloric's" party were being rowed in corraghs swiftly over the mile of sea which separated the ship from the island. A landing was effected in a rocky creek near Temple Brecan. Two hours later the Galway party, in the steamer "Duras" arrived at Kilmurvey. All then scattered over the island to study the antiquities in which it is so rich. A description of these, prepared specially for this visit, is appended on pp. 250–278.

The party of the "Caloric" returned to the ship in corraghs from Kilronan near the other end of the island, a distance of about five miles. With three or four rowers the passage was made in excellent time. The second party shipped on the "Duras" from the pier at Kilronan, and returned to Galway for the night.

On Saturday both parties visited the middle and south islands of the Aran group. On the former the Members met with the only instance of inhospitality experienced during the excursion. Unlike the friendly interest shown in our movements on all the other islands, the women here made a determined attempt to levy blackmail on our party.

The chief glory of the middle island is the great fort of Dun Conor. Its vast wall presents an imposing impression at a distance, but within, the work of renovation has been carried out to such an extent that all appearance of antiquity has vanished. The work as it now stands is of so flimsy a character that in many parts of the wall it is necessary to tread carefully lest an incautious step should dislodge a newly-placed stone that might bring down some of the battlements in ruin.

The south island, Inisheer, was then visited. Here the interesting little church Teampull Choemhain, which having been completely enveloped in a sand-dune, has been dug out, was examined.

The two steamers then returned to Galway, and the Members of the large united party settled down in their various hotels and lodgings. After dinner presentations were made to the Captain of the "Caloric," and to Mr. S. F. Milligan, Vice-President, in recognition of their efforts to secure the success of the sea excursion.

On Sunday a large number of the party attended the church of St. Nicholas, where a sermon suited to the occasion was preached by the Rev. J. Fleetwood Berry, M.A.

In the afternoon many of the party drove to Clare Galway Abbey (described p. 287) where after an inspection of the ruins not a few were entertained by the Rev. Martin Cummins, P.P. Others continued the drive

to Roscam, and examined the Round Tower, holestone, &c., there (see p. 284).

On Monday, a very wet morning prevented the programme for the day being carried out as intended. As the weather afterwards cleared, most of the party left Galway by the steamer "Duras," and crossed the bay, in a stiff breeze and heavy rolling sea, to Ballyvaughan. Here wagonettes and cars were in waiting to take them to Corcomroe Abbey, a Cistercian house described on p. 280. Time pressing, the return was soon made by Ballyvaughan, and again by steamer across to Galway.

At dinner in the evening, the Most Rev. Dr. Healy, Vice-President for Connaught, presided, supported by the Bishop of Galway and Kilmacduagh, Sir Valentine Blake, and Colonel O'Hara. The Chairman in very happy terms, welcomed the Society to Connaught. His speech of welcome was replied to on behalf of the visitors by Rev. Dr. Buick, Vice-President.

After dinner the Quarterly Meeting was held, as detailed in the Proceedings, p. 235.

On Tuesday the party visited S. Nicholas Church (described p. 293),[1] the Queen's College, and other objects of interest in the town.

After lunch at Galway, a special train carried the party to Athenry, where the castle, town wall, and Dominican and Franciscan Friaries, described at pp. 297–302, having been visited, the special train continued its journey to Athlone.

On Wednesday morning all left by train for Roscommon. Here the O'Conor Don met the party and conducted it to the Dominican Friary, situated in private grounds to the right of the road leading to the town. The nave and choir of the priory church are in fair preservation. The north side of the nave presents a line of light columns resembling the original form of those in the Dominican church at Athenry. In a niche, in the north wall of the chancel, is the tomb, with recumbent effigy, said to be that of Phelim O'Conor, King of Connaught, who died 1265.[2] The

[1] Particular attention was directed to an early French tombstone reported to contain a twelfth-century inscription. The stone is in a dark recess at the junction of the south transept with the choir. From a rubbing, rather hastily taken by a Member of the party, Canon Keene gives the following reading :—

✠ . . . D BVRE . . GIST DEVS DE SA ALME . . . MERCI.
✠ QVI POR SA ALME PRIERA VINT GORS DE PARDVN AVERA.

of which he suggests the following translation :—

"Here lies . . . . Bure. May God have mercy on his soul.
Whoever will pray for his soul will have twenty days' indulgence."

The latter part of the inscription is very uncertain. Further rubbings of this part, and of the name, are very desirable.

[2] A paper on this tomb, by the late Thomas O'Gorman, with plate of the effigy, appears in our *Journal*, 1866, p. 546. An excellent engraving of two of the eight armed figures which decorate the base of the monument will be found in the *Journal*, 1870, p. 252. It should be noted that Mr. O'Gorman, in the paper quoted, has urged good reasons for supposing that these armed figures did not originally belong to O'Conor's tomb, but to a later monument now ruined, from which they were long ago removed to their present position.

tomb has recently been reset, and a new masonry arch built over it. While this, in some degree, protects the monument from the weather, it is causing it serious injury by the incrustation of lime forming in places from the drip from the new mortar.

Then passing through the town, the fine castle was visited and examined. This was erected as a royal castle in the thirteenth century. In plan it must have much resembled, on a smaller scale, the castle of Dublin, built about half a century earlier. A quadrangle, about 160 × 120 feet, is enclosed by high curtain walls. At each corner was a tower, circular externally. In the centre of one of the longer sides (the eastern) two massive towers formed a gateway; while a square postern tower was in the opposite wall. The eastern and northern sides have been remodelled, and large additional buildings added in the sixteenth, or early in the seventeenth, century. Of this new work only a number of inserted windows remain. The west wall has been greatly injured by the removal of stones in large quantities from its base, both inside and outside. A Paper descriptive of this castle, by Rev. D. Murphy, S.J., appeared in our *Journal* for 1891, p. 549.

Returning to the Railway station, the train was taken to the next station, Ballymoe. From this the party walked or drove a little more than a mile, to the remains of the great castle of Ballintubber. An account of this castle, with drawings and plan, by the Right Hon. O'Conor Don, appeared in our *Journal* for 1889, page 24. Here, in a marquee erected for the purpose in the great courtyard, surrounded by the lofty towers that have awed the foes without, and looked down, within, on the hospitality of centuries of O'Conor Dons, the present noble holder of that princely title entertained the Society. Having partaken of luncheon, served with generous hospitality, the thanks of the Society were expressed to O'Conor Don and Madame O'Conor, by the Most Rev. Dr. Healy, Vice-President. The ruins were then examined, and the party returned to the Railway station to be carried away to their various homes, having completed the eminently successful Summer Excursion of 1895.

ARAN ISLANDS.[1]

Inishmore, Aranmore, or The North Island.

In dealing with "Aran of the Saints" for an archæological guide, one is confronted at once by two difficulties—first, to keep from the temptation of adding another to the many exhaustive accounts of the place; secondly, to avoid flying into the opposite extreme and saying too little, leaving those who trust to your description uninformed, and letting them pass by objects of interest. Therefore I shall refer those who seek for a thorough knowledge, to the long list of valuable works on the subject,[2]

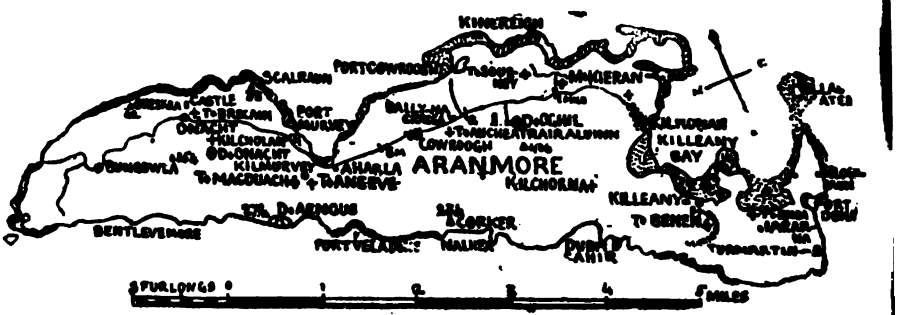


Diagram Map of Inishmore or North Island, Aran Islands.

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[1] By Thomas J. Westropp, M.A., M.R.I.A.

[2] First and most important come those invaluable photographs and descriptions in Lord Dunraven's "Notes on Irish Architecture," edited by Miss Stokes, so exhaustive as to leave little room for any addition to the descriptions of the principal buildings.

Then a careful series of articles in the *Irish Builder*, beginning April 15th, 1886.

"Acta Sanctorum." Colgan.

"The Aran Isles—a Report of the Excursion of the Ethnological Section of the British Association," by Martin Haverty.

"A Visit to Aran of St. Enda," 1870, by the Most Rev. George Conroy, Bishop of Ardagh.

"Villages near Dunoghil," by G. H. Kinahan.—*Proceedings R.I.A.*, 1866-70. *Transactions R.I.A.*, xiv., pp. 19-140.

"Iararna," by the Rev. W. Kilbride.—*Journal*, series III., vol. i., 1868, p. 109.

"Aran of the Saints," by J. G. Barry.—*Journal*, 1885, p. 488.

"Firbolg Forts on South Isles of Arran," by C. C. Babington.—*Archæologia Cambrensis*, January, 1858.

"Aran, Pagan and Christian," by W. F. Wakeman, in Duffy's *Hibernian Magazine*, vol. i., p. 577.

"Age of Dun Ængus," Dr. Colley Marsh.—Society of Antiquaries, London, 1894.

O'Hanlon's "Lives of the Irish Saints," vol. iii., has much information about St. Enda.

"The South Isles of Aran," by Oliver J. Bourke, 1887.

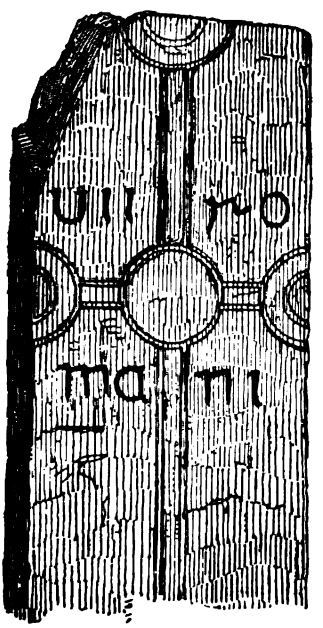
"Ethnography of the Aran Islands," by A. C. Haddon, M.A., and C. R. Browne, M.D., 1893.

Of manuscripts, the most valuable are the letters of Dr. O'Donovan in 1839, preserved among the Ordnance Survey notes in the Royal Irish Academy (many of the views of details by Mr. Wakeman are excellent). On the information contained in these letters most of the subsequent descriptions more or less depend.

and briefly tell what there is to be seen in these the most interesting islands off our coasts.

It may lead to less confusion to describe the buildings in their position from west to east rather than on the lines of supposed excursions.

Temple Brecan.—This interesting church, with its monastic houses and later neighbour, Teampull-a-phoill, is often absurdly called "the Seven Churches," a name which originated in Ireland among non-archæologists in the last century, and conveys an absurdly erroneous idea of the motives of building groups of churches so conspicuous among the early Irish monks. It is extremely improbable that any group of "seven churches" was ever erected at one time; certainly the popular idea that the Irish deliberately built them in imitation of the churches of the Apocalypse, has no shred of tradition or fact in its favour.[1]



Inscribed Stone, "VII Romani," Church of St. Brecan, North Island.

In a grassy field, fenced in to the south and west by steep crags, and with a fine view across the bay to the Twelve Pins of Benbeola and Golden Head, stand the churches. Temple Brecan is a large building, much tampered with in late times, for the west end has evidently been rebuilt, a round-headed, but comparatively late, door set in the south wall, and an end room, probably for a priest, partitioned off at the west end. Inside its west gable is the little slab inscribed "or ar n canoin," "Pray for the two canons." A recess appears in the thickness of the partition wall.

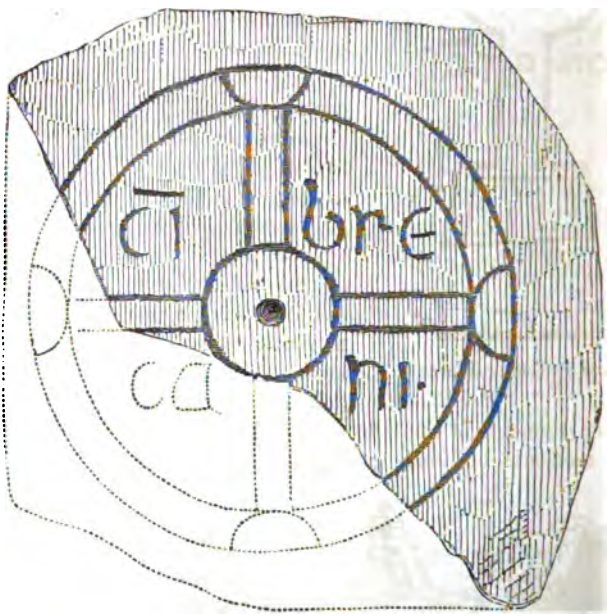
The rest of the building consists of a nave (32 feet × 18 feet) and chancel (20 feet 6 inches × 18 feet) of equal breadth, an unusual feature, divided by an early semicircular chancel arch. The north wall of the nave has one of those primitive windows, of which we see two other examples in Teampull Choemhain and Kilcanangh (p. 269), the head formed of two slabs leaning together. The east window is slightly pointed. Three stones, with crosses, stand on S.W. of the church, one with "VII Romani" (an important testimony to the fame of our schools, bringing alumni even from Rome itself); others have "or do mainach"; "ci bpecani," said to have been dug up by a Don Pedro, and carried away before 1839 by an antiquary. Though

[1] Glendalough has 9; Scattery, 5; Clonmacnoise, 9; Iniscaltra, 4; Killeany group formerly 6. See an excellent paper on the subject in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1864, pp. 547, 774.

the stone had been so long concealed, the burial place was traditionally called after Brecan,[1] Bishop of Aran. Under the slab was found a waterworn stone inscribed—

✠ or ar br̄an n ailither,
Pray for Bran[2] the Pilgrim.

It is in the Petrie collection.



cī brecani—Capiti Brecani.
St. Brecan's Headstone.

[1] Brecan was son of the Dalcassian prince, Eochy Ballderg, King of Thomond, who had been baptized by St. Patrick at Singland. He founded the first church in county Clare, at Kilbreckan, near Clare Castle (of which the lower part of the walls, built of huge blocks, remains), and also churches at Doora and Clooney, in adjoining parishes, in the district of Magh Adhair, early in the sixth century. A manuscript of 1443 (T.C.D.) and the "Book of Lecan" agree in this statement, and identify him with the founder of Ardbraccan in Meath. There is some confusion about his day, probably springing from his having a nephew, Brecan, son of Aengus, son of Eochy Ballderg. Thus he was of the kin of St. Molua and St. Flannan of Killaloe.

[2] Bran, or "Brecan," as Petrie suggests in "Round Towers," p. 140. The Rev. Maxwell H. Close makes the following suggestion as to this name:—"It is excessively improbable that the proper name, Brecan, would be contracted; and if it were, it would not be contracted into br̄an. If the inscription be really 'A prayer for Bran the Pilgrim,' as certainly seems by far the most probable, the following becomes worthy of consideration:—

"O'Donovan, in 'Galway Letters,' vol. iii., p. 180, mentions that there is a small island on the west side of Aran Island which is called by the people Oileán bá bṛanóȝ. This could mean 'The island of the two little ravens.' But it could also

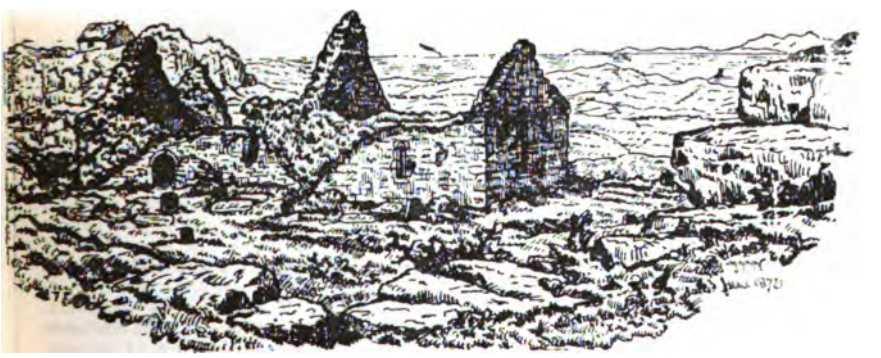
Another stone, with a neat incised cross, has the legend "Tomar ār." The illustration is from a rubbing by Mr. D. Griffith Davies.

Leaba Brecain (Brecan's Bed or Grave), filled with loose stones, and overgrown with ivy and wild garlic, stands west of the church. At the west end is set the shaft of a rich and lovely cross covered on both sides with interlacings (p. 255); it has also part of a figure of our Lord on the west face.

Cross at Temple Brecan.

The broken fragments of another ornate cross (p. 254) lie prostrate on the rocks above the church. The fret in the upper part is very similar to that on the capitals on the Nuns' Church at Clonmacnoise, and other carvings of the later twelfth century. The curious late-looking crucifix, and the surrounding guilloche ornament, seem to have been after-thoughts. It possesses the singular characteristic that the existing segments of the ring belong to a circle whose centre is much below the intersection of the arms. When sketched for Miss Stokes' "Early Architecture in Ireland," one of the upper segments of the ring remained.

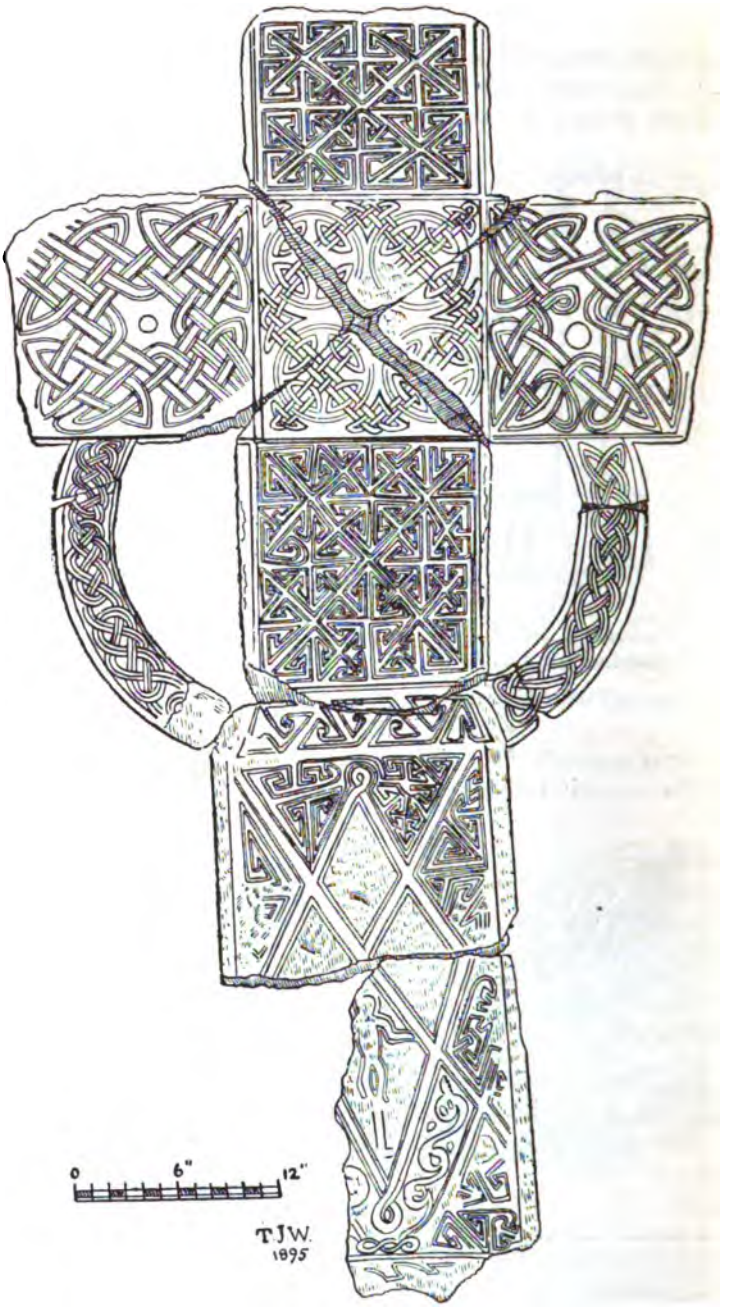
The monastic buildings are of little interest; they form an enclosure



Temple Brecan, North Island, Aran.

mean quite as easily and naturally, 'The island of thy little Bran.' St. Bran (and there was such a saint, probably two or three) could be called in accordance with common usage Branōg, little Bran; and Mobhranōg, my little Bran; and Dabhranōg, thy little Bran; as terms of affection and endearment.

"Now, it seems perfectly possible that the island was called the Island of Dabhranog, after a hermit, Bran, who lived on it, and that he was the person to whom the inscribed stone was made."

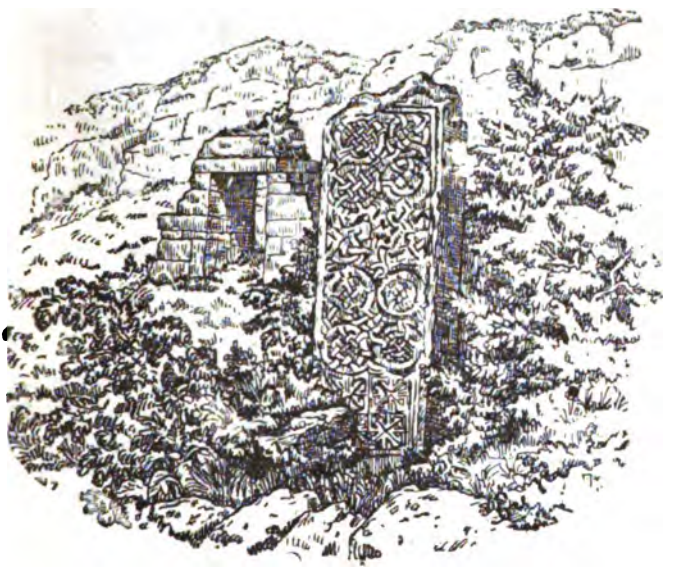


Cross, now prostrate, adjoining Temple Brecan.
Drawn by T. J. Westropp, from a rubbing by D. Griffith Davies.

north of the church. Those to the north (34 feet × by 16 feet) and east have nearly perished; that to the west has two doors to the east and west, and is 36 feet × 12 feet 6 inches. Near the west gable of the church are traces of a building, with an arch, the head formed of two huge stones; another fragment of wall, with a door, lies farther to the west. Some other foundations have been cleared out and restored by the Board of Works; they are mostly late fifteenth-century Gothic houses.

Teampull-a-Phoill, probably "the church of the hollow," standing in a cleft of the rock, is an uninteresting fifteenth-century building, 26 feet × 13 feet 7 inches. North of the churches is Sean Caislean, the base of a strong tower, 33 feet × 29 feet; walls 9 feet thick.

Dun Onaght (*Eoghanacht*).—The village of Onacht runs along the crags; south of it can be seen this fine stone fort. O'Donovan suggests



St. Brecan's Bed, 1878.

that the name is connected with Engus, King of Cashel, and head of the Eoghanachts, who gave the island to Enda; or, as in the days of that saint, Aran was peopled with "pagans from Corcomroe," and the northern part of that district was also called Eoghanacht Ninuis,[1] the settlers from the mainland may have so named it. It is a nearly circular cashel, 91 feet north and south, 90 feet east and west. The wall consists of three sections, 4 feet, 4 feet, and 8 feet thick, 12 feet to 16 feet high. The door is nearly destroyed; it faced S.E., and the wall near it was of large stones; it has no outworks. Half a mile west are two cloghauns, and half way between the churches and

[1] "Leabhar-na-h-Uidhre."

Kilmurvey, to the north of the road, near Sruffaun, is a more accessible and perfect one, oval, with doors facing east and west, and a south window. Petrie figures and describes this in his "Round Towers,"

Stone-house, called Clochan-na-Carraige, North Island, Aran.

p. 129, as Clochan-na-Carraige; but neither O'Donovan nor the 6-inch Ordnance Survey Map notices it.[1] It measures 19 feet × 7 feet 6 inches, and is 8 feet high.

Dun Ængus, the central point of interest in the islands, and one of the finest prehistoric forts of western Europe, stands on the very edge of a cliff, nearly 300 feet high, above the village of Kilmurvey; much of it has fallen with the solid rocks on which it stood, undermined by the sapping of the "gnawing white-toothed waves." But we cannot be so sure as some have been that it originally consisted of three entire rings; for among the forts of county Clare is one (described at the last January Meeting of our Society) wonderfully similar to Dun Ængus, though standing on an inland cliff over a valley.

The great fort of Ængus, son of Huamore, was in 1839 generally known by the natives as Dunmore; one old man of Cromwellian descent alone knew it as Dun Innees; but the vague though striking description of Roderic O'Flaherty would have sufficed to identify it:—

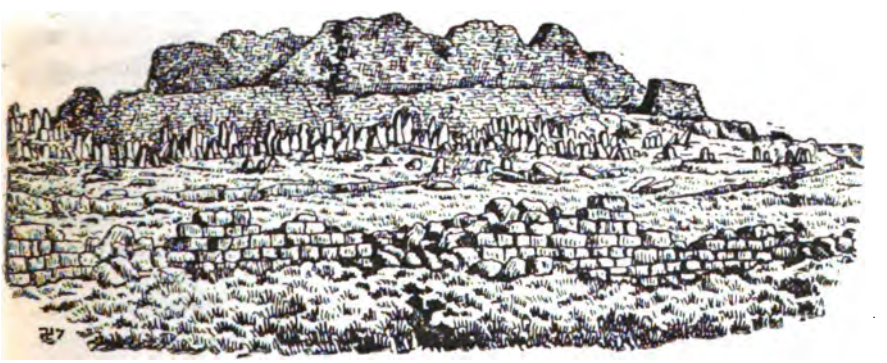
"On the south side stands Dun Engus, a large fortified place on the brim of a high clift, a hundred fathoms deep, being a great wall of bare stones, without any mortar, in compass as big as a large castle bawn, with several long stones on the outside, erected slopewise against any assault. It is named of Engus mac Anathmor of the reliques of the Belg men in

[1] O'Flaherty ("Ogygia," p. 75) writes: "They have cloghans, a kind of building of stones, laid one upon another, which are brought to a roof without any manner of mortar, . . . so ancient, that no one knows how long ago any of them were made."

Ireland, there living about the birth-time of Christ. On the east side thereof the island is somewhat low, so that about the year 1640, upon an extraordinary inundation, the sea, overflowing that bank, went cross over the island to the north-west."[1] This fearful wave was traditionally remembered, at any rate, in 1878. The view is singu-

The *chevaux de frise*, Dun Ængus, 1893.

larly fine; the desolate-looking island, "the soil almost paved with stones,"[1] rising to Dun Oghil and the lighthouse, the sheer descent of the cliffs, "the trouble of the sea that cannot rest," and, beyond, the cliffs of Moher and hills of Clare and Kerry, even to Mount

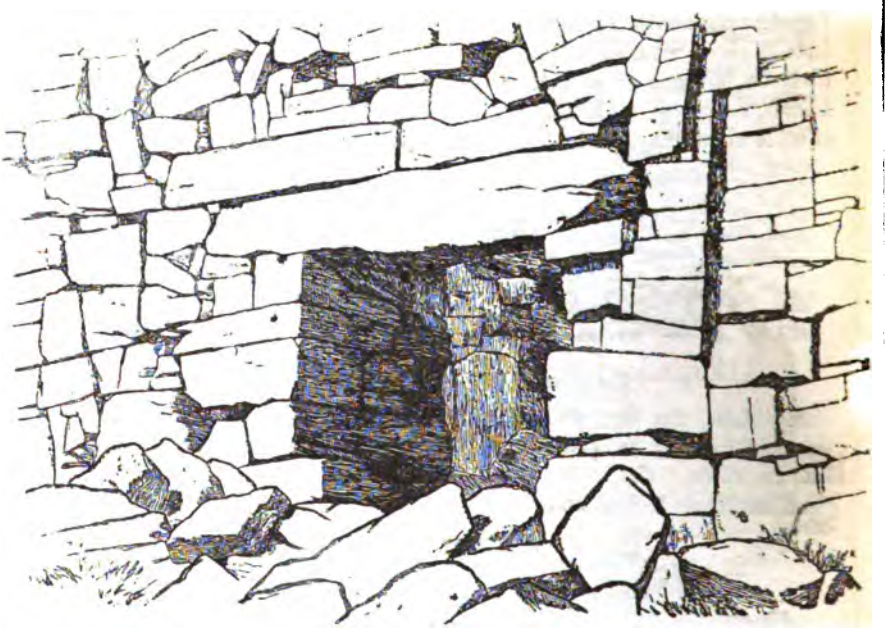


Dun Ængus. By T. J. Westropp, 1878.

Brandon, if the air is clear, and north to the Twelve Pins. The fort has three ramparts, and the remains of a fourth. The inner cashel is 150 feet north and south, and 140 feet east and west along the cliff; in the middle is a natural square platform. The rampart is 18 feet

[1] O'Flaherty, "H-Iar Connaught," p. 76.

high on the west, and 12 feet 9 inches thick; it is of three sections, like Dun Onaght; the inner section is only 7 feet high, and like many other forts had the centre of the wall lower than the faces. The door is to the north-east; its sides only slope from 3 feet 5 inches to 3 feet 4 inches, and 4 feet 8 inches high; the lintel 5 feet 10 inches long. The four lintels are raised like reversed steps to keep the passage of even height as it leads up a slope.[1] In the north-west side a passage leads into the thickness of the wall. The second rampart is not concentric; it consists of two sections, and enclosed a space about 400 feet long and 300 feet deep;



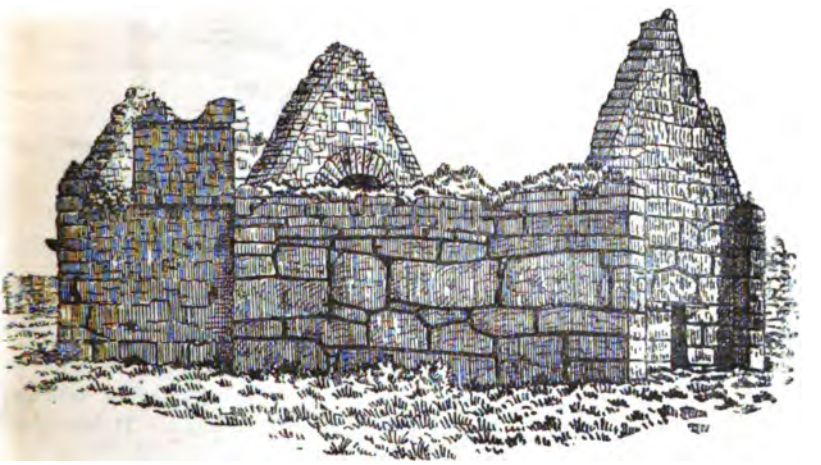
Doorway, Dun Ængus.

its gateway is defaced. Outside it, is a broad band of pillar stones. forming a *chevaux de frise* 30 feet wide; many of the stones to the north are removed; their worn and furrowed appearance seems to support the tradition of the vast age of the building. Inside these stones to the west, is a small enclosure, its wall, 7 feet 9 inches high and 6 feet thick, which in the fine plan in Petrie's MSS., "Military Architecture of Ireland," is shown as an annexe like that in Dun Conor. Finally an outer rampart, nearly demolished, runs round the fort, 129 to 434 feet from inner wall, enclosing 11 acres. O'Flaherty says the fort could hold 200 cows; O'Donovan says 1050.[2] We leave this question to

[1] This is the original door. Lord Dunraven's "Notes," vol. i., p. 4, would lead one to believe it had "shared the mournful fate which awaits the whole structure."

[2] The plan in Ordnance Survey Letters, and that copied from it in Lord Dunraven's Notes, need serious revision, being self-contradictory, or else not to scale.

farmers. Perhaps the old writer thought only of the inner fort. A bronze hook, now in the Royal Irish Academy collection, was found in 1839 by boys digging out a rabbit. Dr. March, in a valuable Paper on the age of this fort, read before the Society of Antiquaries, London, states he found a hinged ring of bronze, with a cable decoration of a kind assigned to the fifth century; but he also found a chert flake or arrow-head, which inclined him to accept the prehistoric origin of this noble fort. The ancient legend attributed this fort to a Firbolg prince. This tradition receives some support from the statement of Ptolemy that the Ganganoi lived north of the Shannon; while Irish authorities mention Firbolg tribes with the cognate names Gann, Genann, &c. Bearing these facts in view, we may at least form no hasty judgment, as some have done, that the fort was of monastic origin. At least ten stone forts in these islands, and over 100 in Clare, surround no church, while we have record of some eight churches in Aran, surrounded by no cashel.

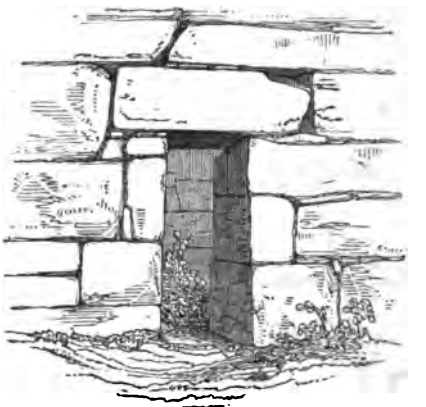


Temple mac Duach.

Near Mr. Johnson's house at Kilmurvey is another interesting group of ruins. Chief of these is—

Temple mac Duach, a very fine specimen of massive masonry and early type, is named after the famous Colman mac Duach, founder of Kilmacduach in the seventh century. It consists of nave and chancel, the former 18 feet 6 inches × 14 feet 6 inches, the latter 15 feet 9 inches × 11 feet 9 inches, or, as in Dunraven, 18 feet 8 inches × 14 feet 6 inches, and 15 feet 4 inches × 11 feet 2 inches. The chancel arch and east window have semicircular heads; the south window head is formed of two slabs leaning together. It has a remarkable doorway, with inclined jambs, 5½ feet × 1 foot 3 inches at top, and 1 foot 11 inches at bottom;

the lintel, a granite slab, is 5½ feet long; whilst the rest of the building is limestone. The rude figure of an animal is cut on the largest stone near the outer west end of the north wall. Outside and west from the church is a large standing stone, inscribed with a cross.[1] South-east of the house are the remains of a nameless oratory, 15 feet 5 inches × 11 feet 5 inches, and a bullaun, named after some unknown Maolodhair. Half a mile east are the foundations of Kilmurvey church, now an "*aharla*," or cemetery. Two cyclopean walls exist not far from the house.



Doorway of Temple mac Duagh.

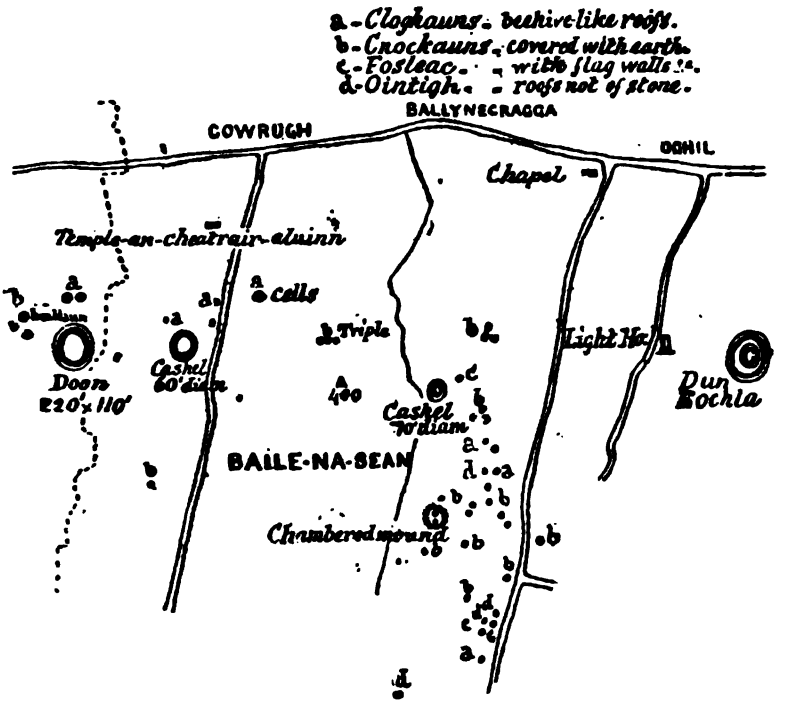
Dun Oghil (*Dun Eochla*).—O'Donovan denies that *eochoill* means yew grove, and says "eo" is an old word for oak. It is hard to realise any trees on this exposed upland; but there was early in this century a thicket of stunted oak and hazel near the ruins. He fancifully suggests the name Dun Kima for the fort. The place is called Leamchoill[2] in the 1390 "Life of St. Enda." The fort stands less than two miles west of Kilronan, and is even a finer example than Dun Ængus. It has two walls; the inner cashel measures 75 feet 6 inches east and west; the walls are in three sections, 16 feet high, and 10 feet to 11 feet 3 inches thick. The ancient part of the door is of enormous stones 9 feet 6 inches × 1 foot 3 inches × 1 foot 3 inches; it faces N.E. There are flights of steps leading up the wall to the terrace and rampart. There are traces of two cloghauns inside. The outer wall is of two sections, 5 feet 7 inches thick and 12 feet high; it is not concentric.[3]

[1] Mr. O'Flaherty, in making his garden near this church, found nine or ten oblong cells in groups of three, connected by passages. Many brass pins were found, and monumental slabs, with inscriptions "like arrow-heads," unfortunately broken up and used for the wall.

[2] The mistake is noted in "H-Iar Connaught."

[3] O'Donovan mentions an oblong building, 20 feet × 13 feet, with doors in east and west walls, lying 220 yards N.W. of Dun Eochla. Nearer the fort are similar buildings, almost the same size. N.E. of the dun are three others; and east of it an enclosure, with three upright stones, named Kill Chonain. There was a church called Kilconnan, on Aranmore in Colgan's time.

Teampull an Cheathrair Aluinn.—Westward, near the village of Cowroogh, is the late Gothic church of the Four Comely Saints (Fursey, Brendan of Birr (570), Conall, and Berchan); it is 28 feet long × 12 feet 6 inches, and has a large corbel in the east gable, and remains of the altar. The trefoil-headed east window and pointed north door have been rebuilt. There were formerly two windows in the south wall. The graves are plain stone slabs, lying west of the church, and beyond them are two pillar stones. South of the church is a holy well, still in much repute, to judge from the numerous small offerings.



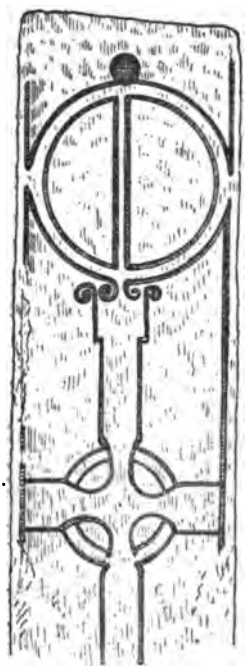
Sketch Plan of position of Primitive Stone Houses at *Baile-na-Sean*.

Baile na Sean.—Continuing southward along the bohereen we find a ruined cashel, 60 feet in diameter, but, as some think, later than the other forts. West from it lies a larger fort, "the Doon," 220 feet × 110 feet, and oval. The whole district from it to Dun Oghil, and far to the south, is strewn broadcast with the remains of nearly forty primitive houses; among them another small fort, and a chambered mound, as shown on the plan.[1] All of these have been much defaced by rabbit

[1] The whole group is carefully described by Mr. Kinahan in the *Proceedings R.I.A.*, 1866, p. 25, from which we adapt the above plan.

hunters. Near Oghil village is a fragment of another dun on the edge of a rock, 20 feet high; it is of fine masonry, and 7 feet high.

Monaster Kieran.—Quelæus (1645) has an interesting note on this church, stating that it was first called Monaster Connachtach, and rebuilt as a church of St. Kieran. Its church is nearly perfect; but the low, broken walls of the monastic buildings tell little of its arrangements. Colgan ("Acta SS.," pp. 708–9) states that St. Kieran, the carpenter's son, coming to St. Enda, about 535, dwelt with him for seven years; and being set by him to thresh corn for the community, threshed it so thoroughly that he threshed all the straw into grain, which (it is quaintly suggested) accounts for the scarcity of thatched houses on the islands. The church is a simple oblong, 37 feet 9 inches × 18 feet 6 inches. An ancient-looking door, with lintel and inclined jambs chamfered (perhaps in later days) is built up in the west wall, which has slight projections; the north door is late mediæval. The east window has a handsome wide splay, and is neatly moulded, both outside and inside; it is similar to the late Romanesque churches of the period of the Norman Invasion. Another similar light occurs in south wall, and opposite it a square north window, now built up. Two stones, with incised crosses, stand east and south-west of the church; the east has a hole (shown above the circle in the illustration) through which, a fisherman told me in 1878, cloths were drawn for curing sore limbs. A mound recently used for burial is noticeable north of the Kilronan road, near the sea.



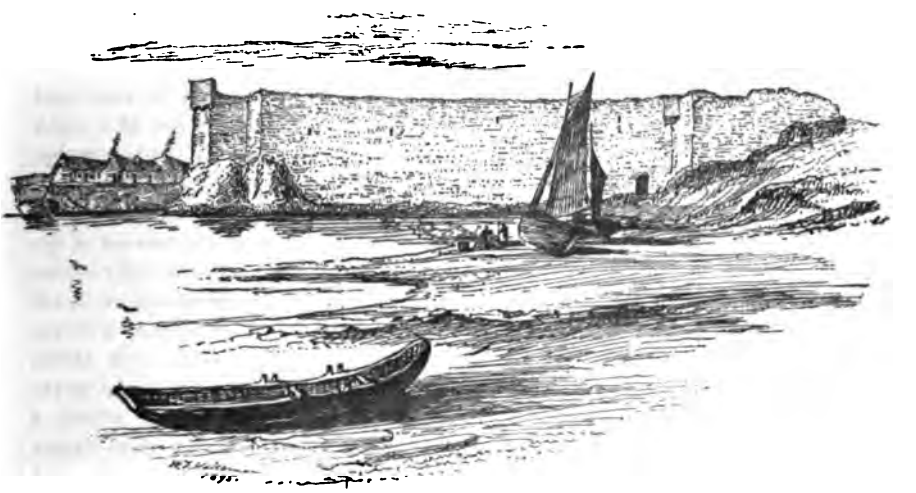
Holed Stone.

Templesoorney (*Teampull Assurnidhe*).—A very ancient defaced little oratory, described in Dunraven's Notes. It lies westward of the last. It measures 16 feet × 12 feet, has a projecting "handle stone" at one corner, and the remains of an altar. The name possibly means "Church of the Vigils," though some refer it to Essernius, who was sent to Ireland in 438, according to the "Chronicon Scotorum." Local tradition makes Assurnidhe a nun, from Drum-a-cooge, on Galway Bay.

Kilnamanagh.—This church has been destroyed and forgotten. Quelæus says it was called after the monk, Caradoc Garbh, from whom Cowroogh is named. It may be a church site noted by O'Donovan as lying near a cross and a pool in the middle of the island. In the list of Quelæus it lies between Monaster Kieran and Teampull Assurnidhe.

Killeany.

But for the vandalism of the Cromwellian garrison we should be able to explore an unusually extensive and interesting group of ruins at this place. The ancient list of churches gives 1, Killenda, the parish church; 2, Teglach Enda, with the tomb of St. Enda; 3, Teampull mac Longa; 4, Teampull mic Canonn; 5, St. Mary's; and 6, Temple Benan. Of these only Teglach Enda and Temple Benan remain. The 3rd, 4th, and 5th stood with Kill Enda between the castle and round tower. The four churches were demolished about 1651, and used for the building of Arkin Castle. Dr. O'Donovan found here a beautiful fragment of a cross, of which there is a sketch by Mr. Wakeman in the Ordnance Survey Notes, 1840.



Arkin Castle, Killeany Bay.
(Sketched by W. F. Wakeman in 1836.)

The Round Tower, now a mere fragment, and much repaired, but showing fine masonry in the lower courses, stands in the fields south of the castle. Early in the century it was 5 stories high, a beautiful slender structure. In Petrie's time it was 80 feet high. It fell in a storm. The two upper stories were used for building the castle. It is 48 feet 9 inches in circumference, and was 4 feet 10 inches high in 1840; but it was then much embedded in rubbish. Lord Dunraven found it was 8 feet high, and it is now under 13 feet high.[1] The Friary well, Dabhach

[1] There is a beautiful view by Du Noyer in one of his large books of views in the Royal Irish Academy.

Einne, remains to the right of the tower, near Arkin; near it tradition states that "the sweet bell of the tower" was buried. Not far away appear the foundations of the Franciscan Convent, built in 1485, presumably by the O'Briens. The base of a large stone cross and part of the shaft lie in the middle of the field. Kill Enda stood in the hollow near the tower, on the north. It is noteworthy that hops grew freely in the fences; they were probably introduced by the monks, those indefatigable cultivators.

Arkin Castle, or Cromwell's Fort.—A low, unpicturesque edifice, on the shore of the bay. Near it, on a flat rock, is cut a series of squares, suggesting a chess board, and supposed to have been used for games by the garrison. A decorated cross base was removed from the walls to Mr. O'Malley's house. The sand of the bay in parts abounds in foraminifera, and is a beautiful microscopic object.

Teglach Enda (*Tighlagheany on Ordnance Survey*).—The remains of a fine early church. The east and north walls are ancient, of large masonry, with little cement. The east window has a round head, cut out of one block of stone. There are antæ to this face of the church. The north window and door are later, and the west gable has been rebuilt. The building is a simple oblong, 24 feet × 15 feet.[1] Sir Morogh O'Flaherty, of Bunowen, was buried in it in 1666. Its cemetery contained, in the 17th century, the graves of 120 saints, including St. Enda. The latter saint, the patron of the island, was son of Conall Dearg, of a noble family of Oriel, which had settled in Ulster. His sister married Ængus, king of Cashel. Enda was abbot first in Italy, and then getting a a grant of Aran from his royal brother-in-law, about 480, he removed thither, and lived for fifty-eight years in his new monastery. He was visited by Brendan before that saint set out on his adventurous voyage, and reckoned Kieran of Clonmacnois among his monks for nine years.[2] In the wall of the church will be found a slab, with the words, "op do scandlain" ("Pray for Scandlan").

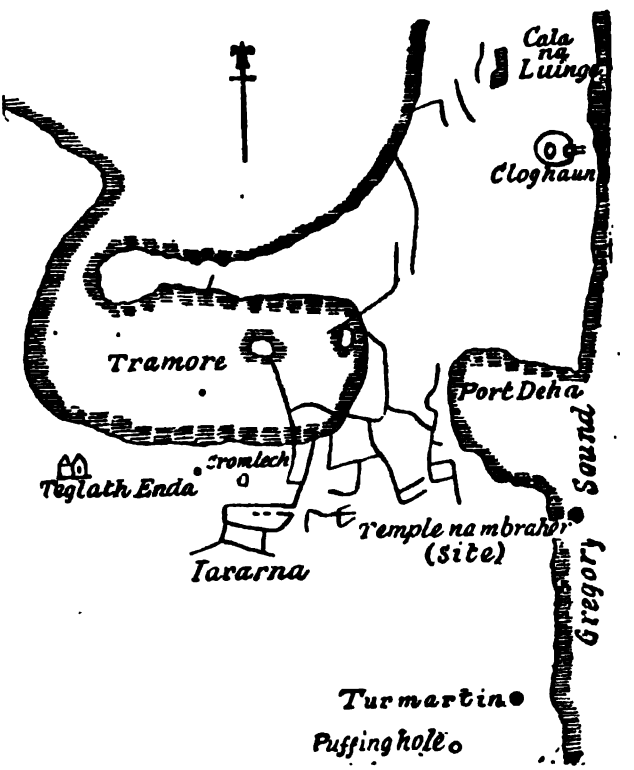
Iararna Cloghauns.—Going round the Tramore or intake in the sand, beyond Teglach Enda, we meet (if still uncovered) the Leaba or grave enclosure, 9 feet × 3 feet 6 inches, long buried in deep sand. Near it is, or was, a structure resembling a cromlech; and westward are a number of ancient enclosures, running down below high water. Finally, near the north-east point of the island, Captain Rowan, of Tralee, uncovered two curious cloghauns. The remains consisted of an oval ring of loose stones, 72 feet in diameter, within which were two cloghauns, one oval and nearly defaced, the other oblong, 8 feet 2 inches × 6 feet 8 inches, entered by a side passage with steps. Human remains were

[1] Barry. Lord Dunraven gives the interior dimensions as 19 feet 6 inches × 9 feet 8 inches, and walls, 1 foot 10 inches.

[2] Ware's "Antiquities," p. 249. Ussher's "Index Chronolog."

found in the oval cloghaun; they were the bones of foreign sailors drowned at Cala-na-luinge; the natives buried them in the sand, digging down on the cloghaun by chance, when its roof fell in. These remains rest on the solid rock.[1]

East of Iararna is Port Dēha (Daibche), where the barrel of corn, set afloat from Clare by Corbanus, the pagan king of Aran, to test the divine mission of St. Enda, was washed on shore. At the S.E. corner of the island lie the Glassan rocks, "Aile-na-glassog," or "pollock rocks."



Map of Iararna, the Eastern part of North Island.

Here one calm day, in 1852, a huge mountain of water suddenly rose up the cliff, and swept away seven or more fishermen (see *University Magazine*, April, 1853). Not far from it is a round tower of dry stones, 12 feet high and 40 feet circumference, called Turmartin, and reputed to be St. Gregory's grave. Sailors strike sail to it on occasions as a mark of respect to the saint.

[1] Rev. W. Kilbride on "Iararna." (See *Journal*, 1868-69.)

Temple Benen.—On the ridge between Killeany and Glassan stands the diminutive but unique oratory of St. Benen, its unusually sharp gables forming a conspicuous land-mark. It faces N.N.E. and S.S.W., and measures 15 feet 1 [illegible] 11 feet 3 inches externally, and 10 feet 9 inches × 7 feet internally, gables being 15 feet high. The window, its head and splay cut out of one angle stone, is set in the east wall. This strange arrangement is not altogether unprecedented, occurring in the Dubh Regles of St. Columba at Derry, as described by Manus O'Donnel about 1520.[1] The north door has inclined jambs, and is 5½ feet high, 1¼ feet wide at bottom, and 1½ feet at top; the lintel is 6 feet long; the central block of the west wall is square, and of unusual size. Near the church are a group of monastic cloghauns with traces of a cashel.

Doo Caher or Dubh Cathair (Black Fort).—Going westward, from Killeany, but along the south coast of the island, we reach a rude but very remarkable fortification, built across a headland. The wall is 220 feet long, 20 feet high, and 18 to 16 feet thick. O'Donovan boldly dates it 1000 years older than Dun Ængus. Inside were two rows of stone houses, one along the wall, the other extending 170 feet near the cliff, now nearly destroyed by the great waves which break across the headland in storms, and have destroyed the end of the wall and a gateway, which Petrie saw and described. Outside is a *chevaux de frise*, and the remains of several buildings; one had a midden of shells and bones. N.W. lay a second and similar fort, nearly destroyed. This had a cloghaun, 18 feet 6 inches across, and its rampart was 6 feet 7 inches thick. The fort is called "Doon-doo-haar" by the natives. It is marked on the one-inch Ordnance Map as Doonaghard.

Other Remains.—There are some slight remains of a fort one and a-half miles S.W. of Kilronan, 72 feet diameter, walls 7 feet thick. Toberronan, a holy well, in the village of Kilronan; two cloghauns, one mile to S.W., not far north of which is Kilchorna, an *aharla*. There were three cromlechs—one at Cowroogh, one near Kilmurvey, and one at Fearann a choirce, near Cowroogh.

The straits round and between the islands are—to the north, the North Sound, or Bealach locha Lurgain; east of Aranmore, Gregory's Sound, or Bealach na haite; east of Inismaan, Bealach na Fearboy, from "Fearbad," a district in the island between Aran and Clare, South Sound, or Bealach na finnis.

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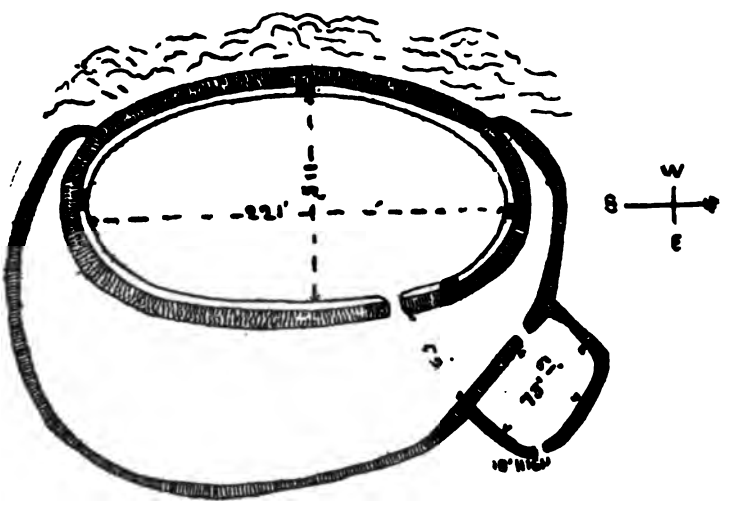
[1] "Trias Thaum.," p. 398.

INISHMAAN, OR MIDDLE ISLAND.

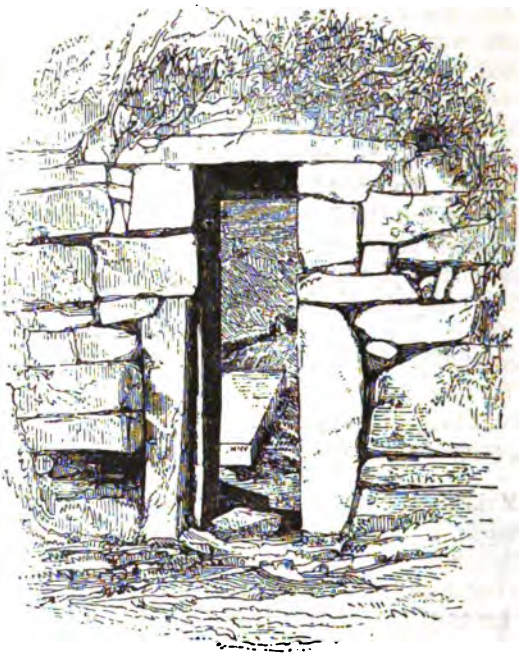
DUN CONOR.—We now land in the middle island of Aran, and after a rough walk from the shore, reach the very fine primitive fort of Conor. This prince (like Ængus, the builder of the principal fort in the great island, and Kime and Connal, the supposed founders of Moghane, Cahirconnell, and other great forts in Clare) was son of Huamore, or more probably a member of the clan Huaithmore. It is named "the old fortifications of Connor mac Huathmore" and "the Down of Conquovar" by O'Flaherty.[1] Hely, in 1684, also alludes to it in a descriptive article for Sir W. Petty's "Atlas." It is a really noble fort



Plan of Dun Conor, Middle Island.

in position, plan, size, and execution, being plainly visible from the farther extremity of the cliffs of Moher, in Clare. It measures 227 feet north and south, and 115 feet east and west. The walls are of three sections, 18 feet 7 inches thick, and 20 feet high, built nearly perpendicular; 17 feet and 18 feet high to the west along a rock 20 feet high, rising over a narrow valley, and are ivied in parts. The north side had five steps leading to a platform, and six more (turning to the right) led to the top of the rampart. Similar flights occur to the west and south and several lesser ones. The gateway was nearly destroyed; it

[1] "Ogygia."



Kilcananagh. Interior of Doorway.

Kilcananagh—Dun Moher in background.

faced N.E., and was 2 feet 5 inches wide outside, and 3 feet 6 inches inside. There were several cloghauns against the wall; they had nearly vanished even in 1839, and are now cleared out. On the east side of the cahir is a large and irregular outer court, at the northern corner of which projects a sort of bastion, 73 feet wide north and south, and 51 feet east and west, with walls 9 feet thick, and 15 feet high, and a gate 9 feet wide. This fort has been restored as a national monument. Unfortunately, as at Dun Oghil and elsewhere, the works have been carried out with such rash zeal as to greatly diminish the antiquarian value of one of our noblest prehistoric remains; new ramparts, terraces, and steps appearing everywhere. Fifty feet north of the fort is a cloghaun, 27 feet × 13 feet, nearly destroyed. In a cell, in the walls of this fort, a man named Mailly, who had accidentally killed his father in a fit of passion, hid for two months. He was once captured by the police but escaped, and hid in the fort again, and at last was taken out of the isle by night and escaped to America.

Temple Murry or Teampull Muire (the Church of Mary), now used as a chapel, with modern transept. It is a late fifteenth-century building, with pointed north door, and trefoil-headed east windows. It measures 39 feet 5 inches × 15 feet, and has an ancient stoup for holy water. Not far from it is an *aharla* or burial-place, at which rags are hung. I remember seeing "two women grinding at the mill" with a small quern at a neighbouring house in 1878.

Temple Saght Macree, or Teampull Seacht Mic Righ (Church of the Seven Princes) is nearly gone; it measures 41 feet × 22 feet; the architectural features are destroyed. Near it is the bed of St. Kenerg (Aharla na Cenndhirge), 10 feet × 5 feet 3 inches, with a small cross. Kenerg and Kenanagh were son and daughter of the King of Leinster.

Window in East Wall of Kilcananagh.

Kilcananagh or Temple Kenanagh. — One tradition makes Kenanagh the same as Gregory, who gives his name to the sound between this island and Aranmore. "He was a zealous and violent preacher, and was killed by a tyrant at Cleggan." Another, favoured by the natives, makes her a female saint, and mother of the seven saints buried at Temple Saght

Macree. Either the founder is forgotten, or the name only means Church of the Canons. Petrie gives no authority for his statement that the op ap ıı canoın slab in Temple Brecan was brought from this little church. It is a most venerable and typical little oratory, built close under the rocks, which have in some cases fallen away in masses nearly as high as the cliff, like the remains of some vast temple. These rocks so surround the ruins that, approaching it along the shore from the north, one looks in vain for it long after it is actually visible. It is oblong, 16 feet × 9 feet 6 inches; the walls 9 feet high and 2 feet thick, of large blocks, with "handle-stones" projecting at the angles; the west door is slightly wider at the top than below, varying from 1 foot 8 inches to 1 foot 6½ inches, and is 4 feet 6 inches high. The head of the small east window is angular, formed of two stones pitched

View of Kilcananagh, Middle Island of Aran.

together. It is 19 inches high (the jambs 10 inches) and 13 inches at sill. Near it, on the north, is a hole-stone 3 feet high. Not far from this church, the *Irish Builder* of June, 1886, says, a cemetery existed on the sea-shore, where human remains and inscribed stones have been washed up. One hundred yards north of the church are the remains of a dry stone building with a square-headed door 4 feet high × 2 feet 10 inches wide, with a large lintel 6 feet long.

Cromlech.—North-east of the village of Moher or Moor, is a "Leaba Dhiarmada" of two stones, 10 feet 8 inches long and 4 feet high, with a large block on top, the ends having been removed.

Dun Moher, another stone fort, stands on the hill directly over Kilcananagh. It is locally called "Mur," and is marked Doonfarvagh on the Ordnance Survey 6-inch Map. It measures 90 feet 6 inches east and west, 103 feet north to south. The wall has three divisions, and the facing is of large blocks; it is 11 feet thick and 15 feet high, and has a flight of steps to the west, four to a platform, and four thence to the top. Another flight remains to the north-east; the door is at the same side, and is 8 feet 8 inches wide, but defaced.

INISHEER,[1] OR SOUTH ISLAND.

INIS OIRTHIR.—O'Flaherty says it was also called Ara Choemain, from the patron of its principal church. Quelæus names in it three churches: "Kill Choemhain; 2 Ecclesia divo Paulo consecrata; and 3 Ecclesia Kill Gradh an domhain, in qua Gobnata colitur, 11th February." The very site of the second is forgotten; but the natives speak of a Killanybeg lost long ago in the sand; and a curious square enclosure with twenty-seven early graves, each with an edging of flags, while to the west are two pillar-stones and an entrance, the whole surrounded by a circular wall, has been uncovered by the wind between the two existing churches.

KILGOBNET, a small oratory in a picturesque recess of the crags, 18 feet × 13 feet 6 inches; walls, 2 feet thick, with a round-headed east window and an altar. The west door has inclined jambs, and is 5 feet 5 inches high, and 1 foot 11 inches to 1 foot 7 inches wide. The east gable is much decayed and ready to fall. North-west is a small cloghaun, much broken; it measures 9 feet 4 inches × 5 feet, and its door was quite defaced in 1878, but in 1839 it remained, facing that of the church, and has been again opened up; two bullauns lie near the oratory door.

O'BRIEN'S CASTLE AND STONE FORT.—On a hill (the plain below which is swallowed up in the sands) is a large "dun," measuring 170 feet east and west and 123 feet north and south, of irregular plan, so as to follow the edges of the crags. The gate faces north-east, and the walls are 8 feet 2 inches thick. The castle is low and plain, 43 feet 5 inches × 26 feet 6 inches, and 30 feet high, the lower part having three vaults. A projecting stone in the east wall has a face rudely carved on it. No history is preserved; the founders of both fort and castle being forgotten.

KILL NA SEACHT INGHEAN (the Seven Daughters' Church) lies about half a mile south of the castle in a rocky valley. There are some mossy heaps of stone and pillars, too much defaced to enable anyone to form any accurate idea of its plan: it seems to have stood in a cashel. There are some slight remains of another fort, called *Cahir na mban*, near the telegraph tower.

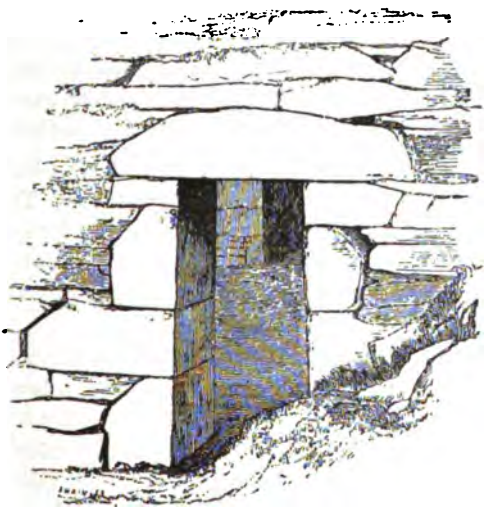
TEAMPULL CHOEMHAIN or ST. CAVAN'S CHURCH, the most interesting building on the island, bears the name of Keevan, a brother of Kevin of Glendalough, and a disciple of Enda. It stands on a low knoll, much used for burial, and covered with the intruding sand—and is a beautiful object with its ivied gables and dark walls crowned with sea pinks and yellow vetches, rising out of the pale shifting sand. It consists of a nave and chancel, respectively 16 feet 4 inches × 12 feet, and 11 feet 4 inches × 10 feet 6 inches. The chancel, with the west and north walls of the

[1] Inis Oirthir, literally the Eastern Island.

nave is ancient, but the chancel arch and south door are inserted pointed arches. The west door (like the Ivy Church of Glendalough) is only used to give access to a sacristy or residence; it is a fine and massive example of the linteled door with inclined jambs, 1 foot 10 inches to 2 feet wide. The lintel projects 9 inches from the face of the inner

Teampull Choemhain, 1878.

wall. The east window is also typical, the head hollowed out of one block, and the splay with a round arch. The chancel has also a south window with an angular head of two blocks. The south capital of the chancel arch has antique foliage, and a head is carved on the base of the same pier.



Doorway of Teampull Choemhain.

The grave of the Saint lies north-east of the church, no inappropriate position for the last resting-place of a reputed queller of the

tempest and the waves. Below the church a circular building with a round cell in it has been disclosed by the shifting of the sand. Bronze pins are often found on the shore near it.

To sum up, the Aran Isles afford a typical collection of nearly all of the more remarkable structures of pre-Norman times. Cromlechs, pillars, stone forts, Pagan and Christian cells, early oratories, round tower, crosses, both sculptured and simply incised, churches with chancels—all are there. Had we space and time we might also allude to the primitive traditions, folk-lore, charms, and observances of the people, of which every trace should be collected ere the old generation dies out. But necessity compels us to leave to future writers the production of a work bringing together complete information on all the objects of interest of "Ara the holy."[1]

History.—I very briefly note the leading events in the history of Aran. Legend relates the bursting out of Lough Lurgan, now Galway Bay, in remote ages. More reliable seems the establishment here of the Huamorian Firbolgs, at the beginning of our era, by Ailill and Maeve of Connaught. This tribe and the kindred races of Gangann and Sengann (Ganganoi of Ptolemy) joined to oppose the appointment of Maeve's son as King of Connaught. St. Enda[2] was granted Aran by Ængus, King of Munster, in the fifth century—it being then ruled by Corbanus, and inhabited by Pagans from Corcomroe—but at the time of the compilation of the "Book of Rights," "The Aras of the Sea" were reserved to the kings of Cashel. The monastery was burned 1020, and ravaged by the Danes in 1081. The islands were held by the Clan Teige O'Brien from the thirteenth century. The English, under John Darcy, with a fleet of fifty-six ships, plundered the isles in 1334. The Franciscan Priory was founded 1485. O'Brien, of Clan Teige, invaded Desmond from Aran in 1560. Morogh na Doe O'Flaherty, before 1585, took the isles from the O'Briens. His son was confirmed in possession by the English, but the islands were granted to J. Rawson in 1587, an English fort and garrison being established there in 1618. Sir Robert Lynch became proprietor in 1641. Clan Teige attempted to recover the islands 1651. After the surrender of Galway, the Cromwellians landed in the islands, and repaired the Castle with the materials of five churches and the Friary. Sir Robert Lynch was declared traitor, and the Government transferred his rights to Erasmus Smith. Then the isles were successively held by the Butlers, Fitzpatricks, and Digbys.

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[1] As a mark of respect for the sanctity of the place many of the natives walk barefoot round Aranmore, a distance of twenty miles, on Holy Thursday and Good Friday, saying seven Paters, seven Aves, and the Creed at each church on their way.

[2] Enda's successors were—(?) Brecan, *circa* 538. Nennius Ua Birn, *d.* 650. Maeltuile, son of Gobhan, 865. Egnechus, 916. Flan Ua Dondchad, 1010. Flan Ua Hoedha, 1110. Maelcolumb Ua Cormacain, 1114. Gillaguaire Ua Dubegan, 1167. Donat O'Laigin, 1400. Goimdibla was Abbot of East Aran, and *d.* 755.

THE ARAN ISLANDS.[1]

The Aran Islands lie at the entrance of Galway Bay, at a distance of twenty-seven miles from Galway harbour. They consist of three large and several small islands: Inishmore, nine miles long and one and a-half miles broad; Inishmaan, three miles long and one and a-half miles broad; Inisheer, two and a-half miles long; Straw Island, and the Brannock Rocks. The total area is 11,288 acres, and the population in 1891 was 2907. The North Sound, five and a-half miles wide, separates Inishmore from the mainland; Gregory's Sound, one and a-half miles wide, separates Inishmore from Inishmaan; the Foul Sound, two miles wide, separates Inishmaan from Inisheer; the South Sound, four miles wide, separates Inisheer from county Clare. The geological formation is the Upper Carboniferous limestone. The south-west coast is very bold and precipitous, frequently an almost unbroken line of vertical cliff, 200 to 300 feet high. The general feature is that of a series of terraces descending to the low shores on the north-east. The greater portion is bare rock, forming in many places numerous tables, 40 to 60 feet in length. Innumerable fissures in the vertical rock jointings occur on all sides, in which rare ferns, and other plants grow in rich luxuriance. Traces of the drift occur in the large granite and sandstone boulders from the mountains of Connemara. Ice-cut furrows occur in many places, an example of which may be seen near Kilronan, and an interesting specimen of boulders lies near the ruins of Sean Caislean.

The nature of the surface prevents the formation of but few streams, and the water is mostly supplied from dripping wells. The climate is wet, which is essential to the growth of any crops, as the soil is shallow and largely artificial. This has been formed with immense toil and labour by removing stones, collecting vegetable mould from the fissures in the rocks, and by carrying sand and seaweed from the shores. O'Flaherty's description, though written over two hundred years ago, stands for to-day. He says:—"The soile is almost paved over with stones, soe as, in some places, nothing is to be seen but large stones with wide openings between them, where cattle break their legs. Scarce any other stones there but limestones, and marble fit for tombstones, chymney mantle trees, and high crosses. Among these stones is very sweet pasture, so that beefe, veal, mutton are better and earlyer in season here then elsewhere; and of late there is plenty of cheese, and tillage mucking, and corn is the same with the seaside tract. In some places the plow goes. On the shore grows samphire in plenty, ring-root or sea-holy, and sea-cabbage. Here are Cornish choughs, with red legs and bills. Here are ayries of hawkes, and birds which never fly but

[1] By John Cooke, M.A., *Fellow*.

over the sea; and, therefore, are used to be eaten on fasting days: to catch which people goe down with ropes tyed about them into the caves of cliffts by night, and with a candle light kill abundance of them. Here are severall wells and pooles, yet in extraordinary dry weather, people must turn their cattell out of the islands, and the corn failes. They have noe fuell but cow-dung dryed with the sun, unless they bring turf in from the western continent."

The islands suffer much from the wild storms of the Atlantic, and trees exist only in a few sheltered spots. The cultivated patches are surrounded by high walls of loose stones to afford protection to the crops. Vast quantities of fine sand are blown about by the winds, and some of the ruins have been completely covered by it. The clothing of the people is principally of home-spun flannel. Owing to the rugged nature of the surface the difficulty of walking over it is great, and hence the natives wear sandals of raw cowhide, which they call "pampooties." The hair is on the outside, and they are cut low at the sides, with a pointed piece in front covering the toes, and they are fastened across the instep with a string. The inhabitants are healthy, many living to a great age, and are a moral, religious, and well-behaved people. Dr. Petrie wrote of them:—"Lying and drinking, the vices which Arthur Young considers as appertaining to the Irish character, form at least no part of it in Aran, for happily their common poverty holds out less temptation to the one or opportunity for the other. I do not mean to say they are rigidly temperate, or that instances of excess, followed by the usual Irish consequences of broken heads, do not occasionally occur; such could not be expected when their convivial temperament and dangerous and laborious occupations are remembered. They never swear, and they have a high sense of decency and propriety, honour, and justice." In Mr. Oliver J. Burke's interesting book "The South Isles of Aran," he quotes a letter from Philip Lyster, Esq., magistrate of the district, which includes Aran, in which he says:—"The Aran islanders, as a body, are an extremely well-behaved and industrious people. There are sometimes assaults on each other which invariably arise out of some dispute in connexion with the land, and are generally between members of the same family. There are very few cases of drunkenness. I have known two months to elapse without a single case being brought up. I should say that for four years, speaking from memory, I have not sent more than six or seven persons to gaol without the option of a fine. There is no gaol on the islands. We hardly ever have a case of petty larceny. I remember only one case of potato stealing, when the defendant was sent for trial and punished. There are often cases of alleged stealing of seaweed in some *bona fide* dispute as to the ownership, which we then leave to arbitration by mutual consent. I know very little of the history of the islands. In the last century justice used to be administered by one of the O'Flaherty family, the father of the late James O'Flaherty, of Kilmurvey House, Esq., J.P.

He was the only magistrate in the islands, but ruled as a king. He issued his summons for 'the first fine day,' and presided at a table in the open air. If any case deserved punishment, he would say to the defendant, speaking in Irish, 'I must transport you to Galway gaol for a month.' The defendant would beg hard not to be transported to Galway, promising good behaviour in future. If, however, his worship thought the case serious, he would draw his committal warrant, hand it to the defendant, who would, without the intervention of police or anyone else, take the warrant, travel at his own expense to Galway, and deliver himself up, warrant in hand, at the county gaol. I am afraid things are very much changed since those days."

Professor Haddon and Dr. Browne, in their valuable pamphlet on "The Ethnography of the Aran Islands," quote the following passage from Dr. Beddoe's "Races of Britain":—"The people of the Aran Isles, in Galway Bay, have their own very strongly-marked type, in some respects an exaggeration of the ordinary Gaelic one, the face being remarkably long; the chin very long and narrow, but not angular; the nose long, straight, and pointed; the brows straight or rising obliquely outwards; the eyes light, with very few exceptions; the hair of various colours, but usually dark-brown. We might be disposed, trusting to Irish traditions respecting the islands, to accept these people as representatives of the Firbolgs, had not Cromwell, that upsetter of all things Hibernian, left in Aranmore a small English garrison who subsequently apostatised to Catholicism, intermarried with the natives, and so vitiated the Firbolgian pedigree."

There is a lighthouse, with a revolving light, 115 feet above high water on Eeragh, the most western of the Brannock islands, and one on Straw Island with a fixed red light in Killeany Bay.

The Rev. WILLIAM KILBRIDE, B.A., Aran Island (*Member*, 1868), Author of the Paper on "Iararna," in the *Journal* for 1868, p. 109, writes as follows:—

If the sea is calm and the wind favourable the party should land at Glenachán, and not at Kilmurvey, and thus save two miles of road and also of sea. Glenachán is a small beach, a few hundred yards seaward or north-east of the Seven Churches (Temple Brecan). Northward, beyond the Seven Churches, there are no antiquarian remains.

On landing here the botanist can see the seakale beds on the shore. After this, on the way on the right-hand side of the *bothairin*, you come to a square fort of very good masonry of which no tradition exists. After this you reach the Seven Churches. The most observable things are St. Brecan's memorial cross, the tomb of the "seven Romans," the churches, and the foundations of the several subsidiary buildings attached

to the churches as schools. Then you have two splendid crosses—in fact, unique and more elaborately worked than most of the illustrated crosses.

After leaving this gully you come to the main road, and find yourself in almost the centre of Eoghanacht or Owenacht, now Onaght. You now travel on, and after leaving Dun Eoghanacht or Onaght, you come to where the most perfect of the clochans, described by Dr. Petrie, exists. It is called Clochan na Carraige, and can be easily reached. Some distance from this is a plot of ground where some twelve or fifteen years ago there was a perfect armoury of stone implements found.

On nearing Kilmurvey you come to Fearan na g-Ceán. There is an episode of a tragic kind connected with it, of Queen Elizabeth's time; but this can be learned from ordinary history. The finds, however, when making the road, are unrecorded, and should be inquired for. After arriving here, all is, I dare say, plain sailing, and requires no further comments of mine. You now come to Fort Duth choile (Dun Oghil), near the old lighthouse; and on the north side of this lighthouse you have "*Baile na m-bocht*,"[1] the most wonderful set of clochans in the island; it is very hard to get at them, but they are well worth looking for, and of extraordinary interest. All along the ridge, rising up from these, are the foundations of six or seven duns unrecorded on the Ordnance map.

I must not omit certain lately discovered remains, the purpose of which it is very difficult to decide. I refer to a few stone walls close under the village of Iararna, not far from Teampull Enda or Eany, and not very far from Killeany. I visited this place some few years ago, and again last year, and was almost shocked at the change which had taken place. All was in a state of confusion—no longer a delight to the observant mind. It was simply a dilapidated wreck.

In Middle Island, just close to the new pier on the strand, you have four or five standing stones in an upright position, and one has fallen down.

In South Island there are two graveyards only lately discovered which should be visited. One of them, that near to the coastguard station, is an exhibition of how graves in early times were constructed. It was unknown some eighteen years ago. Since it was discovered the sand has been swept away, and there it now stands, revealing to us its construction.

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[1] See Plan, p. 261.

BARONY OF BURREN, CO. CLARE.[1]

The barony of Burren, or East Corcomroe, is one of the most interesting districts of our western coast. Its terraced hills and "caverns measureless to man," with their underground rivers running down to the sea; its crags, every cranny filled with maidenhair and samphire, sheeted at times with bright blue gentians and huge cranesbills; its dozens of cromlechs and prehistoric forts, with not a few later ruins of interest; the wonderful rosy lights and deep shadows of its weird and desolate hills, and their glorious outlook over the bay and open sea, form endless attractions, artistic and scientific.

We feel at once we are in "an ancient land," from the bluff Black Head, the haunt of the banshee Bronach, crowned with the stone fort of Fergus, back to the hills near Corcomroe Abbey, we see ruins everywhere; the tall towers of Gleninagh, Newtown, and Muckinish, and the ivied and lonely churches of Gleninagh and Dromcreehy, in their bone-strewn graveyards by the very hem of the sea.

We are now in East Corcomroe, called Boirean (the rocky), the patrimony of the O'Loughlins. Corcomroe first appears very vaguely in the first century as the Firbolg state of Daelach. In the third century Cormac mac Airt waged war in Burren, defeating the natives many times on the great ridge of Slieve Elva, near Lisdoonvarna. The inhabitants were pagan at the end of the fifth century. Soon after 520 Maccreiche and Manchin evangelized the southern portion. Colman mac Duach established a cell under Kinallia before 620, and either he or some namesake founded a monastery at Oughtmama. The rest of its early history comprises little more than deaths of chiefs and dates of vague battles which are never located, and, apart from two invasions by Conor O'Brien (1267) and Dermot O'Brien (1317), the place makes little figure even in local history, having been till very recent times remote and inaccessible. Ballyvaughan has little to interest the antiquary save the site of a large fort and a cromlech in the fields behind it. But not far up the valley, near Ballyallavan, is a most interesting group of prehistoric forts and the cahirs of Doontorpa and Cahermore.

Driving eastward from Ballyvaughan, between the mountain and the sea, we see the little tarn of Lough Rask, the scene of a priceless piece of folk-lore preserved in Macgrath's "Wars of Torlough." Donchad, one of the O'Brien kings, who enjoyed the support of the Normans, was marching to attack Dermot (brother of his rival, King Murchad), who had invaded his territory and camped at Corcomroe Abbey, August, 1317. As he approached "Lough Rasgu" he saw on its shore a hag wrinkled, hideous, and deformed, with grizzled red hair, fiery eyes, and long talons, sitting beside heaps of human heads, and limbs, and bloodstained weapons, washing them in the lake, whose waters were

[1] By T. J. Westropp, M.A., M.R.I.A.

defiled with blood, brains, and floating locks of hair. He questioned "the apish fool," and she grimly replied, "I am Bronach (the sad one) of Burren, of the Tuatha Dé Danánn, and all your heads are in this slaughter heap." The soldiers attempted to seize her, but she flew away, prophesying their bloody defeat at Corcomroe. No one who has heard in this very county the circumstantial banshee tales of alleged recent occurrence, often told at first hand, need wonder at the insertion of so strange a myth in a history, in all other respects so fully confirmed, and evidently dating between 1350–60, though attributed by many, on the authority of a late copy (*temp.* George I.), to 1459.

The first ruin we meet to the right of the road is of little interest, the picturesquely ivied church of Dromcreehy (the ridge of the district of Crioth mhaille), called Dromcrith in the taxation of 1302. The door, the only feature worthy of note, can be seen well from the road; it closely resembles the west porch of Quin Priory. The interior, owing to the fall of the west gable, is laid open to the road. The ruin measures 52 feet × 21 feet 6 inches, and seems to be in the same condition as when Eugene O'Curry described it in 1839. Soon we pass the lofty castle of Shan Muckinish, so called from a legend that its foundation preceded that of the second castle of that name by three years. The north wall slipped down on to the strand not many years ago. The tower was at that time perfect, and habitable. It guards the narrow isthmus of the peninsula of Muckinish (pig island), and probably dates from the fifteenth century, appearing, with the neighbouring tower, among the castles held by O'Loghlen in 1584 as Shanmokeas and "Meghanos." In this year Turlough, son of Owny O'Loughlin, was captured at Muckinish by Turlough O'Brien; he was tried at the Summer Sessions in Ennis, and executed by Captain Brabazon.

As we drive along the creek we see, at some distance from the road, the second castle of Muckinish; half has been destroyed, and it shows a typical section, the lower story vaulted, then two stories under another vault, the upper story having been only roofed. At the south end of the creek, as we pass into another valley, is the village and ford of Belaclugga (ford of skulls). We then drive eastward, and after getting several pretty glimpses of the ruins, reach the Abbey of Corcomroe.

Corcomroe.—Sancta Maria de petrâ fertili, "of the fertile rock,"[1] or "de viridi saxo," "of the green rock," stands in an enclosure of about 4 acres of fairly good land, in a scene of the most dismal desolation, hemmed in by ridge on ridge of white limestone, often shining with a pink glare, emphasised rather than relieved by heavy shadows. The valley closes in at the east with a gradual slope, up which the Corker road runs (preserving part of the old name, Carcair na gClearagh). By this pass Hugh

[1] The accompanying view, before the west gate fell, is taken from "A Survey of the estates of James Molony, Esqre. of Kiltanon, Co. Clare, by W. Stokes, 1837" (by kind permission of Major Charles Molony).

O'Donnell retired, "past the monastery of Corcomodruach," after plundering county Clare in 1599, and again in 1600. The Abbey was a daughter of Furness Abbey, in Lancashire, and was founded by Donaldmore O'Brien, the warlike king of Limerick, about the time of the Norman Invasion, perhaps about 1182, when we know the king was engaged in church construction. It seems probable that the founder's grandson, King Conor Roe O'Brien "of Siudainé," was a benefactor; and local tradition implied that the monks buried him as their founder in the place of honour to the north of the high altar. Conor was reduced to such despair at the death of his son, Teige Caoluisge, that his gloom and moroseness encouraged a general revolt of his outlying subjects; for "he was filled with sorrow and want of spirit, and he could not be persuaded to drink, rejoice, or take comfort." He sent his son Brian (afterwards so horribly executed by Thomas De Clare) to put down the eastern rebels, and himself, with only the

View of Corcomroe in 1837.

forces of Sioda Mac Namara and Aneslis O'Grady, marched against the north, passing the Abbey and Belaclugga, "westward along the sea." Conor Carrach O'Loughlin surprised him "in the camp of Suydayne," and defeated and slew him: "and he was by the monks honourably buried in the abbey of Corcomroe. Over the place of his rest they set up his tomb," 1267.[1]

In 1317, as already mentioned, the rival clans of the O'Briens met on "Drom Lurgan," west of the Abbey, and in sight of it (not at Mortyclough, as so often stated), the struggle was savage and confused, and Donchad O'Brien and most of his chiefs fell.[2] The rest of the history

[1] "Wars of Turlough" and "Annals of Innisfallen" (older).

[2] The account in the "Wars of Turlough" now chiefly interests us for its descriptive notes of the district. We hear of the "arable land" and "stone enclosure," the purple marble and polished stones, starry ornaments and whitewashed walls of the Abbey, and the "smooth, grave-flagged sanctuary" in which, under stones carved with distinctive marks, King Donchad and his kinsmen, Mortough Garbh and Brian Bearra O'Brien, were laid.

calls for little notice; it was dissolved and granted by the English Government, in 1564, to Donnell O'Brien, who claimed to be chief of Clare, as a bribe, to forego his troublesome claims; and in 1611 the possessions of the abbey were given to Richard Harding. It is interesting to find, so late as 1628, the appointment of Friar John O'Dea, an Irish monk of Salamanca, to be its Abbot. The remains are (except at the east end) of that grimly plain and even rude architecture which marks the work of Donaldmore. We need only note that it consists of a cloister garth, 56 feet 10 inches × 68 feet, without arcade, and its eastern and southern buildings nearly destroyed, except the vaulted sacristy. North of this is the church, once a long undivided cruciform building, with side arches and aisles, now split into a nave, 52 feet 10 inches × 23 feet 3 inches, and ritual choir, consisting of a square chancel, about 23 feet each way, and a section of the nave, 49 feet long, partitioned off the actual nave by a plain screen wall, crowned with a bell turret, and pierced with a low-pointed door; over this, from a small opening high above the chancel floor, a flight of stairs gives access to the parapets and rooms over the chancel and chapels. The transepts are small and featureless, with large plain round arches, 21 feet 10 inches wide. The chancel is richly groined, with a pointed arch and clustered columns, a decorated rib recalling a similar feature in the transept of Tewkesbury Abbey. The east window is triple, with a single light above it. In a plain recess in the north wall lies the effigy of Conor na Siudaine, 1267. It is life size, rudely cut; the face is conventional and clean shaven; the hair falls to the shoulders in elaborate locks; the crown is now much broken, but was of the fleur-de-lys (or perhaps trefoil) design. The figure is clad in a plaited tunic, reaching to the knee; the huge left hand rests on the breast, and holds an object, probably a reliquary; the right is extended, with a sceptre. The feet are covered with brogues, with pointed toes, open on the instep and strapped round the ankle. The king reposes on a mantle and cushion, his feet apparently on an embroidered pillow.[1] Overhead is a late unfinished effigy of a bishop or abbot. The sedilia are interesting examples of the transition from Romanesque to Gothic. The altar is entire; and many tombs with crosses, one cut on a slab of yew, pave the floor. The north chapel is closed to form a modern vault; and, like the chancel capitals, seems later than the south chapel. The south has very curious capitals, the archaic heads of a man and woman being combined with late twelfth-century foliage.[2] The outbuildings are much dilapidated, the gate arch having fallen since 1840. Near the ruins, a clear spring, Tober Sheelah, bursts out of the rock.

[1] See our *Journal*, 1891, p. 381.

[2] There is a careful sketch of these by Mr. Wakeman in *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1864, Part I, and a plan and detailed sketches of the building in the report of its repair by the Board of Works in 1879. Another picturesque view and description occur in Mme de Bovet's "Trois mois en Irlande," pp. 286–8.

The origin of the name is lost. Keane's suggestion that it is connected with a mythical goddess, represented by the figures called Sheelas, is incorrect, as the latter name is derived from a single figure, and only applied very recently to the class.

Oughtmama.

Ascending the hill south of the abbey, and getting a fine view of the latter and the whole valley to Muckinish Castle and the open sea, we reach the very ancient churches of Oughtmama (the breast of the pass) so called from the steep hill overhanging the Carcair road. They lie in a depression, and are three in number. The most eastern has been levelled, except the east gable with its slit window and round-headed splay. The second is a small oratory quite perfect, and measuring 23 feet 10 inches × 14 feet 6 inches, with similar window and an arched door with inclined

Oughtmama, county Clare.

jambs and slight imposts. Lying in a line with this, a short distance to the west, is the third and largest church, the north and west walls forming a noble piece of cyclopean masonry, with huge blocks, 6 and 7 feet long. The nave measures 46 feet 6 inches × 22 feet 6 inches, or 45 feet × 21 feet, as in Ordnance Survey Notes; its west doorway has a lintel and inclined jambs; the door is 6 feet 5 inches high, and 2 feet 11 inches to 2 feet 7 inches wide; it seems to have turned in a stone socket. Set in the S.W. corner is a curious stoup or font, carved in high relief, with two struggling animals, their necks intertwined. The chancel arch is of the usual plain type, 10 feet wide, round, and with slight imposts. It has manifestly been inserted into the east gable of the old church when the chancel was added. The south windows are round-headed; the more western is moulded outside. The walls are crowned with a water table, and there are handle stones at each angle of the west front. The chancel measures 21 feet × 17 feet, and is much defaced; but the head of the east

window, cut from a single block, remains outside the church, and is believed to be a sovereign cure for headache if the patient lies down and inserts his head into it. Several defaced tombs of early date, one with a fragmentary Irish inscription, lie in the chancel. Near the churches is St. Colman's Well preserving the name of the founder; but a wide field is left for his identification, as the "Leabhar Breac" mentions three Colmans, sons of Lugaid, as belonging to Uchtmama. Probably the difference in the grandfather's names evolved three out of some more obscure man. Some cut the knot by suggesting that the saint was Colman mac Duagh. The litany of Enghus commemorates seven bishops of this place, which only renders more astonishing the loss of all record of so large and holy a community. There are full descriptions of Oughtmama in "Dunraven," vol. i., p. 102, and Brash, "Eccles. Arch.," p. 16.

Mortyclough.—If time allows, an excursion to Parkmore Rath is possible. We turn north from Belaclugga, and after a pretty drive along the creek reach the little hamlet of Mortyclough. The forts have been carefully described by Mr. T. Cooke in the 1851 volume of our *Journal* (p. 294):—Parkmore Fort has two concentric ramparts, with fosses, internal diameter 120 feet, and external 214, the ramparts being of clay, faced with stone. The souterrain opens in the centre of the fort, and runs south-west for 26 feet, being 6 feet wide and 6 feet high, built with large stones and the roof of huge flags. Then the passage narrows and ends in a wall, but by climbing through a square opening in the roof you reach a second chamber, 7 feet long × 5½ feet wide × 4 feet high. Thence you descend into a short passage leading into a gallery at right angles to the first, 14 feet long × 9½ feet wide × 6 feet high. Opposite the entrance another small passage leads to a sally-port in the outer rampart, the aperture having been closed with a flag 4 feet square.

Mortyclough fort has a somewhat similar souterrain. Not far from it is a caher, or stone fort of the type common in Clare.

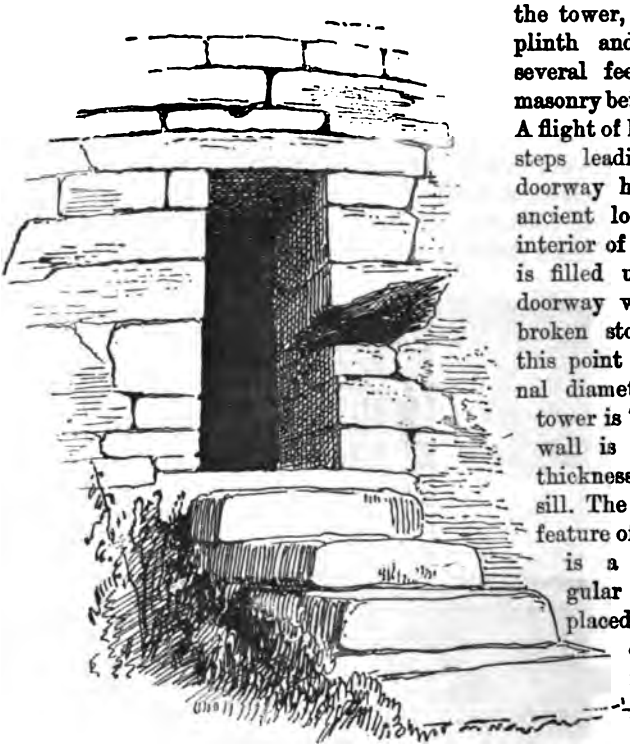
ROSCAM ROUND TOWER, NEAR GALWAY.[1]

The tower, which in my recollection was styled clogar by the neighbouring country people, stands near the Atlantic shore at a distance of a short walk from Galway. It is well and strongly built of hammered stones, cemented with lime and sand mortar. Its present height is perhaps slightly over 30 feet, but anciently the structure may have been much more lofty. Circumference near the ground, 49 feet 6 inches. The doorway is a grand specimen of its class, covered by an enormous lintel, which extends through the entire thickness of the wall. The door is 4 feet 10 inches in height, 2 feet 1½ inches wide at the sill, and 1 foot 11½ inches at the top. It is situate at a distance of 5 feet above

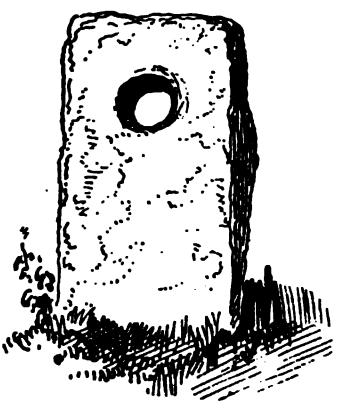
[1] By W. F. Wakeman, *Hon. Fellow.*

Roscam Round Tower, with north wall of Church. From a Drawing by W. F. Wakeman.

the present level of the ground, but, no doubt, the earth has been raised round the base of the tower, the usual plinth and possibly several feet of the masonry being buried. A flight of large stone steps leading to the doorway has a very ancient look. The interior of the tower is filled up to the doorway with small broken stones. At this point the internal diameter of the tower is 7 feet; the wall is 4 feet in thickness at the sill. The only other feature of the tower is a quadrangular opening, placed at a height of about 10 feet above doorway, but not quite over it. This window, or, as Petrie styled such opes, "a second doorway," has been built up on the exterior. It is about 3 feet high, and 18 inches broad. The floors of the tower were sustained by offsets, not brackets.



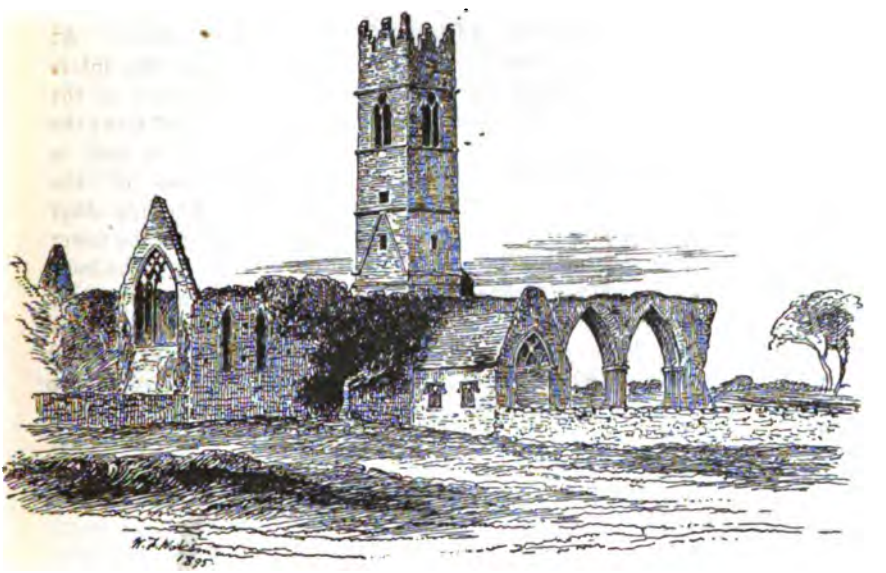
The church is 28 yards long, by 21 or 22 feet in breadth. It is probably not older than the fourteenth century, as indicated by the form of one or two of its remaining lights.



In the graveyard, about 50 yards S.E. of church, may be seen a fine specimen of the holed-stone; it stands at present about 4 feet in height, and is quite plain. About 40 yards further south occurs a remarkable triple bullaun, and another bullaun in a flat stone.

CLARE GALWAY.[1]

Clare Galway Priory is a Franciscan foundation. It was erected in the year 1290 by John De Cogan, and is most picturesquely situated on the banks of a little stream that flows by the ruins of the monastery, and empties itself into the Clare river, which is on the other side of the public road, and beside the old castle. The abbey was richly endowed by the Mac Feoris or Birmingham family. One of them, Lord Athenry, presented to the monks, in 1368, the rich lands of Cluan Melayn or Cloonmoylan, in order that sufficient provision might always exist for the performance of



Clare Galway, as in 1870. N.E. view. By W. F. Wakeman.

the sacred services of religion. In 1296, Philip De Blunt, archdeacon of Tuam, was indicted for forcibly carrying away the episcopal mitre, pastoral staff, and sundry other pontificalia which belonged to the see of Enachdune, but which had, during a vacancy, been lodged in this friary. On the suppression of the monasteries, the lands of this establishment, with appurtenances, were granted to Richard De Burgh in 1570; yet, strange to say, the faithful Franciscan friars lingered round the dear old spot, and, sheltered by the people, continued in and about the place for nearly two hundred years, the community being in each successive

[1] By R. J. Kelly, B.L., *Hon. Local Secretary, North Galway:* the description by T. J. Westropp, M.A., M.R.I.A.

generation represented by a member of the order. Sir Richard Bingham effectually cleared the actual building of its inmates, and stabled his horses, according to undoubted tradition, in the monastery chapel, while his soldiers were quartered in the cloisters. At the close of fifteen years' war some of the monks were, in more favoured times, allowed to return and reside in a corner of the old building, where they continued to live and labour. But soon again even that corner was denied them, and they were driven forth from the place. Yet down to 1765 the Franciscans kept hovering about the spot, for we find Pocock, Bishop of Meath, writing in his time, "that the chapel of Clare Galway was used as a Romish mass house." Dalton thus speaks of it:—"John De Cogan, a descendant of that Milo who first led an English invading army into Connaught, founded a Franciscan friary in this place, then called Clare-yn-dowh. It was a beautiful specimen of Gothic architecture, and is still in considerable preservation, particularly the high tower which is elevated upon arches. The charters and grants to this establishment are still extant."

The remains consist of a church and cloister, with domestic buildings. The chancel has on each side six lights of the 1290 period, another being closed by the belfry; part of the S. wall of the nave belongs to the same period. Two interesting tombs, one of several priests, dating 1676, and another with arms and crest of the De Burgo family, with a long inscription in raised capitals. Several handsome sedilia adorn the south wall; the broken arch of one has been repaired with small thin red tiles. The east window is late, and only one shaft, with the plain interlaced tracery, stands, as by a miracle. It could be easily repaired, as a huge heap of its fragments lie as they fell outside the gable. A tomb, with an incised cross with floriated ends, lies near the chancel arch. The noble belfry has graceful battlements, traceried windows to the north and east, and plainer lights to the other sides. Out of it opens, on the north, a small chapel, still used, once a year, for the celebration of Mass, and kept in repair. Its north window had three shafts with interlacing heads. The two lights to the east, are richly carved, like some of the window heads in St. Nicholas' Church, Galway, and probably date from the sixteenth century. The chapel has an altar and altar piece, and also a piscina near the door. Some shafts, like those of a cloister arcade, lie in the graveyard.

The belfry, chapel, and east window probably date from the middle of the fifteenth century. The nave has, along its south wall, several early pointed windows, below which are several sedilia, with well-moulded angular hoods, and beyond them a beautiful pointed recess. The west gable has fallen to about 5 feet; the piers of the west door remain. Fortunately a view of it exists in Grose's "Antiquities of Ireland," 1792, which shows that it had a west window (with three shafts interlacing with round pieces over the heads) above the pointed arch of the door,

while over the window show the heads of two earlier lancets. Along the north side is a beautiful arcade of four pointed arches on circular piers, with moulded capitals; it is much decayed and seems ready to fall. The huge corbels in the belfry piers were probably for the support of a rood beam; the lesser corbels, one richly carved, were connected with the two altars of the nave, one against each pier. The aisle is now demolished; a pointed arch, now closed, led from it into the north chapel; a window has been inserted since 1793. The cloister lies to the south; the arcade has vanished, but corbels and the spring of an arch at each angle shows that diagonal ribs crossed the walk at those points; it had a lean-to roof, no vaulting being anywhere apparent save in the belfry. The domicile lay along the east and west sides; the east wing is built in front of two of the 1290 chancel lancets; it has been constantly modernised, and in parts rebuilt. Very little ancient work is extant in the south wing, and some of it seems to have been in use (and possibly even built) in the present century. Two outlying domestic buildings are of little interest. The domicile is greatly decayed and heavily ivied. The dimensions are:—Total length of church, 147 feet; chancel, 52 feet 6 inches; belfry, 17 feet 9 inches; nave, 71 feet 9 inches; all three, 23 feet wide; north aisle, 11 feet 4 inches wide; north chapel, 27 feet 10 inches × 20 feet 6 inches externally; cloister garth, 84 feet × 56 feet 8 inches; east domicile, 90 feet 2 inches × 20 feet 6 inches. The *voussoirs* of a richly decorated tomb or arch lie in the latter wing.

The Clare Galway Castle was one of the Clanricarde foundations, and in 1642 it was strongly garrisoned by the Earl of Clanricarde; and here he received the proposals for the surrender of Galway as signed by the Mayor, Walter Lynch, and delivered by Sir Dominick Browne, Richard Martin, and Andrew Browne, aldermen, for the town; and Sir Valentine Blake and Theobald Burke, of Anbally, for the county. In 1643 the castle was surprised by Captain Richard Burke, of Anbally, and its giving up was one of the conditions of the treaty for the surrender of Galway. In 1651 the castle was taken by the provisional forces.

Near Clare Galway Castle is Cregg Castle; not far away is the old episcopal foundation of Enachdune or Annaghdown. The only visible hill in the vicinity is Knocktow, the hill of the hatchets; further on is Knockma, now Castle Hackett, called after Queen Meave.

GALWAY.[1]

The town of Galway dates from a very early period, and has been identified by some with the city of Magnata, or Nagnata, mentioned by Ptolemy.[2] The name has been derived from varied sources, by some from the legend of a woman named Galva who was drowned in the river; by others from the Gallæci of Spain; and again from the Galls or foreigners who occupied it. We first read of it in the "Annals of the Four Masters," under date 1124, when a fort was erected there by the men of Connaught, which was destroyed by Conor, King of Munster, in 1132, and having been rebuilt was again destroyed by Turlough O'Brien in 1149. In 1226, Richard de Burgo was granted the country of Connaught, and, having crushed the O'Conors, established his power in the west. He took Galway in 1232, enlarged the castle, and made it his residence. About this time the Blakes, Bodkins, Fonts, Joyces, Lynches, Martins, Skerritts, &c., settled in the town and laid the foundation of its prosperity. Their descendants became known "under the general appellation of 'the Tribes of Galway,' an expression first invented by Cromwell's forces, as a term of reproach against the natives of the town for their singular friendship and attachment to each other during the time of their unparalleled troubles and persecutions, but which the latter afterwards adopted as an honourable mark of distinction between themselves and their cruel oppressors." The walls were commenced in 1270. Sir William Leigh de Burgo founded the Franciscan abbey in St. Stephen's Island, outside the north gate of the town, in 1296. The old or west bridge was built in 1342, and remained the only passage to the district of Iar Connaught until the erection of the new bridge in 1818. Gates and towers were erected at the west end and centre of the old bridge in 1558, but these have long disappeared. From an old map of 1651, made by the Marquis of Clanricarde, it appears that the town was completely walled with fourteen towers and as many gates. On the map is the following:—

> "Bis urbis septem defendunt mœnia turres
> Intus, et ex duro est marmore quæque domus."

Over the west gate was the following inscription:—

> "From the fury of the O'Flaherties,
> Good Lord, deliver us."

Richard II. granted Galway its first charter, which was confirmed in

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[1] By John Cooke, M.A., *Fellow*.

[2] Mr. Orpen, in our *Journal*, 1894, points out, however, that "Magnata" better corresponds to Magen or Moyne, on Killala Bay.

successive reigns down to that of Charles II. In 1461 a patent was issued granting privilege to issue coins. The town was nearly destroyed by fire in 1473, but rapidly recovered, and it was about this time one of the most populous towns in Ireland. In 1518 a by-law was passed by the Corporation to the effect "that no man of this towne shalle oste or receive into their housses at Christemas, Easter, nor no feaste elles, any of the Burkes, MacWilliams, the Kellies, nor no cepte elles, withoute license of the mayor and councill, on payn to forfeit £5, that neither O nor Mac shalle strutte ne swaggere thro' the streetes of Gallway."

For centuries Galway had a flourishing trade with Spain, and large quantities of wine and salt were imported. This intercourse gave, to some extent, Spanish features to the architecture of the town and the dress and manners of the inhabitants, which have been greatly exaggerated by many of the older writers. The town reached perhaps its highest pitch of prosperity about the beginning of the wars of 1641. It surrendered to Ludlow in 1652. It suffered so much in the siege, and while in the hands of the Parliamentary army, that at the Restoration it was almost destroyed. It was besieged by Ginkell with 14,000 men on July 19th, 1691, a week after the battle of Aughrim, and two days later it surrendered, the garrison being granted a safe conduct to Limerick, and the inhabitants pardoned.

Galway was formerly in the rural diocese of Annaghdown, which maintained a long struggle for an independent existence even after its absorption with the diocese of Tuam at the Synod of Kells. Owing to the discontent of the new settlers in Galway with the clergy, who were generally Irish, Donatus O'Murray, Archbishop of Tuam, erected the church of St. Nicholas into a collegiate church in 1484. A Bull of confirmation was issued in the following February by Pope Innocent VIII., granting at the wish of the inhabitants the establishment of a separate ecclesiastical jurisdiction to Galway under a warden and vicars, to be elected solely by the inhabitants. St. Nicholas' thus became a Collegiate Church under a warden and eight vicars, and was "ecclesia insignis collegiata et exempta ab ordinaria jurisdictione." In that year Richard III. granted a charter, and Pierce Lynch was made mayor under it, while his son Stephen was appointed first warden. At the Reformation the Church was put under the charge of a Protestant warden, who held a distinct jurisdiction from the diocese, and this arrangement continued down to 1840, the date of the death of the Rev. James Daly, the last warden.

Within the last century or so, the town has extended itself far beyond its ancient limits. The streets, though generally narrow and ill-kept, present to the archæologist some interesting features not found elsewhere. Many of the houses were built in the Spanish style, with a small centre court and archway leading into the street; "but it requires some effort of imagination to identify these ill-kept and overcrowded

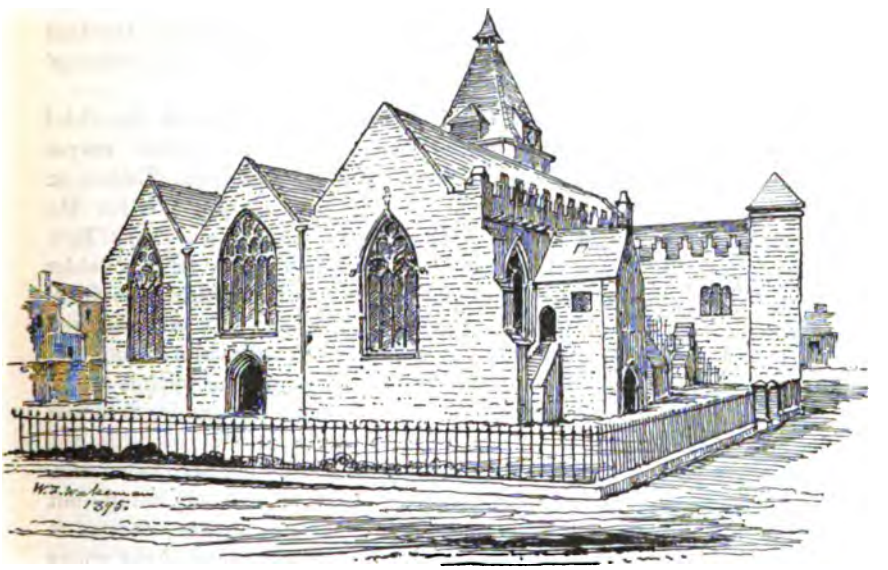
dwellings with the gay residences of the Spanish merchants." Of the wall nothing now remains but a fragment and large archway at the quay, and a square tower, called Lyon Tower, in Francis-street. A portion of the old wall forms the boundary of the Castle barracks, and other portions are built over, now forming part of private houses. Of the old houses, the most interesting is Lynch's Mansion, now a chandler's shop, at the corner of Shop and Abbey-gate streets. The doorways and windows are square-headed, with richly decorated mouldings and drip stones. The horizontal pillars which supported the projecting balustrade terminate in grotesque heads. On the wall is a medallion with the arms of the Lynches, and their crest a lynx. There is also the carved figure of a monkey and a child, commemorating the saving of an infant of the family by a monkey during a fire, similar to the traditional incident in the Kildare family. In Market-street, at the back of St. Nicholas' Church, is the Lynch stone, with the inscription—

"This memorial of the stern and unbending justice of the chief magistrate of this city, James Lynch Fitzstephen, elected mayor A.D. 1493, who condemned and executed his own guilty son, Walter, on this spot, has been restored to its ancient site, A.D. 1854, with the approval of the Town Commissioners, by their Chairman, Very Rev. Peter Daly, P.P., and Vicar of St. Nicholas." Below it is an older stone (1624) with skull and crossbones, and this inscription, "vaniti of vaniti and all is but vaniti." The story to which they refer is well known; varied versions of it are given, but there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the main incidents. James Lynch Fitz Stephen was a very prominent and successful merchant, who had large trading interests in Spain. He visited it, and returned to Ireland, taking with him the son of his host as a return for the kindness and hospitality shown him. He, himself, had an only son, who was not of very steady habits, but whose attachment to a lady of good family in Galway was expected to lead to his reformation. Unfortunately, he became jealous of the young Spaniard after his arrival, and one night, in a frenzy of passion, followed him from the house and stabbed him. He as quickly felt remorse for his crime, and gave himself up to justice, to the horror of his father. Every effort was made to save him by the inhabitants, with whom he was a favourite; but the stern father not only passed sentence on him, but, on failing to get an executioner, hung him from the window of his house with his own hand. A tragedy founded on this, called the "Warden of Galway," was written many years ago by the Rev. Edward Groves, which was performed in the Theatre Royal, Dublin, and afterwards at the Olympic Theatre in London.

The family of Lynch is one of the most noted in the history of Galway. They are said to have come originally from Linz in Austria in the thirteenth century. One of them was governor of that town during a siege, and for this service was permitted to take a lynx for

his crest. They flourished in Galway down to the middle of the seventeenth century, and during a period of 169 years, eighty-four members of the family were mayors.

Of other old houses was the Joyces' mansion in Abbey-gate street. It is now in ruins. In High-street, through a shop entrance, are the ruins of Stubber's Castle, the only feature of which is a chimney-piece with the arms of Blake and Browne (1619). In Market-street are the remains of the mansion of the Burkes, with a good doorway. It subsequently became a nunnery, and is now a mass of tumbled-down ruins. On the right of the entrance is a finely carved chimney-piece (1602), and on the left are two marble chimney-pieces.



The Church of St. Nicholas, Galway, as in 1870. By W. F. Wakeman.

The Church of St. Nicholas was founded in 1320. It is evidently the work of different periods, and underwent at different times the usual changes and restorations. The church was used as a stable by the Parliamentary troops, by which much damage was done, and the monuments injured. It is 152 ft. long, and 126 ft. broad across the transepts, and consists of nave, aisle, chancel, transepts, and is surmounted by a peculiar pyramidal tower of much later date than the church itself. The nave has no clerestory, and is separated from the aisle by two rows of pointed arches, the pillars of which, except one, are circular. The nave and aisles have three west gables, the central having a five-light, and the others four-light windows. The beautiful east window presented by James Lynch Fitzstephen was destroyed, and the present window was

erected in memory of Eleanor Persse in 1881. On the floor of a small chapel off the south transept a coffin lid, or monument, has a floriated cross with a Norman French inscription. In the wall is a small slab—"John Finglas Slingesby, 1690." In a recess under the east window of transept is a stone with coat-of-arms, much defaced, and there are figures on each side of the window; there is also a small slab with this inscription:—"Stirpe clarus, amor militum, terror inimicorum, aetate juvenis, senex virtutibus, mundo non digno, exaltatur ad cœlum 14 Martii Anno Domini 1644 Stephanus Lynch."

The Joyce altar tomb is most richly carved in flamboyant style, with finials; its date is unknown. Against the south wall is the larger tomb of James Lynch Fitzstephen, which has been restored. The two exposed sides have low panels with rich floriated heads. On the south wall is a slab of the Lynch family. Above this used to be the organ, now removed to the choir. In the west wall is a slab of the Brown family, 1635. Another finely inscribed slab, though much damaged, is that of Moriert... O'Tiernagh, 1580. In the south aisle are monuments to Warden Daly, the Eyres, and George Taylor, 1694. In the north aisle one of James Vaughan (Warden), 1684; in the north transept O'Hara, 1729; Blakeney, 1722. In the choir is a fine slab to Robert Stannard, 1720, and one to John Hope, 1666. The top of the font is old, and has finely carved sides. In the north aisle is what is generally called the Confessional. Nothing is definitely known of it, and there is reason to doubt that it was ever intended for such use. Without, on the west side are the ruins of St. Catherine's Chapel. The west doorway is finely pointed, and the south porch has a groined roof. Above it is the old apartment of the sexton.

The church has an interesting peal of bells which have been very fully described by Mr. Richard Langrishe in vol. vii. 4th series (1883-4), of the Society's *Journal*. The fourth bell in order of ringing is the most interesting. "It is ornamented," says Mr. Langrishe, "with a beautifully wrought band, and four well executed medallions, one of the Virgin and Child, the others probably of patron saints of the church to which it belonged." By means of the inscription, which is in raised Roman letters, dated 1631, Mr. Langrishe has been able to trace it to Cavron in the Department of Pas de Calais.

The Franciscan Friary was founded in 1296 by Sir Wm. De Burgh, who died in 1324, and was buried there. Much damage was done to the monuments by the Cromwellian soldiery, including the finely carved marble tomb of Sir Peter French. The foundation had many reverses in the 17th and 18th century, but ultimately the chapel was rebuilt in 1781. At the entrance is a dilapidated monument to Arabella Martin, 1766. Set in the wall is a fine monument, much worn, divided into many panels with numerous figures of the Apostles and Saints, including the Virgin and Mary Magdalene, with a much-worn crucifix between them,

St. Clare holding a monstrance, St. Francis, St. Anthony, St. Dominic and dog, St. Michael holding a scales, &c. Another stone has the arms of Sir Peter French and Mary Browne, on the left being a figure of St. Patrick, and on the right St. Nicholas. In the wall above the roof of the sacristy is a rude carving of our Lord with cross, and a saint. In the sacristy, inserted in the wall, is a remarkably fine slab with the Clanricarde arms, and an inscription dated 1645. The old graveyard is crowded with tombs and monumental stones, and on the occasion of a recent visit was in a state of great neglect, being choked with weeds, making an examination not only difficult, but dangerous. This cemetery has been for centuries a burial-place of many of the chief families in the West. Among the tombs mentioned by Hardiman, all of which we have not identified, are O'Nolan, 1394; a curiously carved stone with arms of goldsmiths, ship, &c., 1579; Browne, 1596; Thomas French, 1629; Mother Gabriel, 1672; Nicholas O'Brien, 1629; the Quin tomb, 1649. There are two sculptured slabs over the graves of the Poor Clares, and also two over the Franciscan Fathers. In the south-west corner is the tomb of "Jacobi D'Arcy Majoris, Conaciæ Præsidis, Galviæ Prætoris, &c., 1603. Hic amor Heroum, decus Urbis, norma Senatus, mensa Peregrini, Pauperis arca jacet."

The Dominican Friary stood on the site of the ancient nunnery of the Premonstratenses of Tuam. This passed to the secular clergy; but in 1488 it was granted by a Bull of Innocent VIII. to the Dominicans, and became in time very wealthy, and one of the most powerful houses in Connaught. After the dissolution Queen Elizabeth granted part of its possessions to the Corporation. It was used in 1642 as a battery against the town, and to prevent this being done again by the Cromwellian soldiers, the Corporation pulled it down in 1652. The present chapel was erected about the beginning of this century. The Augustinian Friary, founded in 1508 by Margaret Athy, wife of Stephen Lynch Fitz-Dominick, Mayor of Galway, having been used as a military store, was also pulled down.

The most interesting quarter in Galway to the visitor is the Claddagh. It is a typical collection of low thatched cottages, built without much regard to system, the inhabitants of which for many generations have preserved their individuality amidst the surrounding population. Hardiman wrote of them as follows:—"The colony from time immemorial has been ruled by one of their own body, periodically elected, who is dignified with the title of Mayor, regulates the community according to their own peculiar laws and customs, and settles all their fishery disputes. His decisions are so decisive and so much respected, that the parties are seldom known to carry their differences before a legal tribunal, or to trouble the civil magistrates." The title and offices of this dignitary are now quite obsolete, and the last who held it is a very old man, now, we understand, in the Union Workhouse. They were particular in keeping strangers from settling or intermarrying with them, but this is no longer so. They are

a moral and religious people; they will not go to sea or take a journey on a Sunday, or a Saint's day. They once were careful in the observances of festivals, particularly that of St. John's Eve, in which a procession was organised, and other formalities observed, but this is now obsolete, the boys and children merely lighting a bonfire. The old dress of the women of Claddagh is now seldom seen. It consisted of a blue mantle, red body gown, and petticoat, a handkerchief round the head, and the feet bare. The Claddagh ring—two hands holding a heart—becomes an heirloom in a family, and is handed down from mother to daughter.

From an early period the fishing industry in Galway has been a most important one. An old by-law of the Corporation runs thus—"That no fishermen do take in hands either the plough, spade, or teithe, that would barr them from fyshinge, both to serve themselves and the common wealthe with fyshe, in consideration whereof, that the said fisshers and their wiffs and famylie be reasonablie served before others with all necessarie sustenance and food of provition, as cometh to the market, whereby they mought be the better hable to erne ther said livinges that way and have the better hope."

The harbour of Galway has in late years been much improved. The floating dock is 5 acres in extent, and admits vessels of 15½ feet draught; the length of quayage is 2010 feet. Mutton Island lies at the entrance, and is connected with the mainland at low water by a ridge of sand. There is a lighthouse here, with a group occulting light, 20 seconds in revolving, showing red seawards. The harbour is much exposed to the westerly winds, from which it would be protected by the construction of the frequently projected breakwater. The scheme of 1852 was estimated at £155,000; but the recent estimate of Mr. S. Ussher Roberts, for a pier 1200 yards long, causeway, and connecting railway, to meet the requirements of present day Atlantic liners, amounts to £670,000.

The Eglinton Canal, cut by Alexander Nimmo, connects Lough Corrib with the sea.

ATHENRY.[1]

Athenry, though now a poor town, was once a place of considerable importance, as its ruins testify. Its name *Ath-na-riogh* signifies the "Ford of the Kings." It is considered by Sir James Ware and others to have been the chief seat of the Auteri, mentioned by Ptolemy; and Mr. Orpen agrees in its old identification with the Regia of Ptolemy. After the Anglo-Norman invasion it became a centre of importance under the De Burgos and De Berminghams. It was walled in 1211, and its castle erected in 1238. The Dominican monastery was founded, in 1241, by Meyler De Bermingham, who died in 1252.

Franciscan Friary and Castle, Athenry.

This was a favourite burial place of the Earls of Ulster, and many chief Irish families of the west. Edward II. granted a murage charter giving power to collect money for building walls and fortifying the town. In 1316, Sir William De Burgo, and De Bermingham, 4th Baron of Athenry, surnamed "Richard of the Battles," fought here against Felim O'Connor, King of Connaught, who had joined Edward Bruce; in the battle 8000 were slain, including many Irish chieftains, and the spoils taken are said to have been spent on the defences of the town.

In 1577 Connaught was swept by fire and sword by the "Mac-an-Earlas," or sons of the Earl of Clanricarde. They sacked Athenry, burning down the gates and destroying a church and other buildings which had recently been erected. For nine years the town remained

[1] By T. J. Westropp, M.A., M.R.I.A.

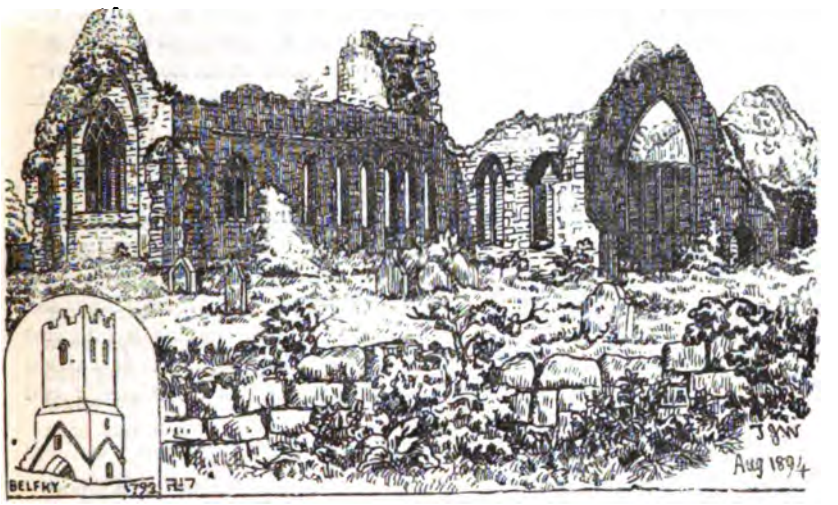
almost a heap of ruins. It was restored, however, in 1585; but in 1596 Red Hugh O'Donnell and Tibbot Mac William Burke overran Connaught, and laid siege to Athenry. They burned down the gates, took the wall towers, set fire to the town, which was destroyed, and never recovered its ancient prosperity; the citadel, abbey, and church alone escaping. It returned members of Parliament from the reign of Richard II. until the Union, when £15,000 compensation was granted to the trustees of the marriage settlement of Theophilus Blakeney. The mace and old seal of the Corporation are in the possession of Captain Blakeney.

Entering the town by a small gate tower, the arch being a modern insertion, we first find the market cross mounted on a pyramid of modern steps. It has on the one face the Virgin and Child, surmounted by a canopy ending in a cross, and on the other our Lord crucified, under a double-arched canopy, with a figure at each side. The sides have canopies ending in crosses. The base is carved with several deer and other animals in relief. At one corner is the rude figure of an angel with a scroll. Near the cross is an ancient house, which has been modernised into a shop, but retains its side windows.

The FRANCISCAN FRIARY was founded by Thomas, Earl of Kildare, 1464; its first chapel was built by his wife, Margaret Fitzgibbon, its second by the Earl of Desmond. The church was cruciform, and is now much defaced, the chancel and belfry being modernised as a parish church. Of the nave, the south wall alone is in tolerable preservation, the west gable having fallen; it has two fifteenth-century windows. Near the more eastern appear the remains of a round column, with moulded capital and plain arches, as if an arcade had been built up and a side aisle demolished. The plain south door is pointed; there are some remains of a porch. The north transept is greatly overgrown and ivied; it has a broken window of decorated Gothic, two shafts interlacing with bold quatrefoils. The south transept is of fine masonry much superior to the nave. It has the remains of a very beautiful window. It had two shafts and richly-interlaced tracery now fallen.

Dominican Friary, Athenry.

The splay has finely-moulded capitals and bases. In the east wall



Dominican Friary, Athenry, from North East.

is an interesting double piscina with a square basin with stellate flutings and a smaller round basin. Many fragments of windows lie about the cemetery, which commands an imposing view of the castle.

Not far to the south-east lies the DOMINICAN FRIARY, standing in a large graveyard. It was founded by Meyler De Bermingham at the request of St. Dominic himself, in 1241, to which period the rows of lancets in the north wall of the chancel and south wall of the nave must belong. William De Burgo, who died in 1324, and his wife, Finola ni Brien, enlarged the choir by 20 feet, and gave money and tithes to the monks. It was burned to the ground in 1423, and was largely rebuilt under a Bull of Pope Martin V.

Dominican Friary, Athenry.

in 1427. Another Bull was issued by Pope Eugene IV. in 1445. It was finally granted by Queen Elizabeth to the portreeve and Corporation of Athenry at the yearly rent of 26*s.* 4*d.* Irish. Like so many of our western monasteries it survived its dissolution for many years, and was made a university, in 1644, by a chapter held at Rome. The lofty belfry was still standing in 1792 (there being a view of the ruins in Grose's "Antiquities"). It had stepped battlements at each side, a large-pointed ope to the east, and a double light to the north. It seems to have risen only three stories above the arch.

The monastic buildings lay to the south, the natural place in our dark climate, but, strange to say, far from usual in the western friaries. They were demolished to build barracks, and their site is occupied by modern houses. The remains consist of a church, 147 feet long, and a sacristy. The latter is a perfect vaulted building, having a late east window of three trefoil-headed lights and a heavy hood. It is entered by a door from the south side of the chancel, and is traditionally said to be the burial-place of the later monks.

The chancel measures 64 feet × 23 feet 7 inches. Its north wall has six early lancets and another partly closed, while east of them (the change marking an extension of the chancel for 20 feet by William De Burgo) at each side, are two windows of richer tracery, though evidently of later date, and belonging to the 15th century restoration. The present east window has three shafts interlacing with round pieces over the main lights. It has been inserted in the arch of a much larger window. A neat tomb, with a figure of the Virgin, remains in the north wall, while a defaced carving of an angel, holding a long scroll, and some curious slabs, with church windows resembling those of the abbey, and other ornaments cut in relief, lie in the chancel. In the centre of the latter is the great pretentious tomb of Lady M. Bermingham, 1779, made by "Coade, London, 1790." It is an elaborate but tasteless monument, the skulls, torches, pilasters, and wreaths well executed in stucco, now rapidly falling out of the dark limestone of the main structure. Two other monuments call for notice. In the north wall appears a slab with a shield, bearing a cross patee and lion rampant; crest, a hand and dagger. On it is an obscure and fanciful inscription in three languages:—

"THE MISTICALL | SENSE OF THE | ARMES IN THIS | VERSE | POUR HO | NEUREE | CONQUE | STRAN: | DUN . | ILLUSTRE | MARQUE | DE CLOR | IL VOLEVT | LE | LION REMPENT | PORTA LE PRIS | DE LEUR VICTOIRE | HERE IS THE ANTIENT SEPULCHRE OF | THE SEPT OF WALLS OF DROGHTY LATE | DEMOLISHED BY CROMELLIANS AND | NOW REEDIFIED BY WALTER WALL | FICH PEETER OF THE SAID SEPT FOR | HIS OVN AND HIS POSTERITIES USE ANO | DOMINI 1682 INSIGNIA HUIUS FAMILLÆ | CRUX ET LEO VTNOTAT | IS ANTIQVVM RETNIET GENS WALLIA | STEMMA NAM CE MAGNANIMAM CV | *next line covered.*

On the south wall, arms, a cross, a lion rampant in first quarter:—

"HEERE LYES THE | BODY | OF SIR | IOHN | BVRKE | OF DER | RIMAGH | LA | GNIE | KNI^T DECEASED IN THE | 36 YREARE OF HIS AGE | 1666 THIS TOMB WAS ER | RECTED FOR HIM AND HIS | POSTERITIE BY | HIS WIDOW THE LADY MAR | Y BURKE NOW BARRONESS | OF ATHENRY IN 1683."

The nave measures 67 feet 9 inches × 23 feet 7 inches; it has a beautiful west window of four lights, decorated Gothic, opened and repaired in the recent conservation. The south wall has five of the early lights, and one closed by the belfry; outside some traces remain of the junction of the cloister and domicile; inside is a row of recesses and sedilia. One has three quatrefoil opes, some of the capitals are neatly carved. A curious pulpit-like projection, said to be the cell of a penitent of the last century, juts out near the south-west corner. There are several quaint tombs, one of a smith, Thomas Tanian, with the date 1682. It has a cross, surrounded with two pair of bellows, horseshoe, anvil, and pincers, the very appropriate armorial bearings of a follower of Tubal-Cain. Other tombs bear ploughs and coulters.

The side aisle is to the west of the transept, and north of the nave; three of its nave arches remain, built in the larger opes of a fine arcade. It has two neat side lights and a pointed door. Only the south piers and spring of the arches of the belfry remain, with an intervening recess. The rest, with the arcade of the transept, completely collapsed when the tower fell. In the north gable of the transept is a beautiful arcading of trefoil-headed niches, and a slab with elaborate mantling; *crest*—a double-headed eagle's head. *Arms.*—A double-headed eagle displayed, impaling a chevron between three trefoils slipped, with these lines: "PRAY FOR THE | SOULE OF | OLIVE | R BRO | WNE | OF CVL | ARAN AND JULIAN LYN | CH. HIS WIFE WHO EREC | TED THIS MONUMENT FOR | THEM AND THEIR POSTE | RITY ANO DNI 1686." The east wall had two handsome windows complete in 1792, but one is now much defaced. The obituary of the abbey, cited by Archdall, is still extant, being preserved by the existing Dominicans. A copy is in the British Museum, Sloane MSS. 4784. In 1893 the Board of Works judiciously repaired the ruins, and restored to order the much neglected graveyard.

The following inscriptions lie on the floor:—

"THIS | IS THE TVMBE OF IOIS BVRKE AND OF HIS ANCESTORS | AND KATREN BVRK | E HIS WIFE THE 20 OF 8BER 1627.

"HIC . IACET DMA MARIOTA DE BVR | GO FILIA WA | LTERI ALS DORIAN M^c . . . . VIB . . . . . ARD . I.H.S. . I.H.S. 1615."

"PRAY FOR THE | SOWLE OF FLOR | ENCE HEYNE | WHO DEYED | THE 24 OF MAR | CH 86 THIS M . . . . . " probably of 1686.

This is set in one of the chancel windows—

"PRAY FOR THE S | OWLE OF MATH | EW SEMPLE W | HOSE SOVLE YE | LORD RECRAVE | 1670."

There are also some curiously late survivals of interlaced crosses.

The CASTLE or "Court," as it is locally called, is a massive and picturesque structure, with shattered enclosures and lofty gabled keep. Note the cruciform arrow-slits in the battlements. It was originally built in 1211 by King John, or, as other authorities say, by Pierce de Bermingham, 1238. There is an illustration and ground plan in "Grose," vol. i., plates 28 and 29. It has a double vault supported on pillars, and two windows with rich capitals in the upper room.

TOWN WALLS.—A great part of the ancient wall still exists, though much of the enclosed space is occupied by demesne and gardens. The ramparts have lofty, slender, round towers at the salient points, and are surrounded by a moat once filled by a stream, long since diverted.

The towers and gates, as marked on the Ordnance Survey map, commencing at the gate spanning the road from the railway station, and going westward, are—North gate; a tower; Spiddle gate, looking N.W.; three towers; Swan gate, looking S.W.; tower; angle of wall; a tower at S.E. corner; Laragh gate, near Dominican Friary; the castle; and Briton's gate, looking northward.

EXCURSION TO THE LOUGHCREW HILLS,

MONDAY, *5th August*, 1895.

On Monday, the 5th August, 1895, about fifty Members of the Society left Amiens-street Terminus, Dublin, by the 9 o'clock, a.m., train for Oldcastle, tickets, at greatly reduced fares, having been given by the Great Northern Railway Company.

A couple of miles beyond Kells attention was called to the holy well of St. Kieran, overshadowed by a very old ash-tree immediately adjoining the railway on the left, and to the termon crosses, a short distance away on the right of the line.

Arriving in Oldcastle at 12 o'clock, Mr. J. H. Moore, *Hon. Local Secretary*, had provided cars, on which the party was conveyed to Patrickstown, where, at the eastern end of the Loughcrew hills, the road crosses the ridge. At the highest point of the road the cars were left, and the party, conducted by Mr. George Coffey, entered on the hill side. Just inside the gate is the remnant of a late cross; near it is an upright stone, said to mark the site of a battle. Ascending the hill the rain commenced, and settled into a steady downpour, which continued during our visit.

The ridge consists of three principal hills, in a line nearly east and west. The eastern, or Patrickstown, hill, has had a large cairn on its top, but the stones of which it was formed have been removed. Passing this point, and walking westward, skirting a wood, we reach the site of a cairn—that marked x on the plan in Mr. Conwell's "Tomb of Ollamh Fodhla." The smaller stones have been removed here also, but one large block retains traces of scribings now much defaced by exposure.

A descent, still westward, followed by a sharp rise, leads to the summit of the central and highest hill, called Slieve-na-Caillighe (marked Carnbane East, on the Ordnance Map). On the highest point, 900 feet above the sea, is the great cairn, marked T by Conwell, and which he claimed to have identified as the tomb of Ollamh Fodhla. The chambers in this cairn, and the passage to them, contain a number of stones covered with characteristic decoration. An example of these is figured at p. 309. On the north side of the cairn is a stone rudely formed as a seat, called the "Hag's Chair." Round this great cairn are a number of smaller ones. One of these to the south-west, indicated as R_2 by Conwell, was recently investigated by Mr. Rotherham (see p. 311). Where it had been opened a large quantity of bone fragments were to be seen.

Passing westward, the third hill (the true Carnbane) possesses an extraordinary number of cairns. That marked L by Conwell has many figured stones, one of which is shown at p. 307.

The party now descended to the grounds of Loughcrew House. In the well-kept garden here are two underground chambers, which were visited.

All were then received and hospitably entertained in Loughcrew House, the seat of J. L. Naper, Esq., and most considerate kindness was shown by Mrs. Naper, in providing for the comfort of the ladies after their walk through the rain. After tea the cars were again taken to Oldcastle, where special arrangements had been made to enable the party to leave at 6.15 for Dublin.

LOUGHCREW HILLS.[1]

To the north-west of county Meath, about two miles distant from Oldcastle, on the estate of Mr. Naper, of Loughcrew, is a small range of hills, extending two miles east and west, of which the highest point, called Carn Bawn, or Slieve-na-Caillighe, rises 904 feet above sea level, the surrounding country averaging about 300 feet. Being the highest eminence in Meath, it affords an extensive prospect over widespread limestone plains, stretching east and west across the centre of Ireland, and the Lower Silurian grits, slaty rocks that extend northwards round Lough Ramor, the ridge constituting the line of junction of these two systems of rock. On a clear day the ranges of mountains above Carlingford on the east coast, and near Sligo in the far west, become visible from its summit, and it is stated that no less than eighteen out of thirty-two counties in Ireland may be pointed out on the horizon.

The late Dr. O'Donovan, in a letter written from Kells in 1836, gives the following legendary tale:—

"There are three hills about a mile asunder, having three heaps of stones on their summits. A famous hag of antiquity called Cailleagh Bheartha (Calliagh Vera) came from the north to perform a magical feat in this neighbourhood, by which she would obtain great power if she succeeded. She took an apronful of stones, and dropped a cairn on Carnbane, then jumped to the summit of Slieve-na-Cally, a mile distant, and dropped a second cairn of stones there. From this she leaped another mile, and dropped another cairn. If she could make another successful leap, and drop a fourth cairn, her magical feat would be accomplished, but in giving the jump she fell, and broke her neck, in the townland of Patrickstown, parish of Diamor. Here she was buried, and her grave was to be seen not many years past in a field called *cul a mhota* (*i.e.* back of the moat). She is now a 'banshee,' and is mentioned in some Irish elegies. 'On one occasion she turned Fin Mac Cooil into an old man.'"

The "scribed stones" found in the cairns of Slieve-na-Caillighe form the most extensive series of such remains in Western Europe. Some stones similarly marked are found imbedded in the well-known mounds of Dowth and New Grange. Mr. Wakeman discovered two stones in a so-called "giant's grave" at Knockmany, Co. Tyrone, which are figured and described in vol. iv., 4th series of our *Journal*, and in the *Newry*

[1] By Wm. Frazer, F.R.C.S.I., M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*.

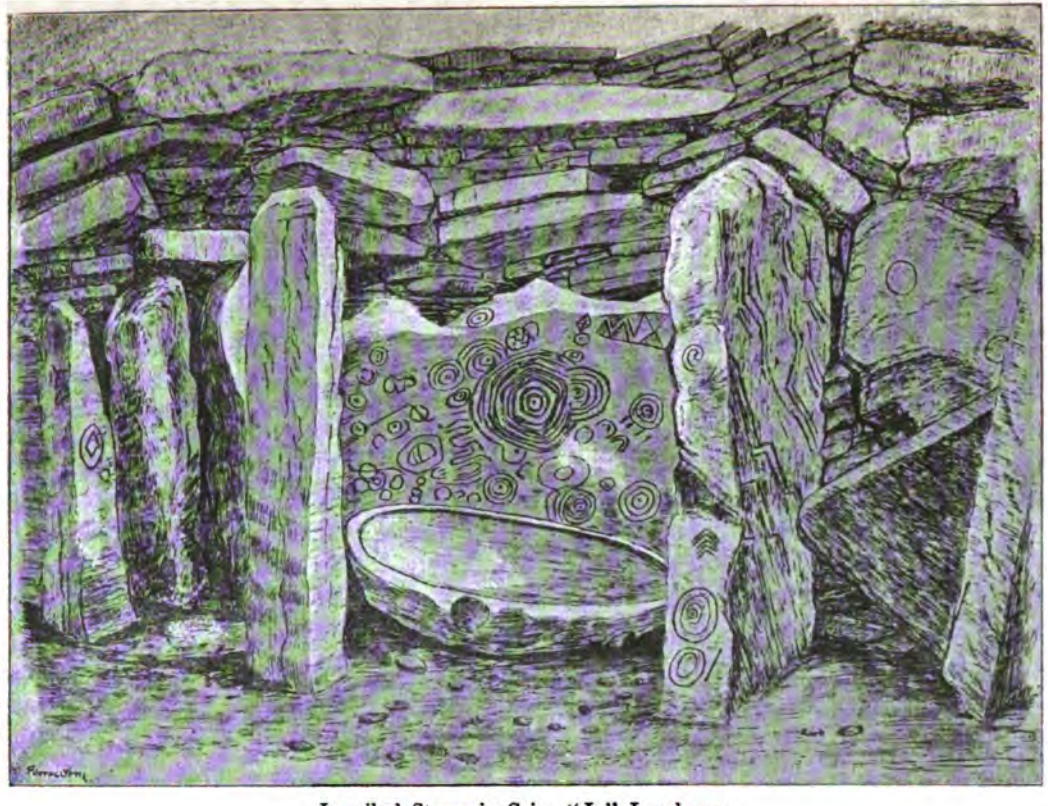
Magazine, 1816. Mr. John Bell mentions a very large cromlech on Killion Hill, near Dundalk, the interior of which shows sculpturings; also at Vicar's Cairn, about 3 miles from Armagh (which was enclosed in a circle that consisted of 55 unhewn flat-stones fixed in the earth, and measured 380 feet in circumference), he found on the edge of one of the stones seven concentric circles carved in regular grooves. These, with some scribed stones at Clover Hill, Co. Sligo, that do not appear to be of the same age or character, are, I think, the entire number yet noticed in Ireland. It is unfortunate that no drawings or description is preserved of Mr. Bell's observations, which appear to have escaped the notice they deserve.

At Slieve-na-Caillighe, in addition to seventeen cairns, in which sculptured stones have not been noticed, there are eleven cairns with sculpturings. The cairns have been designated by letters in the Papers published by Mr. Conwell, and that by Dr. Frazer, in the *Transactions* of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries :—

Cairn F has 7 stones with scribings.
,, H ,, 5 ,, ,,
,, I ,, 9 ,, ,,
,, J ,, 3 ,, ,,
,, K ,, 2 ,, ,,
,, L ,, 18 ,, ,,

This (cairn L) is one of the most important of the series; it is 45 yards across, surrounded by forty-two large stones laid on edge, varying from 6 to 12 feet in length, and from 3 to 4 feet high. Its aperture was shown by the curving inwards of its circumference for 10 yards in length, bearing E. 20° S. Its roof had been formed of large overlapping stones, similar to the domed arrangement of the great chamber at New Grange, the roofing rising to about 12 feet above the level of the chamber. The entrance passage was 1 foot 10 inches wide at its commencement, increasing to upwards of 3 feet in its middle part, and again contracting when it terminated in a chamber. It was 12 feet long, and the entire measurement to the extremity of the western chamber was 29 feet. This chamber contained seven separate cists, each nearly square. On the floor of the passage, extending into the central chamber, was a large flagstone, 8 feet 9 inches long, 3 feet 6 inches broad, and 6 inches thick, which is supposed to have been used for cremation; and on the floor of the second chamber on the north side of the cairn was a stone slab, hollowed into a basin to a depth of 3¼ inches. This slab measured 2 feet 11 inches by 2 feet broad; underneath it lay fragments of burned bones, and of human teeth.

Opposite this, in chamber 5, was another stone basin of oval form, and of very large size, being 5 feet 9 inches long ; underneath this also were numerous fragments of charred bone, and many teeth.



Inscribed Stones in Cairn "L," Loughcrew.

Cairn s had 6 scribed stones.

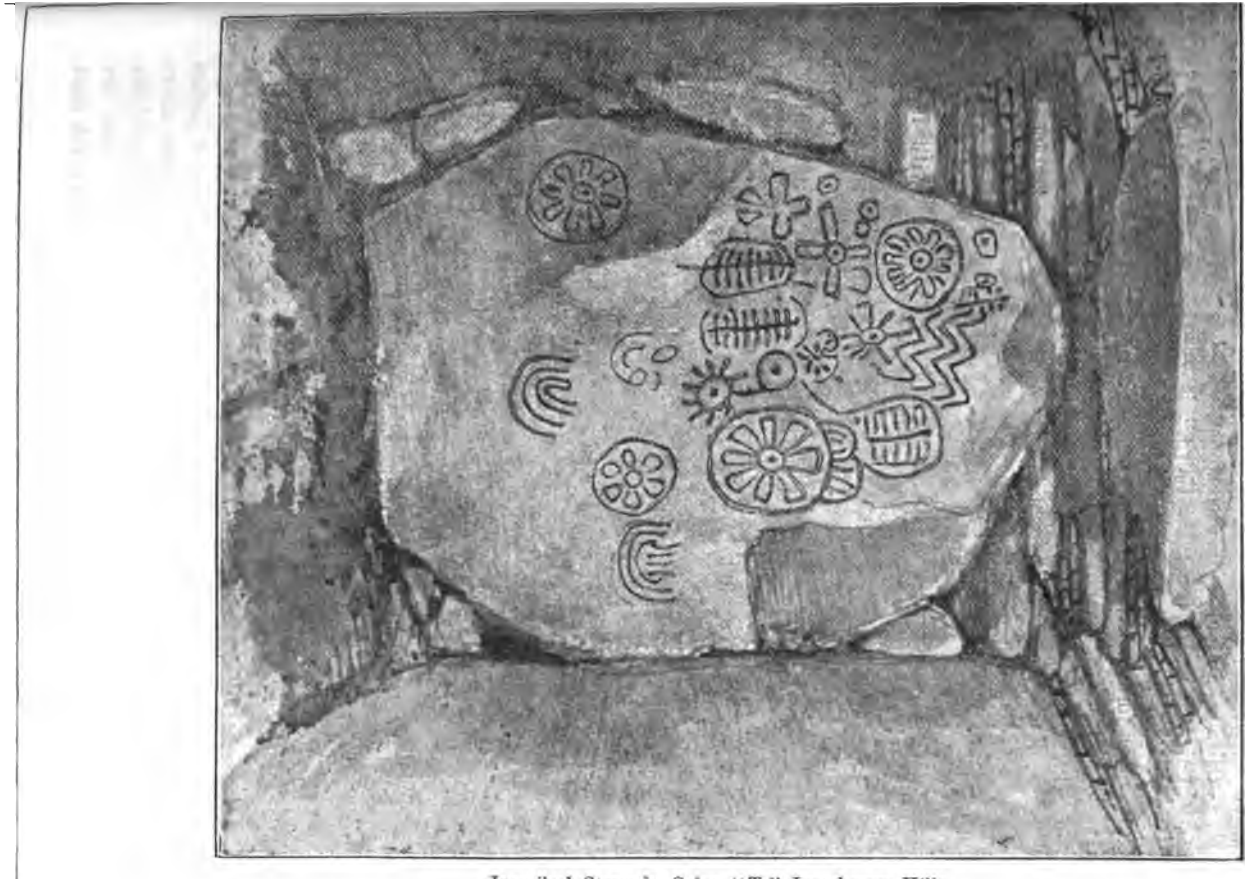
Cairn t at least 28.

This cairn is situated on the highest peak of the range specially named "Sliabh-na-Caillighe." Its remains rise 21 feet in elevation; it extends 38½ yards in diameter, and is inclosed in a circle of 37 stones, laid on edge, varying in length from 6 to 12 feet. The mound is constructed of loose stones, of Lower Silurian grit, the rock of the locality. Inside the retaining wall, going round the entire base of this cairn, is a piled-up layer, rising from 3 to 4 feet in height, and about 2 feet in thickness, of sparkling quartz, a rock which, unless obtained from glacial boulders by the builders of the cairn, must have been brought from some locality upwards of 50 miles distant.

On its eastern side the circle of large stones curves inwards for a distance of 8 or 9 yards to the commencement of the passage leading to the inner chambers; it bears E. 10° S. The entrance to the passage was closed by two irregular blocks of stone when first explored in 1865, inside of which were dropped three other large blocks of stone, filling up 5 or 6 feet of the passage. On the outside of the entrance was placed a loose layer of lumps of quartz. All the roofing-flags covering the passage, and more than two-thirds of what originally covered in the central octagonal chamber, had disappeared, leaving the passage and central chambers filled up with stones. The imperfect portion of roof that remained, formed by about thirty large flags, overlapping each other, rises to 10 feet above the level of the floor. The floor of the central octagonal chamber was covered by two large and three smaller flags. On raising these, fragments of charred bone, small pieces of charcoal, and broken stones were found. The three cists or chambers are each about 4 feet square. The passage was 17 feet long, and averaged 3 feet broad. From the commencement of the passage to the further extremity of the opposite chamber, is 28 feet. The transverse measurement from N. to S. is 16 feet 4 inches; the central octagonal chamber being about 7 feet wide in every direction.

The cairn had been plundered long since. A bronze pin was found at the entrance of one of the chambers; and in another, a heap of charred bones, surrounded by a circle of earth, and covered with a slab, above which were alternate layers for about 2 feet of finely broken and coarse stones, amongst which were human teeth and pieces of bone.

This cairn contained 28 stones with incised sculpturings, most of which are figured. On the north of the cairn, about 4 feet inwards from its circumference, is the large stone called the "Hag's Chair." It measures 10 feet long, 6 feet high, and 2 feet 6 inches thick, weighing about ten tons. The ends are elevated 9 inches above the seat, and the back has fallen away from a natural fracture of the stone. The cross marked on this chair, and others placed upon the upright marginal stones in this cairn, and in cairn s, were cut most



Inscribed Stone in Cairn "T," Loughcrew Hills.

injudiciously by men engaged in the Irish Trigonometrical Survey. The chair also presents some of the incised markings of primitive workmanship similar to those found within the cairns.

Cairn U, situated 14 yards from cairn T, afforded thirteen stones with incised sculpturings.

Cairn V had four sculptured stones.

Cairn W, called the "Pit Cairn," is 7 yards in diameter, and its remains are now nearly level with the ground. It contained a single chamber formed of eight flagstones, placed on end; and, unlike all the other chambers explored, the surface of the earth appeared to have been removed, and the chambers formed some feet below its level. A layer of charred bones, 6 inches in thickness, covered the bottom of the chamber. When cleared out, a stone basin, 2½ feet square, and 9 inches thick, was found, hollowed out from the sides to the centre for a depth varying from 3 to 4 inches. When raised, splinters of bone were observed underneath it. This cairn afforded five stones with incised markings.

In addition to cairns distinguished by the presence of these archaic figures, the remains of at least seventeen other cairns were discovered in the Loughcrew group of prehistoric interments, forming altogether a collection of early remains unequalled in importance and extent in Western Europe.

Mr. Conwell's Paper, published in the year 1873, first directed attention to the importance of these structures. Fortunately the late Mr. G. V. Du Noyer, of the Geological Survey of Ireland, made accurate drawings of the inscribed stones shortly after their discovery, and these, with few exceptions, were preserved, and came into the possession of Dr. Frazer, of Dublin, some time since. They were communicated to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, who have published a detailed account of all the cairns, with illustrations of the inscribed stones taken from Mr. Du Noyer's artistic and faithful sketches.

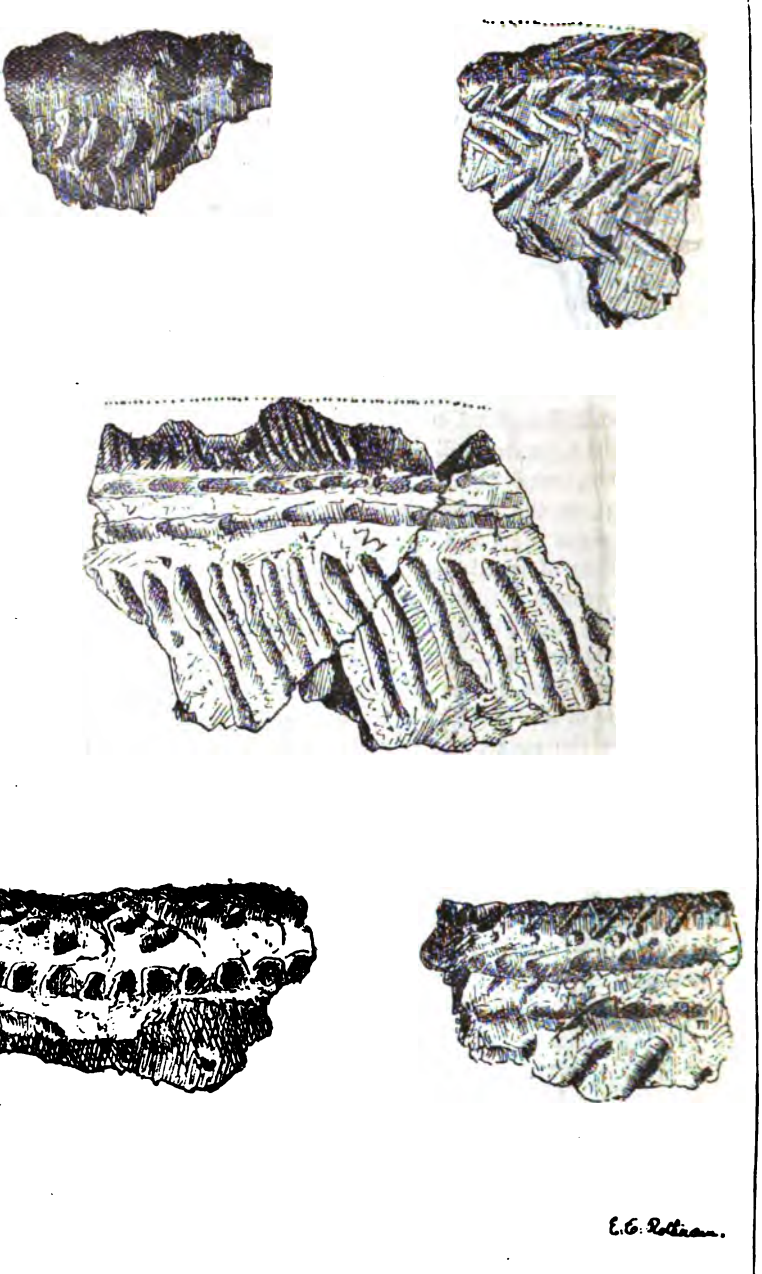
ON THE EXCAVATION OF A CAIRN ON SLIEVE-NA-CAILLIGHE.[1]

THROUGH the kindness of the proprietor, J. L. Naper, Esq., of Loughcrew, I was recently enabled to make some excavations among the sepulchral remains on the highest hill of the Slieve-na-Caillighe range, in county Meath. This hill is crowned by the great cairn which the late Mr. E. Conwell supposed to be the tomb of Ollamh Fodhla. It contains a passage and chambers, the plan of which is a very regular cross. The entrance faces the east, and in front of it, at a distance of a few yards, I noticed two small circles of earth touching each other, each about 5 yards in diameter. On the 7th of May I set two men to open them, expecting to find interments there. In this I was disappointed, as the underlying yellow clay was soon reached, and there were no signs of either cists or bones. The only thing noticeable was the quantity of small fragments of white quartz scattered through the soil everywhere within these circles.

Having meanwhile observed another similar circle of slightly larger dimensions, and lying to the south-west of the great cairn, I directed the men to dig in its centre, but found no remains there either, except a few fragments of the white quartz, which stone is a feature in almost all the cairns on the range. It is probable that these circles were connected with the funeral rites and ceremonies incident on interment in any of the cairns on this hill, and that the white quartz was used to show that the ground where it was placed was consecrated to the dead, or to the usages of the priesthood of whatever form of religion then prevailed in this country.

I next directed my attention to the remains of two small cairns a few yards apart to the south-west of the great cairn, and named by Mr. Conwell R 1 and R 2, respectively. Both had the appearance of having been opened before, and on digging down in the centre of the former, nothing was found except stones of various sizes, and one or two pieces of white quartz. Not finding that further investigation was likely to be productive of anything interesting, I set to work on Cairn R 2. The remains of this cairn had evidently been disturbed before, and the large flags of stone usually found forming the sides of the passages and chambers of cairns on Slieve-na-Caillighe, had been removed. The base of the mound was defined by a circle of stones, flattened for a few yards on its eastern side, while some more stones indicated by their position

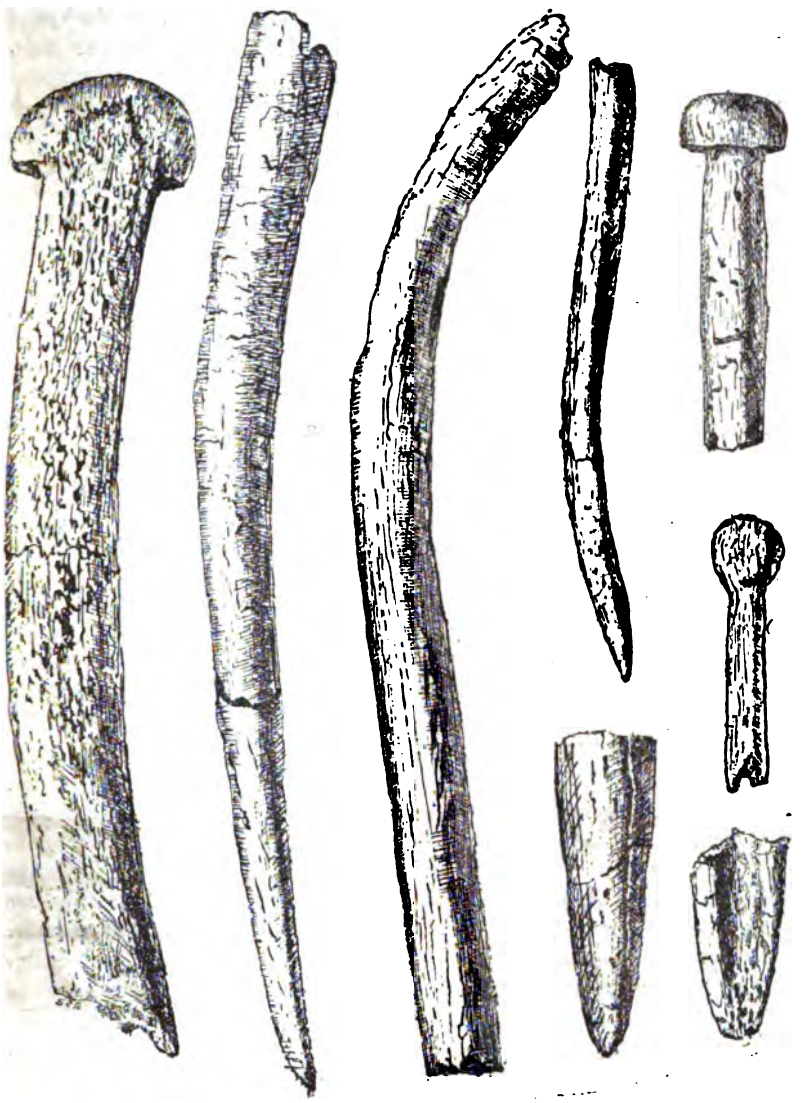
[1] By E. Crofton Rotherham.



E. C. Rollason.

Fragments of the Rims of Earthenware Urns from Cairn u_2, Full size.

the former existence of another circle, surrounding the whole, but most of its stones have disappeared. Upon removing the sod from the centre,



Fragments of Pegs made from Tines of Antlers, from Cairn B2. Full size.

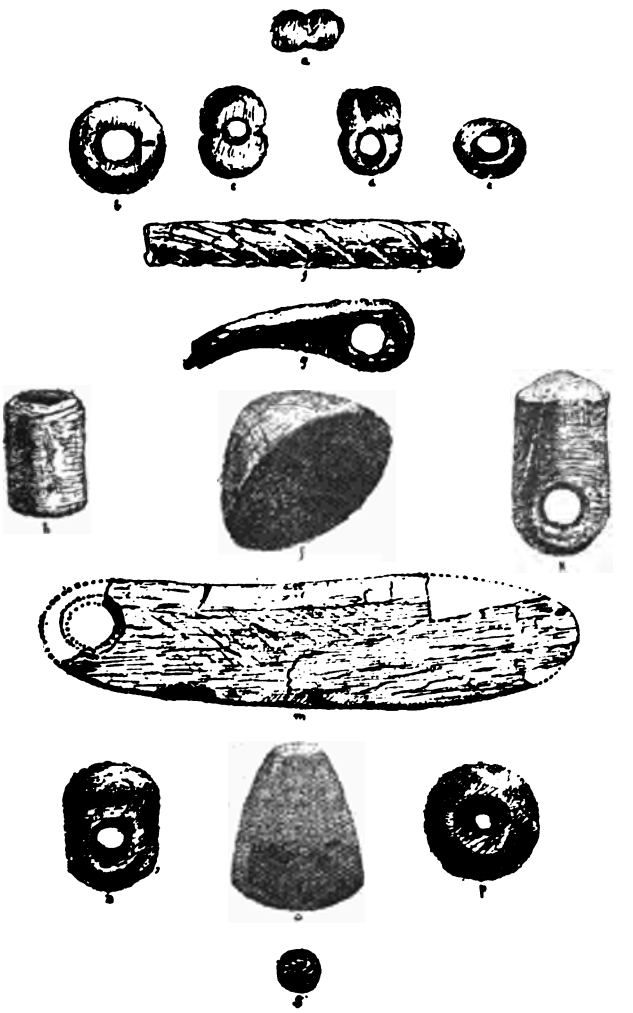
the men almost immediately came upon a great quantity of bones, most of them being burnt and broken into small fragments. In some parts of

the excavation which reached the yellow clay, the layer of bones was about 8 inches deep. Having carefully examined all the contents of this cairn, I found various objects of interest.

A number of fragments of urns, from ½ to 1 inch thick, are blackened by fire on the inside. Nearly all are ornamented with lines or dots, probably made with a piece of wood more or less pointed, and from these patterns I have been able to divide the fragments into five groups, each of which represents a different urn. One is ornamented with the herring-bone pattern, another with parallel lines, and the remaining three with rows of dots, variously applied. By far the greater part of each urn is missing, but I was fortunate in obtaining portions of the rims of five, of different designs, which leave no doubt as to there being at least that number of urns in the cairn.

That there were stone slabs in this cairn, with the style of ornamentation common on those in many cairns on the range, is, I think, made clear by the discovery of a small, rather poor specimen, measuring 2 feet 1 inch by 1 foot 5 inches, by 4½ inches, which was probably not thought worth taking away. On one side of it is a kind of chevron or zigzag design, badly executed, and on the other a very indefinite curved line or scroll, in some degree suggestive of an elongated spiral, containing a wavy line. Along one side of the thickness of this flag is a serpentine line, designed and cut with much greater precision than are the lines on either of the sides.

Among the objects found were the fragments of about a dozen pegs made from the tines of antlers. Not one was perfect, but their general appearance probably resembled that of large nails. The heads of some are nearly hemispherical in shape, and of others more the shape of a dish-cover. The largest specimen, which has been broken in half, and of which the pointed end is missing, is 5 inches long, and its head $\frac{8}{10}$ths of an inch in greatest diameter, that of the shank being $\frac{6}{10}$ths, where it joins the head. The diameter of the head of the smallest is half an inch. There are also a number of points of tines, which I suppose were broken off from the head above described. Besides these there are two or three gouge-shaped, pointed, bone objects, from 1 to 2 inches long, and from ½ to ¼ an inch wide. These are only the pointed ends, and have been broken off from what probably served as handles to them. Three stone pendants were found near each other in the western part of the excavation. The largest of them is $\frac{8}{10}$ths of an inch long, by $\frac{4}{10}$ths of an inch in diameter, the smallest ½ths of an inch by ½ths of an inch. The latter is worn rather flat, probably from friction against others during wear. A fourth was afterwards found in some of the *débris* that had been thrown out of the cairn. Thirteen beads were recovered. Of these, two are made of stone or composition, and are ornamental in shape; seven of the same material approach, more or less, nearly to a sphere, slightly flattened and drilled through its least diameter. Three



Objects found at Slieve-na-Caillighe. Full size.

REFERENCE.

a. Dumb-bell Bead of transparent greenish glass. (Cairn H.)
b, *c*, *d*. Stone Beads. (Cairn R$_2$.)
e. Bone Bead. ,,
f. Bone Object. ,,
g. Object of uncertain blackish material. (Cairn R$_2$.)
h. Bone Bead. (Cairn R$_2$.)
j. Object of uncertain material. (Cairn R$_2$.)
k. Reddish Stone Pendant. ,,
m. Flat Bone Object. ,,
n. Stone Pendant of grey colour. (Cairn K.)
o. Celt of Black Flinty Stone. (Cairn R$_2$.)
p. Stone Bead, dull red. ,,
s. Bead of dark-blue and white glass. (Cairn H.)

others, of bone, are more egg-shaped, their perforations being through the greatest thickness of material, and one, also of bone, is cylindrical, ⅓ths of an inch long, by ⅓ths of an inch in diameter. The largest of the spheroidal variety is ⅓ths of an inch in its greatest diameter, and ⅓ths of an inch in its least. The smallest is ⅓rd of an inch by $\frac{2}{10}$ths of an inch diameter. Half a rock crystal, which has been drilled, and used as a bead, was also found, as were the fragments of two bone beads.[1] A black flake of flinty stone suggests an arrow-head, but it is only worked a little on one side, and its curvature would seem to render it unsuitable for such a purpose. A flat, oval, bone object, which, if perfect, would be 1⅓ inches long, by $\frac{7}{10}$ths of an inch wide, has a hole bored through it near one end. It is similar to a number of bone flakes found in Cairn H, when it was opened in 1865. A piece of bone, formerly cylindrical, and about 1⅓ inches long, by ⅓th of an inch, is ornamented by well-cut spiral lines round it. A bone object, of uncertain use, is 1⅓ inches long, and has a knob, ⅓ths of an inch in diameter at one end. It has been broken off at its thinnest part, where a hole had been drilled through it. Part of some curved object, perforated at one end, is made of dark-grey material, the nature of which I am unable to determine. A rounded cone-shaped object, slightly concave underneath, might have been the end of the handle of some weapon or implement. Besides the above articles, I came upon a very small black celt, polished, but unfortunately chipped. This, I think, may have been a toy, as some of the bones in the cairn being those of a child, give a certain degree of probability to the idea. A few fragments of flint flakes, more or less injured by fire, and six white sea pebbles, complete the list of finds.

From some stones apparently *in situ*, I conclude that the floor of this cairn was paved, but there were no large flagstones, nor any sign of a stone basin. When the excavation was completed its shape seemed to be cruciform, the arms facing the cardinal points. It would appear that the cremation of the remains was not carried out in this cairn, the earth or clay in contact with the burnt bones showing no signs of fire. Although no traces of metal were found, it would, I think, be a mistake to conclude that metal was unknown in this country when the cairn was made, as metal objects (pins, rings, &c.) have been found in cairns on the Slieve-na-Caillighe range.

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[1] Since writing the above, I have found part of an arrow-head of white flint among the *débris*. If perfect it would be about ⅓ths of an inch long, by ⅓ths of an inch. It belongs to the stemmed variety, the barbs being shorter than the stem.

THE JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

OF IRELAND,

FOR THE YEAR 1895.

PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS—PART IV. FOURTH QUARTER, 1895.

Papers.

THE DE VERDONS OF LOUTH.

By the Rev. DENIS MURPHY, S.J., LL.D., M.R.I.A., Vice-President.

At a former meeting I brought before our Society the history of an ancient Anglo-Norman family which played an important part in the government of the country, some of whom, too, earned fame of no ordinary kind by their courage and ability in the career of arms in foreign lands. That sketch, I have some reason to believe, was of interest not only to some Members of our Society, but to others outside it. And now, following the same plan as then, I would give the early history of the de Verdons, "one of the most potent families that ever settled in Ireland, as illustrious and ancient a race of peers as flourished in England since the Norman Conquest." These are the words of Lynch, author of the "Feudal Dignities of Ireland."

Bertram de Verdon was settled by William the Conqueror in Leicestershire. He was succeeded by his son, Norman, who took to wife one of the family of Clinton, founder of Kenilworth Castle. Their son was Bertram, Sheriff of Warwick and Leicester, who resided at Alveton Castle, in Staffordshire.

The first mention of the name in Irish history, so far as I know, occurs in the Anglo-Norman poem, the author of which is said to be Maurice Regan, the "Latimer" or Secretary of Dermot Mac Morrough, of unblessed memory. I may remark that this poem has been published lately, edited with great care by Mr. Orpen, a Member of our Society.

Here is the passage which refers to de Verdon. It occurs at line 2610 :—

De uant la feste sein martyn	Before the feast of St. Martin
En yrlande vint li reis en fin.	The king at length came to Ireland,
Od le rei erent passez	With the king there crossed over
Vassals ben aparentes	Vassals of good kindred ;
Willame le fiz audeline	William, the son of Audeline,
Od lui vint a cel termine	Came with him on the occasion ;
Umfrei de boun altresi	Also Humphrey de Bohun,
Le barun huge de laci.	And the Baron Hugh de Lacy ;
Si vint od le cors le rei	With the king himself there came
Le fiz bernard, robert, co crei ;	The son of Bernard, Robert, I trow ;
Un barun iuint alose	*A renowned baron came,*
Bertram de uerdun iert clame	*Bertram de Verdon he was called,*
Cuntes, baruns de grant pris	Earls and barons of great worth
Asez uindrent od le henris.	Came in numbers with Henry.

The Bertram de Verdon mentioned in this poem, the grandson of Bertram who was companion in arms of William the Conqueror, received grants of land in Louth, namely, Clonmore and Dundalk, probably at the same time, and, no doubt, under the same conditions as Ulster was granted to John de Courcy, "if he could conquer it by force." Soon after Dundalk was walled in, to protect it from the incursions of the northern Irish, the Mac Mahons of Uriel, and the Magennises of Down. Here Bertram established a house for Trinitarians for the Redemption of Captives, commonly called Crutched Friars, or Crossbearers, because they wore on the breast of their habit a cross partly blue and partly red. But Lopez, the historian of the English, Scotch, and Irish Provinces of the Order, gives 1296 as the date of its foundation in his "Noticias Historicas," p. 33: Madrid, 1714. This priory was dedicated to St. Leonard ; later it became a hospital for the aged poor and infirm. Bertram was made Seneschal of Ireland, as we learn from the Charters in which Henry II. conferred the barony of Naas, and endowed the Abbey of Baltinglass ; and in a document by which John, Earl of Moreton, Henry's son, and successor of Richard I., gave a grant of lands to the Archbishop of Dublin, to support the See of Glendalough, in 1203.

In the "State Papers" we have an account rendered by Bertram of wheat, oats, and hogs, sent to the army of Ireland ; of money advanced to a master and three seamen ; and for the passage to Ireland of nine ships with the men of John, the King's son, and their harness ; and for a ship to carry his own supplies. He seems to have resided in, or rather near, the city of Dublin, as his house, called Bertram's Court, was outside the city wall, on the southern side of Rochel-street, between the New Gate and St. Nicholas' Gate. It was in existence up to a short time ago. The famous Giraldus Cambrensis was the guest of de Verdon here, as he tells us in his "Biography," cap. xiii., speaking in the third person of himself with his usual modesty : "Giraldus, while in the island during the summer and winter, and up to the following Easter,

dwelt with the Seneschal of Ireland, Bertram de Verdon, having been chosen as the companion of the Prince and witness of what was to be done, that he might indulge his tastes the more freely, not only in bringing facts together, but setting them forth in due order."

Bertram followed Richard Cœur-de-Lion to Palestine, and died at Jaffa in 1192. I may remark that there is a seal of Bertram de Verdon in vol. ii. of Dr. Gilbert's "Facsimiles of the National MSS. of Ireland," taken from an ancient document in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. It is too indistinct, however, to allow a copy to be made of it.

Clonmore Castle, Co. Louth.

Nicholas succeeded Bertram. In 1204 he obtained from King John license to enter into possession of his father's lands. He gave to St. Thomas' Abbey, Dublin, the tithes of two knights' fees within the precints of the first castle he should build in his lands in Louth. He took part with the barons in the dispute between them and the King, which ended in the wresting from him of Magna Charta; the result was that his lands were seized by the Crown. He took the King's side, however, in his dispute with Pope Innocent III., about the intruding of

de Gray, Bishop of Norwich, into the primatial See of Canterbury. We have a Declaration from William Marshal, Myler Fitz Henry, and Nicholas Verdon, that "they lately heard, with grief and astonishment, that the Pope proposed to absolve the subjects of the King from their fealty because the king resisted the injury done to him in the matter of the church of Canterbury"; and they profess themselves "ready to live or to die with the King, and to the last they will faithfully and inseparably adhere to him." As everyone knows, this dispute led to the interdict, which lasted for six years. This same de Gray was Viceroy of Ireland from 1210 to 1213. A sketch of his career in this country will be found in Rev. Dr. Stokes's "Ireland and the Anglo-Norman Church," page 242.

Roch Castle, Co. Louth.

In 1217 the King ordered his Justiciary to give Nicholas de Verdon seisin of half the cantred of De Ponte Ferrardi, retaining in the King's hands the vill itself of De Ponte; also to restore to him the castle of Dundalk, whereof he was disseised "because he went against the King in the war." In 1230 he had a grant of a fair at his manor of Dundalk, to last for eight days from the Vigil of St. Martin, *i.e.* from the 10th to the 17th of November; of a market at his manor of Clonmore; and of a new warren on his demesne lands of Ferrard, "where no one is to hunt the hare under a penalty of £10." He died in 1231, for in the beginning of the following year the King ordered seisin of his goods to be given to his executors.

Nicholas was succeeded by his daughter Rohesia, or Rose. Inheriting the vast estates of her father not only in Ireland, but in England, she had many a suitor, no doubt. Things were managed very

differently then from the way they are now. In 1225 the King addressed a special letter to Rohesia, recommending her to marry Theobald le Buteler, of the Ormond family. He had already asked her father to use his influence with his daughter for the same end. The marriage took place; but Rohesia proved a true champion of woman's rights, for she retained her maiden name, very probably, as a writer in "Notes and Queries" suggests, because she was so great an heiress, and gave it to her posterity, who were, in consequence, Verdons, not Butlers. Moreover,

Tower of Franciscan Convent, Dundalk.

she erected the castle known as Roch Castle, properly Rose's Castle, one of the strongest outposts of the borders of the Pale. It stands on a rock west of Dundalk. Wright describes it in his "Louthiana," published in 1758: "It stands very high, and commands a view of all the neighbouring country round it. The area within the rampart walls resembles the form of a triangle, or rather inclining to that of a semi-circle, following the irregular form of the hill, and taking all advantage of the rock it is placed upon. The great chord, which is the front or

longer side, is about 80 yards, the breadth about 40 yards. At the opposite corner to that of the main dwelling there was formerly a tower of defence, now quite demolished, and under it was a sallyport." It is to this castle allusion is made, no doubt, in the "Calendar of State Papers," under the date 1236: "Rohesia de Verdon, having fortified a castle in her own lands, against the Irish, which none of her predecessors was able to do, and having prepared to raise another castle near the sea, for the greater security of the King's land, the King commands his Justiciary to cause her to have the King's service of Meath and Uriel for forty days for this purpose." Whether she carried out her purpose of erecting the second castle, I do not know. The above extract puts an end to any doubt about the origin of the name Castle Roch. Rohesia died at the end of 1246, or in the beginning of 1247, for we find that a mandate was issued on the 22nd of February of the latter year, to John Fitz Geffrey, the Justiciary, to take into the King's hands all the lands and tenements belonging to Rohesia de Verdon. She was foundress of the Cistercian Abbey of Grace Dieu, in Leicestershire.

She left two sons, John, who succeeded to her estates, and Nicholas, who died without issue, and a daughter, who married John Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel. In 1247 John paid a fine of 1300 marks to the King to have seisin of the lands both in England and in Ireland, which had belonged to his mother, and an order was issued to the Justiciary to allow the same. In right of these possessions so derived, he and his male descendants had a writ of summons addressed to them as barons. He was the founder of the Franciscan Monastery of Dundalk (see p. 321), the tower of which alone survives.

It will be remembered that Hugh de Lacy had a grant of the principality of Meath and of the Constableship of Ireland. "Sir Hugh, after he had conquered that territory," says Baron Finglas, "gave much thereof to lords and gentlemen to houlde of him." He died in 1181, having been killed by O'Meyey at Durrow; "and it is written in the Chronicles," says the same writer: "Quod ibi cessavit conquestus." Hugh left two sons, Walter and Hugh. Walter was succeeded by his son Gilbert, who was father of Walter, Margaret, and Matilda, or Maud. Walter dying without issue, the lordship of Meath passed to his two sisters. Margaret, the eldest, married John de Verdon, who thereby obtained the moiety of Meath, and also the office of Constable of Ireland. Maud married Geoffrey de Genneville, brother of the famous Sire de Joinville, the companion of St. Louis, and obtained the lordship of Trim. De Verdon's moiety was not limited on the west by the boundaries of Westmeath; it included even a portion of Roscommon.

Besides the barony of Dundalk, which he inherited from his mother, and this moiety of Meath, he had ample possessions in other parts of the country, as the castles and manors of Croom, and Castle Robert, in

county Limerick, of which he would seem to have obtained a royal grant early in the reign of Edward I. In 1278, Alienor, the wife of John de Verdon, claimed a dower out of Grene, Adare, Alekath (Athlacca), and Gremoth, in Ireland. He is said to have endowed, perhaps it would be more correct to say to have added to the endowments of, the Trinitarian Priory of Adare, which had been founded, in 1230, by Thomas Fitz-Gerald, second son of the second Baron of Offaly. These lands he conveyed to Maurice Fitz Gerald, fifth Baron of Offaly, in frank marriage with Agnes de Valence, his wife, great-great-granddaughter of Dermot Mac Morrough. Adare and Croom remained in the possession of the Kildare family up to the year 1721, when Adare was sold to the ancestor of Lord Dunraven, and Croom to Croker of Ballinagard.

Their son was Theobald, who, from his ample possessions both in England and in Ireland, sat as Baron in the Parliaments of both countries. In the Parliament of 1275, with the Earls of Pembroke, Gloucester, and Norfolk, he granted the customs on merchandise to the Crown. He attended the Parliaments of 1290 and 1300, which sat at Westminster, and in the first Parliament held in Ireland, the eight barons who attended it were—Geoffrey de Genneville, John Fitz Thomas, Theobald Le Buteler, Theobald de Verdon, and Robert de Bermingham. The exact date of this Parliament is uncertain; it was held between 1289 and 1303. But he did not hold all his possessions in peace. A branch of the de Lacys, descended from Robert, to whom his cousin Hugh had given the lands of Rathwire, in Westmeath, namely, Walter and Hugh, saw with discontent the lordship of Meath, founded by their kinsman, through failure of heirs male come into the possession of de Verdon and others. They were encouraged and aided in their attempts to get hold of them by the Red Earl of Ulster, for, as the author of the "Annals of Clonmacnois" remarks, "there raigned more disscentions, strifes, warres, and debates, betweene the Englishmen themselves in the beginning of the Conquest of this kingdom, than between the Irishmen, as by perusing the warres between the Lasies of Meath, John Coursey, Earl of Ulster, William Marshall, and the English of Meath and Munster, Mac Gerald, the Burkes, Butlers, and Cogann, may appear." Again, in 1306, de Verdon was besieged in Athlone Castle by some of the Anglo-Irish. He died in 1308. Hanmer, in his "Chronicle," makes mention of Lord Richard Verdon and Lord John Verdon, who, with Walter de Burgo, Earl of Ulster, and many other Knights, were slain by the King of Connaught in 1271.

He was succeeded by his son Theobald, who, in 1310, had a livery of his father's estates, and received a royal mandate for an annuity which his ancestors had from the town of Drogheda, as also from the castle of Blacagh; and the Serjeantship of Meath was found, by Inquisition, to be held hereditarily under this Lord Theobald, and many other rights, which he inherited from de Lacy, were then recognised and

enforced. He married the daughter of Roger de Mortimer ten years before.

In 1311 our Annals make mention of "de Verdon's Game." It seems to have been a rising of Robert de Verdon and his followers against the King. His adherents were Walter de la Pulle, Roger de Clynton, John le Fleming, Simon Cookeley, Thomas and John le Blond, Symon Serle, Philip Chaumbre, John Peppard, John Fitzsimon Dillon, Adam Jordan. The Viceroy, John Wogan, led an army "to check their wickedness," but was utterly defeated, "miserabiliter conjectum," and Nicholas Avenel, Patrick Roche, and many others were slain. However, the insurgents submitted soon after, for many of them presented themselves at the King's prison in Dublin expecting pardon, which it would seem they obtained. But a fine of £50 was imposed on the county of Louth. This same Robert was killed five years after in an

Seal of Theobald de Verdon.

encounter between the burgesses of Dundalk, whose leader he was most probably, and the O'Hanlons, though two hundred of the Irish were slain in the fight. "Armiger bellicosus," a warlike knight, is the title given him in the document which contains an account of this rising. It will be found in the Appendix to the second volume of Dr. Gilbert's "Chartulary of St. Mary's Abbey."

In 1314, Theobald became Justiciary. He does not seem to have held that office for more than a few months. His seal, which I submit, is found in the first volume of "Vetusta Monumenta," published by the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1747; the drawing has been made by Mr. T. J. Westropp; the legend is: "Sigillum Theobaldi de Verdon, Constabularii Hiberniæ." As I have already pointed out, Bertram de Verdon was made Seneschal of Ireland by Henry II. His heirs seem to have dropped that title, and we find Theobald assuming that of Constable. The reason given by Lynch is that, when John de Verdon, Bertram's grand-

son, married De Lacy's eldest daughter, the title of Constable passed to him; and as it was a higher one than that of Seneschal, this was dropped, and the other used. In a document dated October 29th, 1310, written at his Castle of Alveton, appointing his brother Milo guardian of all his estates in Ireland, he styles himself, 'Thebaude de Verdon Conestable d'Irlande.' In 1315 he was summoned to the parliament held in the 9th of Edward II. as Lord of Heth in Oxfordshire. We find him also styled Lord of Brenny, *i.e.* Breffny, or O'Reilly's country, the present county Cavan. He died in 1317 leaving four daughters co-heiresses by his two wives, Maud, daughter of Lord Mortimer, and Elizabeth, daughter of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, and of Joanna, daughter of King Edward I., viz. Joan, who married Lord Furnival, ancestor of the Earls of Shrewsbury; Elizabeth, Baron Burgersh; Margery, William le Blunt, and in second marriage Cruise of Rathmore; Isabel, William de Ferrers, and his estates were divided between them. "Sir Theobald," says Baron Finglas, "had no heirs but daughters, which were married in England, to the Lord Furnival and others, who dwelled still in England, and tooke suche profits as they could get for a while, and sent some small defence for their lands in Ireland; so as within a few years after, all their portions were lost except certain mannors wythin the English Pale, whyche Thomas, Baron of Slane, and Sir Robert Hollywood, Sir John Cruise, and Sir John Bedlowe purchased in King Richard the Second's time. And this hath been the decaie of half of Meyth, which did not obey the King's laws this hundred years and more."

There is in the "State Papers" (1515-1575), a petition of Richard Plunket of Rathmore, claiming the O'Reilly's country, as "being descended from Margery, whose daughter and heiress married Sir Thomas Plunket, knight, from whom the petitioner descended." It is worthy of remark that the title of Seneschal was revived in 1444 in favour of John Talbot when he was created Earl of Shrewsbury, as his wife was descended from Lord Furnival who had in marriage the eldest daughter of Theobald de Verdon, and his descendant Lord Furnival, who died in 1446, left a daughter and heiress Maud Neville, who married Lord Talbot, and in this way he became possessed of his wife's portion of Theobald de Verdon's estate in Meath, as also of Alveston, now Alton Towers. Sir Henry Piers says in his "Chorographical Description of Westmeath," that the memory of Theobald de Verdon was preserved in the neighbourhood of Loughsendy even in his time (1682), in the name of the district Maghera Tibbot, *i. e.* Theobald's Plain.

Theobald had a brother named Milo, or Miles. He had in marriage the daughter of Richard de Exeter. It would seem that in the battle of Faughart in which Edward Bruce was slain, he was one of the chief leaders on the side of the English, "one of the divers captains of worthie fame," as Holinshed styles them. This is the brief account given of the battle in the Red Book of the Exchequer: "On the sabbath day, October 14th, 1318, all the Scots between Dundalk and Faughart were defeated,

and Edward le Bruys, John de Soules, and very many other chiefs of Scotland were slain by John de Bermingham, Milo de Verdon, and Hugh de Stapleton, the chief leaders of the people of Uriel and Meath, and thus by the hands of the people and the right hand of God, the people of God were saved from the slavery intended for them." Friar Clynn of Kilkenny puts it more briefly: "On the feast of St. Callixtus Pope, Edward de Brus was slain at Dundalk by John de Bremingham and Milo de Verdon."

In 1318 there was a dispute between the friars of the Grey Friary of Trim and the Dominicans of Mullingar respecting the burial of Rosine de Verdon. Wadding says the controversy was referred by the Pope to the Prior of Tristernagh, the Archdeacon, and the Chanter of Meath. How it ended history saith not.

In 1320 Nicholas succeeded to the honours and possessions of his brother Theobald, and in right thereof sat in the parliament held in Dublin in 1324. Grace's "Annals" say "the Lord Nicholas Verdon was buried in Drogheda on Palm Sunday, 1347, with great pomp and solemnity, many chiefs being present." To trace this portion of the family further would be a very difficult, perhaps an impossible, task. Like many more of the Anglo-Norman families, it fell from its high estate, in consequence, no doubt, of the wars and subsequent confiscations of which this country was so long the theatre. In 1624 died Christopher, seised in fee by a long line of ancestral succession of the manor of Clonmore and other estates, leaving three sons, the eldest of whom, John, his heir, was then twenty-two years of age. This John was attainted in 1642. His descendant, John, was attainted in 1691. A namesake of his, recommended to the Holy See by James II., was Bishop of Ferns from 1709 to 1728.

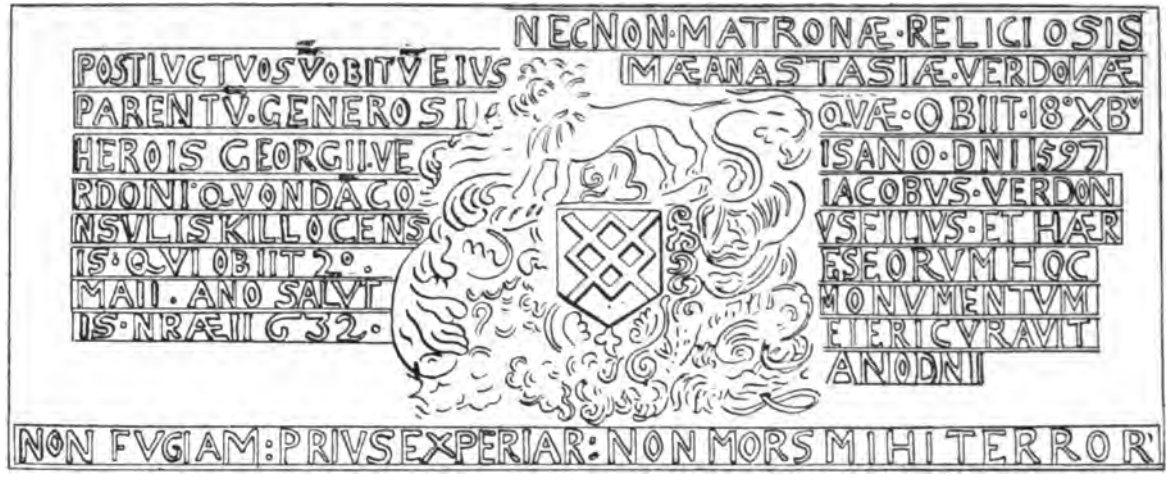
A branch of the Verdon family established itself in Limerick. In 1553, William Verdon was Mayor of the city. I have already pointed out how, so early as the time of Edward I. John de Verdon, had a grant of the neighbouring manor of Adare. In the Parliament of 1585 we find John Verdon one of the two members returned for the borough of Kilmallock. In 1579 he was Sovereign of the town. In 1584 he was one of the Grand Jury "that sat in Cork to decide as to the gentlemen and freeholders as well in action of rebellion with James Fitzmaurice, as with the late Earl of Desmond."

Close to the door of the church there is a fine monument, erected to the memory of a member of this family, bearing the following inscription; the contracted words of the original are given here in full:—

"Post luctuosum obitum ejus parentum generosi herois Georgii Verdoni quondam consulis Killocensis qui obiit 2° Maii anno Salutis nostræ 1632°, necnon matronæ religiosissimæ Anastasiæ Verdonæ quæ obiit 18° Decembris anno Domini 1597, Jacobus Verdonus filius et hæres eorum hoc monumentum fieri curavit anno Domini

"Non fugiam: prius experiar: non mors mihi terror."

The date of erection is not given.



Tombstone of George Verdon at Kilmallock Church.

Christopher and Henry Verdon were "of the nobility, citizens, and burgesses of the counties, cities, and ancient boroughs of Ireland," who, in 1613, deputed Lords Gormanstown and Dunboyne, and several others, to repair to England to present to James I. a petition for the relief of their grievances and wrongs. The signatories for Louth were Christopher Verdon and Theobald Gernon; for Kilmallock, Henry Verdon and Patrick Kerny.

In the Commonwealth "Council Books," we find the following entry under the date December, 9th 1653:—

"James Verdon of Killmallock hath upon the 19th day of December, 1653," delivered a declaration containing his name and those of such as remove with him, "viz. the said James aged seventy yeares, gray haire, Christopher Verdon, aged twenty-eight yeares, flaxen haire, middle stature, Catherine Verdon his wife adged twenty yeares, flaxen haire, Thomas Verdon, adged fiftie yeares, red haire, middle stature, his wife Margaret Verdon aged fiftie yeares black haire, Eleanor Verdon aged eighteen yeares, browne haire, with four children, his substance three cowes, eight hogges and garrans, eight and half an acre of corne." Whether the family was transplanted, and if so, whether they remained where they were set down in Connaught, or were allowed to return to their homes after the Restoration we know not. No one of the name is to be found now in Kilmallock or its neighbourhood. John Verdon asked to be exempted from transplanting because he was blind, but he was not dispensed. Henry Verdon, of Ballanialloem, in the barony of Small County, county Limerick, and Eleanor, his wife, were transplanted, but he seems to have been restored, for I find in the list of securities given in accordance with the Act of 2 Anne, Chap. VIII., "for registering the Popish Clergy," Henry Verdon, of Ballynemawle, probably the son of the former, set down as security for the parish priest of Nohaval, Tracton Abbey, and Mitchelstown, in county Cork.

Hardiman, in his "History of Galway," says the name of Verdon is found among the families who, if not previously to the invasion of Henry II., at least sometime after it, were principally occupied in the fishings of the lake and bay, and in making short voyages along the coast. Several of these were afterwards known as "the tribes," and are found there still. Others do not seem to have settled there permanently; among the latter must be reckoned the de Verdons.

The senior co-heir to the barony of Verdon is Lord Mowbray, Segrave, and Stourton, who descends from Joan, eldest daughter and co-heir of Theobald, Baron de Verdon, through the families of Furnival, Neville, Talbot, Howard, and Stourton.

ARDFERT FRIARY AND THE FITZMAURICES, LORDS OF KERRY.

By MISS HICKSON, Hon. Local Secretary for Kerry.

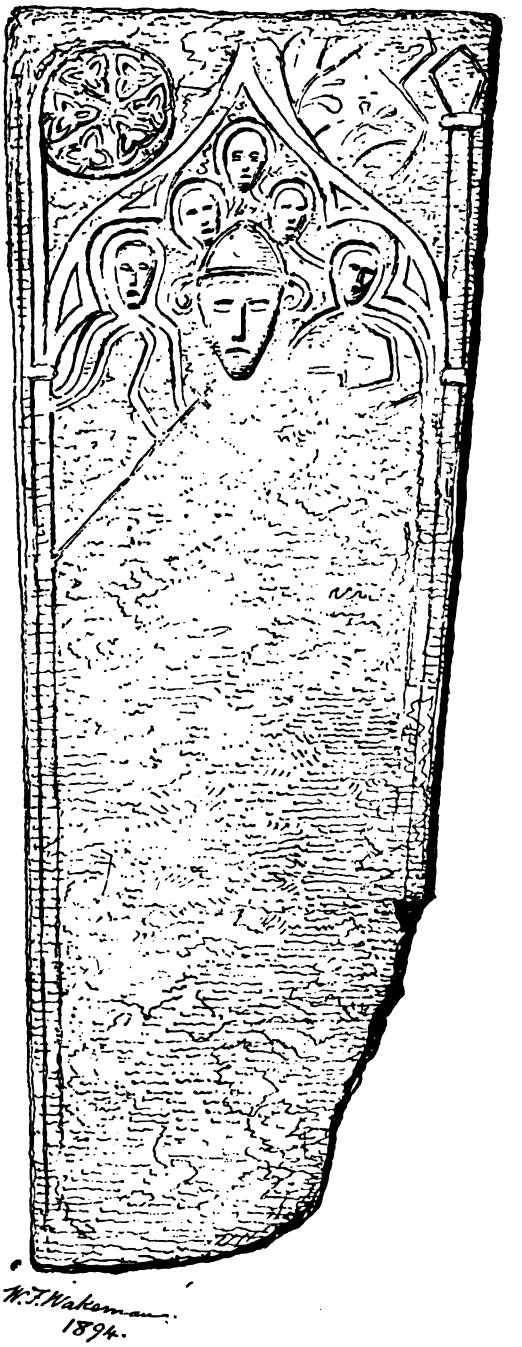
(*Continued from page* 40.)

We nowadays in Kerry talk and write of Ardfert Abbey, but in truth the Franciscan house there was not an abbey nor a priory, nor were its heads abbots or priors. The highest official in the Franciscan communities, according to the rule of St. Francis himself, was to be called simply the Minister, *i.e.*, he was not to be ministered unto but to minister to the needs of his brethren and the poor. In the same spirit "sweet Saint Francis of Assisi," as Lord Tennyson truly calls him, never allowed himself to be called anything but "Brother Francis," one of a band of Christian men whom he desired should be called *Fratres Minores*, *i.e.* the lesser brethren. They had, under his original rule, no lands, house property or churches; but lived in small wooden or clay huts built by themselves, in lanes amongst the very poorest people, serving and helping them in their needs and in sickness, with money begged from the rich; and worshipping in the parish churches. When the first nine of those brethren came to England, in 1224, only one of the nine was a priest. I may here mention, that Sir Samuel Ferguson considered that the letter A, with an abbreviation over it, in his reading of the inscription given at p. 36 of *Journal* for March, 1895, stood for "Sacerdos" and showed that the Frater Minor who made the work was a priest as well as a friar (Latin, *frater*, French, *frère*, English, *brother*). In about a dozen years after its formation the Franciscan Order had so increased that St. Francis had to appoint Ministers for its communities in Spain, Germany, and France, and soon after his death, friaries and friary churches arose all over Europe and in these islands. Still the heads of these communities were not called Abbots or Priors but Ministers. Thus on the 11th February, 1254, Royal Letters concerning the See of Meath were addressed to the "Bishop of Killaloe, the Archdeacon of Waterford, and the Minister of the Franciscans in Ireland" (see Sweetman's *Calendar of the Irish State Papers*, vol. ii., p. 47), and four years previously the king writes to the "Prior of the Dominicans" and the "Minister of the Franciscans" in Ireland to preach in support of the Crusades. (*Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 457.) On September 17th, 1291, Edward the First in a royal letter commands the Justiciary William de Vesey, and all his officials in Ireland to assist "Brother Reymund, general minister of the Franciscans and other brothers of that Order, commissioned in his place to correct breaches of discipline and concord amongst the brothers." (*Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 423.) This was Reymund Gaufredi, Minister General of the Franciscans, who is said to have

ed Brother Roger Bacon from prison on the death of Pope Nicholas ..., who had been the Minister General of the Order before he ascended the Papal throne and was known as Brother Jerome of Ascoli. The heads of the Franciscan friaries in the accounts of the dissolution in 1530–40, are often called priors, but in earlier times the rules laid down by St. Francis were strictly observed, and the heads of individual houses were called *custodes* or guardians, while the head of the Order in the country was Minister Provincial, and the chief of the whole Order Minister General. "Ardfert Abbey" is therefore certainly a misnomer, and it is likely to be still used, though neither an abbey nor an abbot ever existed there. It is curious that the ruins of the real abbey of Kyrie Eleison at a little distance from Ardfert, a Cistercian house which had a mitred abbot, who sat in parliament (he was sometimes a Fitz Maurice), are generally spoken of as Odorney only, a name which is a corruption of the Irish *Ui Thorna*, a sept that owned the district thereabouts before 1174. The native Irish seem to have had a special attachment to the Franciscan and Dominican Orders, more particularly to the former.

The slab numbered 3, in the ground-plan of Ardfert Friary, has been a puzzle to many and to none (as it now is) more than to myself. I will first give Mr. Wakeman's and our President's notes on it, before venturing to give my own, which indeed I should not give at all, but that they describe this slab as I saw it in 1879–80, before the sculptured figure on it had been nearly effaced, not so much by the action of the weather, to which it was fully exposed, as by the sliding with skates on it, of mischievous children and boys. When I saw it first, it had only just been brought to the surface of the ground, and cleared from the earth and grass, which, while concealing its beauties, had preserved them from desecration. I only wish it had remained safely hidden away in the earth a few years longer, but even at the eleventh hour I am thankful Mr. Wakeman's skilful pencil has been able to save a portion of it from oblivion. His notes of last year when he first saw it, are as follows :—

> "The other fairly preserved monumental stone evidently covered the grave of a churchman, either a bishop, or mitred abbot, as indicated by the pastoral staff carved on the right-hand side. In the centre of the upper portion of the slab which is coffin-shaped, is a human head, bearing a pointed covering, which but for the presence of the staff, sometimes styled a crosier, might be taken for a helmet such as was worn during the Middle Ages. It is probably, if not certainly, a mitre. Surmounting this face, and on either side of it, are a number of smaller heads, each having a nimbus. On the right-hand side, below one of those small heads, extends a carving, probably intended to represent an arm, the hand holding an



Tombstone in Ardfert Priory Church.

object somewhat like a processional cross. The whole sculpture is surmounted by an Ogee Canopy, on the left side of which is clearly defined a pinnacle, which might be mistaken for the shaft and head of a spear. This monument probably dates from the fifteenth century. It is unlettered."—W. WAKEMAN.

Mr. Drew, who kindly examined Mr. Wakeman's beautiful sketches closely, and considered them as "fine and illustrative as anything that had ever come from his hand," is also of opinion, that this sculpture represents a bishop, or prior wearing the mitre and having a "crosier" beside him, and he thinks it may date from the latter half of the fourteenth century, a century earlier than the date assigned by Mr. Wakeman. With the opinions of two such high authorities before me, I may well feel it presumptuous for me to offer one at all, much more one which differs from theirs. But I can only plead as I have said in excuse for this apparent presumption on my part, the fact that when I saw this slab in 1879–80, it was nearly as perfect, and most of the sculpturing as clear and distinct as when it was first executed, while when Mr. Wakeman saw it last year, nearly all save the heads, the ogee, and the pastoral staff had been effaced by ill usage. I cannot express my feelings of absolute dismay, when on revisiting the friary ruins with him and Miss Rowan last year, I saw the havoc that had been wrought on this interesting slab in the course of fourteen or fifteen years. In 1870–6, when I was at the ruins those two incised slabs were invisible, buried beneath grass and earth, as I suspect similar slabs still are, in the chancel and transept. But when I visited the place again in 1879–80, with a friend, she and I were greatly struck by the appearance of those slabs. Mr. Talbot Crosbie and his family were then away from home, but the labourers were preparing the grounds for their expected return in a few days, sweeping away dead leaves, mowing the grass and putting everything in good order. The slabs had evidently been just brought fully to the surface of the ground, cleaned and rubbed with bunches of damp grass (excellent polishing materials for such objects), and the bright August sunlight brought out all their beauties. We examined them closely for some time. The head of the figure on this No. 3 slab, as we then saw it, was covered by the rather low conical basnet (my friend called it a skull-cap) such as was worn by knights in England, between 1280 and 1460, and probably much later in Ireland. Stothard's "Monumental Effigies," Boutell's "Brasses," and Hewitt's "Ancient Armour," contain engravings of figures wearing it, as well as of the higher conical basnet also worn in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which has certainly a resemblance to the modern mitre, and even to some rudely sculptured mitres on ancient monuments. But on a close examination of the basnets and mitres of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries in the illustrated works above mentioned, this resemblance disappears and the differences become quite marked.

Compare, for instance, Boutell's fine engraving of the brass of Thomas Cranley, Archbishop of Dublin, in 1417, and of a mitred abbot in 1375, and Stothard's engraving of a bishop with mitre and pastoral staff on a tomb in the Temple Church, London, of William, mitred abbot of Westminister, *ob.* 1420, of Hugh, Bishop of Ely, 1230–54, of John Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1333, with the basnets worn by Sir Humphrey Littlebury (Holbeach Church, Lincolnshire), Sir Robert de Bois, A.D., 1311 (Fersfield Church, Norfolk), and Sir Roger de Kerdeston, all in the same volume, and the difference in the two head-gears is at once apparent. The mitres, seen from the front, have two short straight lines at the sides, from which spring, at obtuse angles, lines meeting in a point at the summit over the brow, while the sides of the basnet slope gradually from the base at each temple in sugar-loaf fashion to the summit. Now, as I saw this Ardfert slab in 1879–80, the head gear was unmistakably the basnet, and even in Mr. Wakeman's sketch of the miserably defaced slab made last year, and in the rubbings he sent me of the same, I can find no trace of the straight, short, side lines, characteristic of the mitre between 1288 and 1450. Two-thirds of the figure wearing, as we believed, a basnet were, in 1880, still quite distinct. Round the neck was either a camail, or else the high collar of a mantle or surcoat, which covered the shoulders and breast, but was open near the waist, showing armour beneath it. On the right breast towards the waist, we observed what I at first thought was a cross, sewn or embroidered on the mantle or surcoat. But closer observation assured me that this supposed cross was too long in the shaft, and too short in the transverse portions, to be any such object. The same objection applied, though in perhaps a less degree, to its being a cross of absolution, that is a sculptured representation of a small cross of wood or stone, known by that name, which in old times, was sometimes placed in the coffin, on the breast of a deceased person (see La Croix, *Military and Religious Life in the Middle Ages*). On the whole, I am disposed to believe this object is not a cross at all, but the dagger known as a badelaire or baselard, which was worn in the Middle Ages by knights and civilians, and by priests, and Templars and Hospitallers. Froissart calls it a badelaire, and Hewitt gives an engraving of it. The small heads under the ogee arch surrounding the head of the central figure are, I believe, those of mourning relatives or friends, such as we find represented in a similar position on many mediæval monuments. Small, full length figures of mourners generally appear on the lower part of altar or other high tombs of that time, but sometimes also at the head of the effigy of the deceased. Angels' figures also appear in the latter position, but they are easily distinguished by the wings rising in the background, and the pose and the drapery over the limbs, as well as by the absence of head coverings and neck coverings, always worn by human mourners in such sculptures. Stothard's great work gives fine engravings of the angelic and the mourning human figures on mediæval monuments. In

his engraving of the tomb of Sir Roger de Kerdeston in Reepham Church, Norfolk, who died in 1337, there are eight small figures of mourners, which the artist observes are "most interesting specimens of the costumes worn in the fourteenth century." One of the female figures has a head covering and pendent lappets from the sleeves, very like those on the Ardfert slab. However, in 1880, I thought the smaller heads were those of monks, or else members of the sisterhoods of the Hospitaller Order. The engraving in La Croix's *Military and Religious Life in the Middle Ages* of a sister of that Order, wearing on the head a flowing drapery, descending below the shoulders, where it bears an embroidered cross, is very like the small head on the right side of the Ardfert slab. But it must be remembered that the couvrechef or kerchief[1] worn on the head by women in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, sometimes with a wimple over the throat, was almost the same as the head gear of the sisters in religious communities, so that in fact those small heads on the Ardfert slab may represent the mother and sisters or other relatives of the deceased. The object on the left side of the slab, as I saw it in 1880, seemed to me to be a lance with a pennon or small banner attached to it, on which some design, heraldic or otherwise, was sculptured. Traces of this design are perceptible on the defaced slab, and may be seen in Mr. Wakeman's sketch just over the left line of the ogee curve. The object on the right side of the slab is, as Mr. Wakeman's sketch fully shows, a pastoral staff, like that in Stothard's engraving of the bishop in the Temple Church. I was much puzzled in 1880, to reconcile the presence of this ecclesiastical appendage, with the military basnet and the lance and pennon or banner. But when I returned from the friary, and investigated more closely the genealogical and historical records of the Fitz Maurice family, the solution seemed clear. I have little or no doubt that this slab marked the grave of Sir Gerald Fitz Maurice, fourth son, according to Lodge and Archdall, of Maurice, second Lord of Kerry (by Mary, daughter of Sir John Mac Leod or Mac Eligot), and Grand Prior of the Knights Templars in Ireland, at the abolition of their Order in 1307–12. As is well-known, some of the Templars were permitted to enter the Order of the Knights Hospitallers, who obtained great part of the lands and wealth of the abolished Order in Ireland. La Croix says:—

> "La plupart des Templiers furent mis en liberté, beaucoup en profitèrent pour entrer dans l'Ordre de Saint Jean en conservant leurs dignités, c'est ainsi . . . qu'Albert de Blacas prieur d'Aix obtint la commanderie de Saint Maurice comme prieur des Hospitaliers et que Frederic Grand Prieur de la basse Allemagne garda le même titre dans l'Ordre de St. Jean de Jérusalem."—*Vie Militaire et Religieuse au Moyen Age*, p. 203.

[1] The head-dress of Beatrice de Heylesden (A.D. 1375) in a Norfolk church, given in Boutell's "Brasses," and that of Lady Grene (A.D. 1472), in same work, are remarkably like those on the heads on this Ardfert slab.

Now "from time immemorial," as a State Paper in the Dublin Public Record Office, a copy of which I sent to this *Journal* several years ago, informs us, the Knights Hospitallers owned half of Ardfert town, the other half being owned by the bishops of the See, and the same record shows, that this divided ownership and jurisdiction gave rise to very serious quarrels between the bishop and the cathedral dignitaries and the knights. Other ancient records published by Archdall in his Monasticon, and in Mr. Sweetman's Calendar, show that the bishops of Ardfert and their cathedral dignitaries had serious disputes with the Franciscan friars on temporal matters, and we may reasonably suppose the friars and the Hospitallers were more united, as being members of religious Orders, not secular clergy. It is very certain, that Sir Gerald Fitz Maurice, Grand Prior of the Templar Order, at its suppression in Ireland, like Frederick the Grand Prior in Germany, and Albert Grand Prior of Aix, was allowed to obtain a high post in the house of the Hospitallers at Ardfert, and that when he died there, the friars gave him honourable burial with his forefathers in the friary. High authorities on the subject tell us, that the sculptured crosier or pastoral staff in the hands of prior's or abbot's effigies, on ancient tombs generally, has the crook turned inward towards the effigy, while in the case of a bishop or archbishop the crosier is turned outward.[1] It will be observed, that in Mr. Wakeman's fine sketch of this much dilapidated No. 3 slab, at Ardfert, the crook is turned inward towards the effigy, denoting according to the authorities, that the effigy represents not a bishop, but an abbot or prior. A Franciscan minister of the thirteenth or fourteenth century would, however, certainly not have such a stately monumental slab over his resting-place, but a Grand Prior or Prior of the Hospitallers would naturally have such a one in Ardfert Friary, especially if he were the grandson (as the Grand Prior of 1307, Sir Gerald, was) of its founder. I believe that, at all events, until modern times, all members of the Franciscan Order, in most countries, were buried in their robes and girdles of rope, either in one common vault, such as that reported to have been discovered in the transept of Ardfert friary church in the last century, or else in simple graves in their churchyard, without tombstones, or when tombstones were placed over their

[1] "In sculpture and painting it has been ruled that the convoluted head of the crozier should be turned outward when borne by a bishop, in token of his jurisdiction extending throughout his See, and inward by an abbot (or prior), whose power is limited to his own house" (Planché's *Cyclopædia of Costume*, vol. i., p. 154). But this rule was often not observed. Owing to the disputes about the jurisdiction of the Hospitallers and the Bishops at Ardfert, it would most likely have been carried out on an Hospitaller's monument in the friary. In almost all the Episcopal figures given in Stothard's "Ancient Monumental Effigies," the bishop holds the pastoral crook, or crozier (as it is not very correctly called), in his left hand, the right being raised in the usual fashion to bless. Neither arm is raised on this No. 3 slab at Ardfert, which is a further proof that it is not an Episcopal effigy. Two quarter-length figures of ecclesiastics, with censors, appear at each side of King John's head on his effigy in Worcester Cathedral. The slab is coffin-shaped, like those at Ardfert, and was the original lid of the king's stone coffin (see Stothard, p. 15).

graves each was marked only with a sculptured cross. In no case I believe were armorial bearings, or insignia of high rank and ancient family claims allowed to appear on the tombs of Franciscan friars. This No. 3 slab, therefore could never have been laid over the grave of a Franciscan friar of any rank, and as I have already said the bishops of Ardfert were not at all likely to have been buried in the friary but in their own cathedral church in the town.

It is, however, highly probable that the large tomb marked No. 4, on the ground-plan of the friary, and two or three ancient tombs in recesses of the south-wall of the chancel and choir, some of them having long and finely incised floriated crosses on them, but no inscription of any kind now visible, may mark the resting-places of deceased friars, heads of the community when it was under the Conventual rule. Other tombs of a similar size, on which the sculptures and inscriptions are utterly illegible and defaced, may be those of Cantelupe, De Courcy, Carew, Mac Eligot, or Rice, connexions of the old Lords of Kerry, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Before concluding those notices of the friary ruins, and entering on what is to me the more interesting subject of the history of the founder's family, in connexion with the general history of Kerry, I would like to repeat that it is highly probable that other sculptured slabs of great interest and beauty exist not far from the surface of the grass-grown choir and aisle, and that it might be worth while to look for them. This should of course be carefully done, but the search and disturbance of the soil would be free from the objections that would rightly prevent such searches in the cathedral of Ardfert and similar ruins, because no interments have taken place in the friary, chancel, nave, or aisle, for three hundred years, save in spots under recesses in the walls, which no one of course would think of touching. It is in the centre of the grassy aisles and chancel, some feet beneath the surface, that ancient sculptured monumental slabs and sculptured remains of the high altar are likely to remain hidden. In the Rev. Denis O'Donoghue's interesting work on the ruins of St. Brendan's Cathedral, of which he is the most careful guardian, he says, that the curious statue of a fourteenth-century bishop, which now stands in a recess near the site of the high altar in that building, was found several years ago some feet beneath the soil, when excavations were being made for graves or other purposes. Displaced and thrown down in the civil wars of 1641 or 1689, the earth and grass accumulated over it, until, in later times, it was discovered and restored to its proper place. Similar discoveries might very probably take place in the ground within the friary. In Mrs. Bury Palliser's "History of Lace," she mentions that the last Earl of Glandore, walking in the friary one day, observed something white protruding from an aperture in one of those ancient tombs, and that on examining it he found it was a piece of fine antique point lace, which had probably decorated the shroud of some deceased magnate. As one instance of his love and care for the beautiful ruins,

I may mention that the window of this last Lord Glandore's favourite sitting room in Ardfert House immediately overlooks them. It is, I believe, kept in much the same condition as in his lifetime. The windows of the reception and dining rooms, and the boudoir of his wife (sister of the last Duke of Dorset), lie at the back of the house, where until a few years ago, there was a quaint old bowling green, which has now given way to flower beds and shrubberies, a progressive improvement in the eyes of all, I suppose, save those who prefer to see the old surroundings of old mansions preserved, if they are not injurious to health or unsightly. It is surely a mistake to sweep away a little old ivied ruined church, with an avenue leading to it from the mansion, down which Sir Roger de Coverley might have walked with his friends and tenants, to plant out their site with clumps of shrubs and mosaics of scarlet geraniums and calceolarias. Or still worse, to pull down the fine old Elizabethan or Jacobean mansion itself, and to erect instead of it an imitation mediæval castle, as wearying to the eye as the geometrically arranged staring groups of geraniums and calceolarias, or as I heard a little Irish servant girl once call them, *Castleolearys*, a proof that the youthful Celtic imagination can throw a queer glamour over the most prosaic and common-place things. Modern admirers of the revived taste for the furniture of Queen Anne's days will, however, be pleased, to their heart's content, with the fine oak panelling of the inner hall and staircase at Ardfert House, redolent, like the vanished bowling green, of the—

> "teacup times of hood and hoop,
> And when the patch was worn."

There are also interesting portraits of Talbots, Sackvilles, and Crosbies on the walls throughout the house. One small half length portrait of Lady Anne Crosbie *née* Fitz Maurice, daughter of the 1st Earl and 21st Baron of Kerry, has a remarkably sweet gentle face, quite bearing out the traditional and written accounts that she shared the amiable characteristics of her better known sister Lady Arabella Denny, whom the statesman and man of the world, the second Earl of Shelburne in his "Autobiography," edited by Lord Edmund Fitz Maurice, and the saintly John Wesley, in his *Journals*, praise so highly. The artist and antiquary who travels from Tralee by the North Kerry Railway to Ardfert Station, and who is permitted by the unfailing courtesy of the owner to spend a summer day examining the beautiful ruined friary, demesne, and fine old mansion-house, will find much to gratify and interest him.

ON THE IRISH "ST. PATRICK" OR "FLOREAT REX" COINAGE, SUBSEQUENTLY CIRCULATED IN NEW JERSEY BY MARK NEWBIE: WITH REASONS FOR CONNECTING IT WITH LORD GLAMORGAN'S ATTEMPTS TO LEVY TROOPS IN IRELAND FOR CHARLES I.

By W. FRAZER, F.R.C.S.I., Hon. Fellow, Society of Antiquaries, Scotland, Vice-President.

The "Floreat Rex" Coinage, so termed from the inscription it bears, is usually known in Ireland as "St. Patrick's" pieces. They occur of two sizes, larger and smaller, considered to be intended to circulate for pence and halfpence, and described by Thoresby as halfpence and farthings. Which opinion is correct I will not venture to affirm definitely, but am inclined to believe the prevalent idea is preferable.

The larger sized copper pieces have on one side a kneeling figure of David playing on a harp; above is placed a Royal crown and the inscription, FLOREAT * REX. On the reverse of the coin is the representation of a bishop standing erect in his robes and mitred, holding a crosier with one hand, and the other hand is outstretched, having a shamrock. In front is a group of figures consisting of two represented at length, and the heads of several others; behind the bishop is a shield having on it three towers in flames, the armorial bearings of the city of Dublin. Above the upper edge of the shield are shown the heads of three persons. These pieces vary in weight, ranging from 120 to 148 grains, according as they appear more or less worn, or were perhaps struck on flanges of varying thickness. A solitary unique proof in silver, of this coin, is preserved in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy. A variety struck in copper from a different obverse die has the inscription divided as follows:—FLORE AT REX and without the star (*). Both appear equally common. They are, however, much scarcer than the smaller or halfpenny coinage. The edges of all the pieces are grained with vertical lines, and have a small piece of brass struck into the copper in the situation of the Royal crown, and were minted in a mill similar to the best struck English coins and medals of the time of Charles I. The motto above St. Patrick is ECCE GREX.

The smaller-sized coinage, to judge from the numerous varieties observable in its dies, as exhibited in the specimens contained in my own cabinet, must have been a more extensive mintage than is usually supposed. Primarily they are separable into two distinct groups, all having alike the kneeling figure of David with his harp, above which is placed a crown and the inscription, FLOREAT REX. On the reverse is the figure of a mitred bishop; his outstretched hand is driving off

serpents, a griffin, &c., and he holds a double cross, not a crosier, as shown in the larger pieces; behind him is a church with tower and steeple, the motto being QUIESCAT PLEBS. The sub-divisions of this coinage are :—

Group No. 1.—There is represented under the kneeling figure of David a landscape, consisting of a number of prolonged ridges. He is attired in a flowing robe, on which he kneels, and has a shawl or upper garment thrown across his shoulders. On the reverse the church is drawn of large size, its spire reaching upwards to the top transverse bar of St. Patrick's double cross, or approximating to it; if apparently it seems placed somewhat lower down, this is due to its lower position relatively to the figure on the die, for all of this group have a high tower and elevated steeple above the church.

The following variations in the dies are known to me :—

FLOREAT REX
FLOREAT REX .·.
FLOREAT REX ·.·
FLOREAT : REX .·.
FLOREAT : REX .·.

These coins are all well struck, made from copper, with milled or grained edges, and have a small brass stud imbedded in or near the Royal crown above the head of David. Usually they appear to be more worn or rubbed than the coins of group No. 2, and seem as if struck with less care, hence I feel disposed to think they were possibly the first coinage issued.

No. 1.

No 2.

Varieties of the "Floreat Rex" Coinage—Obverse.

Group No. 2.—There is no appearance of ground work, or ridges, shown under King David's kneeling figure. In addition to the long robe and the shawl thrown over his shoulders, is seen a remarkable article of attire depending from his neck and reaching lower than the knees, placed between them and the sounding board of the harp and terminating in a triangular expansion, so that it appears like a pendent alb. On the reverse of the coin the church is represented of smaller size and the steeple less elevated, and its proportions are altogether less than in the former series. It seldom reaches beyond the lower cross bar of St. Patrick's double cross. All the coins of this class are likewise milled and were struck in a collar,

and have brass studs in the usual position upon or near the Royal crown. One example has a small o, a little bird and a figure of 8 under the kneeling figure of David. Amongst fourteen specimens which I have, the following variations in the die are present.

FLOREAT REX : Eight specimens.

FLOREAT : REX. One specimen, and a silver proof piece. (There are three more silver impressions in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy, all struck from the same die.)

FLOREAT : REX : Four specimens.

In preparing these lists I have tabulated the more distinctive and important variations in the inscriptions, neglecting minor differences as unimportant.

Numismatists who have described this coinage differ considerably in their opinion respecting its history. The following brief summary will show the leading views entertained respecting it. Evelyn in his "Discourse of Medals Ancient and Modern," folio, 1697, gives an accurate engraving of one of the smaller coins and describes it. He says: "It is, I think, an Irish coin." Of this special specimen, Dr. Aquilla Smith conjectured that, as Evelyn places it amongst the silver medals of the reign of Charles II., it was probably a silver proof such as I have already mentioned.

Thoresby in 1715, mentions amongst coins of the reign of Charles II. this description of an "Irish (silver) medal," and states further, "these were also originally of copper and were current, I presume, for halfpence and farthings, for they are of different dimensions," and he then proceeds to describe the larger and small-sized coins in full.

Bishop Nicholson, in "The Irish Historical Library," published in Dublin in 1724, copies Thoresby's descriptions, and adds: they "are still common in copper and brass," and "are current for halfpence and farthings." He, however, describes them along with the coins of the reign of Charles I. Dean Swift, in the same year, 1724, mentions the small "St. Patrick's coin which passeth now for a farthing, and the great St. Patrick halfpenny."

Leake, in his "Historical Account of English Money," published in 1726, notices these "copper pieces which have passed for halfpence and farthings in Ireland, but for what purpose they were coined and by whom is uncertain." He thinks it probable that they were struck in the reign of Charles I. for the use of the Irish rebels.

Harris, in his edition of Sir James Ware's Works, in 1745, thinks they were coined in the time of Charles II., and describes the larger and smaller coins as halfpence and farthings. They are not mentioned in the former edition of Ware's Work, published in 1705. Simon in his "Essay towards an Historical Account of Irish Coins" in 1749, supposed they were struck by the rebels "in honour of St. Patrick, and of their new order of knighthood," in Kilkenny, and that the silver pieces were intended to pass for shillings.

Dr. Cane, of Kilkenny, in a Paper published in the Proceedings of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, stated his opinion that they were made on the Continent, and brought to Ireland by the Nuncio Rinuccini for the use of the Confederate army.

The late Dr. Aquilla Smith, when criticising Dr. Cane's views, and in his valuable description of the "Confederate coinages" in silver and copper, has shown that certain rude pieces struck at Kilkenny, bearing a crown and crossed sceptres on one side, and a crowned harp on the reverse, were the copper coins issued under the Nuncio Rinuccini. These are of coarse, almost barbarous, execution. Again, whilst frequent mention is made of large amounts of silver pieces contributed from abroad for the use of the Confederates, there is no allusion whatever respecting any foreign power sending to Ireland a coinage in copper.

Kilkenny Confederate Coinage.

So far we have traced the History in Ireland of those interesting pieces. Their subsequent record must be resumed in May, 1682, in the State of New Jersey, where the General Free Assembly decree:—

"That Mark Newbie's half-pence, called Patrick's Halfpence shall from and after the said Eighteenth Instant, pass for halfpence Current pay of this Province, provided he the said Mark give sufficient security to the Speaker of this House, for the use of the General Assembly, from time to time being, that he the said Mark, his executors, and administrators, shall and will change the said halfpence for pay equivalent upon demand, and provided also that no person or persons be hereby obliged to take more than five shillings in one payment."

"This, the first Banking Law passed in New Jersey, shows a very conservative spirit to have been abroad in the colony, and one which would have been worthy of emulation by more modern financiers. But what was

this illustrious Member of the Society of Friends—Mark Newbie—doing with Saint Patrick's halfpence in his possession, and were broad-brimmed hats and gray coats compatible with the figures of an ex-mitred saint and a cathedral, even if the representations were on copper?"

"It may be briefly said that the coppers were probably the only coins occurring in New Jersey, as there is little or no evidence that Newbie brought silver with him."

Who was Mark Newbie?

Resident in London, following his tallow-chandler's trade during the profligacy of the Restoration, he had imbibed deeply the mysticism of the Society of Friends, and, it seems, looked towards the New World as a haven for the oppressed of his sect. With this end in view he sold his property and removed to Ireland, where, on the 19th September, 1681, he embarked in a narrow-sterned pink called "Ye Owner's Adventure." After a voyage of two months he arrived within "ye Capes of ye de La Ware," and after spending the winter near Salem, finally took up a twentieth share of land upon the southern side of what is now the city of Camden.

This humble home was the house of worship for the few Friends in the vicinity, and one of the earliest temples of religious freedom in West New Jersey.

Mark Newbie profited by his adventure. In June, 1682, he was a Member of the Free Assembly of the Province, a Member of Council, and a Commissioner for dividing and regulating land. In October (or 7th month, O.S.), 1683, he appears to have died, probably suddenly. (Extracted from a Paper by Mr. Francis B. Lee, of Trenton, N.J., published in the Proceedings for 1893, of the "American Numismatic and Archæological Society of New York.")

Having thus briefly given their American history, the question for solution is the original source of this coinage and the most probable explanation of the mystery surrounding its mintage.

Can they claim to be Kilkenny tokens? Some are found there from time to time, but they might as well be termed Dublin coins, for there, quite as often as in Kilkenny, they are obtained from excavations made in the older parts of the city and from dilapidated houses on their removal. They are not to be found in other Irish towns, and are unknown amongst English local collections, so they may be practically considered restricted to Kilkenny and Dublin previous to their appearance in New Jersey in sufficient abundance to supply a colonial currency. I have already shown they are not the copper coins struck by the confederates at Kilkenny. The following is an abstract of the order issued for the special coinage made there:—

"We doe likewise publish and declare that there shall be 4000*l.* of red copper coyned to farthings and ½ pence with the harp and crown on one side and to (*sic*) septers on the other, and that everie pound of copper

be made to the value of 2ˢ. 8ᵈ., and that this coine shall be currant before as well payment (*sic*). No person or persons shall be compelled to take but 1ˢ. in each pound, and so ratable in everie severall payment other than that. All payments not exceeding 6ᵈ. may be made and shalbe accepted in the said copper coyne." Date of Proclamation 15 Nov., 1642.

The coins made current under this proclamation are well known, they are coarse imitations of the small copper farthings of Charles I., which they were intended to replace in circulation.

During the reign of Charles, and the period of the Civil War, no mint capable of striking the Floreat Rex coinage was to be found in Dublin, Kilkenny, or elsewhere in Ireland, and so far as we know, no die sinkers either, capable of engraving the dies, though repeated representations were forwarded to the government to obtain leave for erecting such a mint in Dublin by the Irish Council of State, but without success. The suggestion that they were coined abroad in Holland, France, or Italy, is most improbable; they are altogether unlike any foreign coins of the time, and if so obtained some specimens might be looked for on the Continent or at least some record of their fabrication. Whatever money Spain contributed to the Confederates of Kilkenny was silver, principally for the purchase of arms.

The Floreat Rex coins are English in their type, of good workmanship, struck with care, and agree in the minutest details of fabrication with the better classes of coins and medals struck at the Royal mints in the reign of Charles I. This fact led me to institute a closer examination of the dies employed for striking them when compared with the principal coinages of that king, the result being that I find the lettering impressed on the "Floreat Rex" coins corresponds closely with those which Briot, the Royal engraver to the mint, used for some of his own distinctive coinages both in general shape and size, and in the style and outline of the letters, although his "private mint mark," the diamond-shaped stop, or punctuation, placed between words is not present on the Floreat Rex coins. I believe satisfactory reasons can be given for this omission, which will be considered subsequently. As the art of making coins and medals is not generally understood, it would perhaps be well to give a brief description of the process. A model of the intended design is prepared in modelling wax, larger than the future die, to serve as a pattern; from this an engraving in intaglio is made in a polished piece of softened steel of the exact size of the impression required; from this when properly hardened, if a large number of medals or coins are required, a "Hubb" is obtained, by forcibly striking a piece of softened steel into the intaglio engraving until an accurate copy in relief is secured of the original die (which die is not used for coinage, but preserved for making future "Hubbs" if necessary). This "Hubb" when hardened in turn becomes the instrument employed to make the working dies, by impressions taken from it in suitable polished

masses of softened steel. Of course before being employed at a mint, those working dies require in turn to undergo a careful hardening process, on which their value depends; subsequently they are used until worn out or cracked by repeated strikings, when a fresh die is indispensable, made with the "Hubb" as already described. The lettering placed on a coin is produced by employing separate "Hubbs" made with hardened steel, for each separate letter in the inscription. A mint is supplied with "Hubbs" for alphabets of varying size, but as might be expected the style and general appearance of the lettering employed by a medallist will be found almost as distinctive as the printing types issued by any special manufacturing type-founder, much as the handwriting of different individuals is known to be recognisable. Hence a critical examination of the lettering used in a doubtful coinage affords useful information about its possible source. I find that in Briot's silver coins of Charles I. known as the "Briot Coinages," some of his pattern pieces and of his special Scottish coins agree in a striking manner with the style of lettering employed in these "Floreat Rex" pieces, and further the "Harps" in these Briot coinages and the Floreat Rex coins are represented of similar form, to which I will make further reference.

Again, Briot introduced the process of striking coins within a "collar" into the English Mint when he was appointed chief engraver on his arrival from France, where he would not be permitted to carry out this useful discovery. All the "Floreat Rex" coins are struck in a "collar" and grained on the edges after Briot's fashion.

The Irish harp is represented under different shapes on the coins of James I. and Charles I., sometimes terminating above with the head of a bird or in a fancy scroll. In all the special pieces which Briot made, so far as I know, it assumes the graceful form of a woman's head and bust, and since the reign of Charles II., this female figure has continued to appear on all our coinages. Such also is the shape of the Harp found represented on the "Floreat Rex" pieces.

I would adduce a further reason for believing that Briot designed these coins, namely, the comparatively flat style in which the figures are executed. This flat manner of engraving was his usual method of working and to a certain extent serves to distinguish his style of die-sinking from that of other engravers of the period.

I ought to state that David Ramadge, described in State Papers as "Briot's Servant," has the credit of making the "tools" for Briot. He is called an "Irish Blacksmith," and appears to have executed the mechanical portion of Briot's work; therefore, in attributing this coinage to Briot, it is possible that this "Blacksmith," Ramadge, took part in its execution. Blondeau asserts that he made Briot's "Brasse Counters." These "Floreat Rex" coins might be fairly described as such. The statement was put forward by Blondeau in his petition to obtain the office of engraver to the mint on Briot's death to disparage Ramadge.

The numerous varieties of the dies (shown by the varying inscriptions) of the "Floreat" coinage, their general execution and perfect mintage, and the great abundance prepared, sufficient to serve all the purposes of a colonial currency, remove it altogether from any possibility of its being the production of a local or private mintage. Hence I was led to seek for some reasonable solution in the latter part of Charles I.'s reign to account for a large and secret coinage, not subsequently employed, and of which a few examples made their way to Dublin and Kilkenny. I consider they were struck by permission of Charles, and intended to be used by the Earl of Glamorgan, if successful in his attempts to raise large bodies of troops in Ireland and employ them against the Parliament; if so Briot and Ramadge must have struck them when the mint was at Oxford. Unfortunately there are no records of the mint at this period or of the Proceedings of the Oxford Parliament. They were destroyed in 1646 by the King's Privy Council, to prevent their falling into the possession of Cromwell on the surrender of that city.

Charles could make no possible use of copper coins in England. At his lowest estate silver was indispensable, being the only recognised circulating medium, for gold had almost ceased to be procurable. But a copper coinage would be available for currency in Ireland, and for the pay of Irish soldiery. (Even much later, in the Jacobite wars of James II., an Irish soldier received little more than 1*d.* a-day). Glamorgan was sent by Charles at the time Chester was besieged, possessed of almost unlimited powers, to endeavour to obtain from the Catholic Confederates at Kilkenny no less than 10,000 soldiers and convey them to England. The complete failure of his negotiations prevented the circulation of the coinage, and it remained in England, unknown and concealed, until Mark Newbie obtained possession of these pieces.

Glamorgan's father, the Earl of Worcester, was so wealthy that he is credited with having given beyond £250,000 towards the aid of Charles in the Civil War, and from his Welsh mines Glamorgan could procure the necessary metallic copper for striking this coinage, large though it was, which it is probable no other person could obtain at that time. If successful in enlisting Irish troops, it was essential to have at hand means for their support. On Glamorgan's failure, and the final success of Parliament and Cromwell, he would have been a rash person that dared to circulate a "Floreat Rex" coin, much less one with a mitred prelate and his double cross, so long as the English Commonwealth lasted. When Charles II. returned he did not employ for many years a standard large-sized copper coin in England, although he struck halfpence for Ireland, and when merchants and traders tried in England to introduce a supply of small private tokens for local change he issued special proclamations against their doing so, and effectually suppressed their attempts. We cannot believe he would have failed to notice and promptly check a large issue such as the "Floreat" coins, so unlike traders' tokens, and

so closely resembling royal coins, if circulated at any period of his reign.

Glamorgan, in his efforts to negotiate for raising troops, was, according to his own statement, granted, by Charles, powers much beyond those of a Viceroy. He could grant titles of nobility, employ the public revenues, raise and command English, Irish, and foreign troops, act as Admiral of the Fleet, conduct treaties, appoint his own officers, and even "coin money" in his own mint, and had the promise of a Royal bride for his son. In a word, he obtained from Charles all those powers that a monarch in full possession of undisputed autocratic sway might have demanded for himself. It is true that Glamorgan takes credit for not having struck and issued a coinage for himself under this ample permission, though it is difficult to understand where he could have minted it except at the presses of the king's mint in Oxford. Certainly he could not have accomplished it in Ireland. To quote his own words taken from an Original Letter to Lord Clarendon preserved in the Bodleian Library:—

"One thinge I beseech your Lordship to observe, that though I had power by it to erect a mynte anywhere, and to dispose of his Majesty's revenues and Delinquents Estates, yet never did either to the Vallue of a farthinge notwithstandinge my own necessityes acknowledgeing that the intention of those powers given me was to make use of them when the armies should be a-foote, which designe being broaken by my committment in Ireland, I made noe use of those powers." (Quoted in Gilbert's "History of the Confederation," vol. v., p. 15.)

On reading this interesting letter with care, we may gather from it that, though Glamorgan did not erect a special mint of his own, the "Floreat" coinage may have been struck under the directions of Charles himself, or at least with his permission, and thus funds prepared in anticipation of Glamorgan's succeeding in raising troops from the Irish Confederates and carrying them successfully across the Channel. This attempt collapsed when the Nuncio and his party demanded such terms that, once disclosed, led to his subsequent arrest by Ormond, in the Castle of Dublin, when Charles was obliged to disavow his agency, repudiate the negotiations, and secretly to endeavour to screen him from a public prosecution. The failure of this last desperate attempt to prolong the Civil War rendered the coinage purposeless and worthless to its fabricators.

The inscriptions of "Floreat Rex" and "Quiescat Plebs" are such as might be expected on a coinage prepared for Glamorgan's use. He and his father the Earl of Worcester were zealous adherents of Rome, and the Earl entertained at one time strong expectations that Charles would become reconciled to his church, and produce a counter-reformation in England. As devoted Royalists their fervent wish must be "Floreat Rex," and the expectation of a revival of Papal supremacy appears expressed by the steepled church and the mitred prelate with his double cross blessing the assembled people, and putting to flight the toads and

snakes of heresy, leading, as its happy result, to the termination of trouble expressed in "Quiescat Plebs." A further illustration of this is afforded by a letter sent from Glamorgan to Charles II., in which he enumerates his serious losses incurred by supporting the Royal cause, and states his intention of appealing to the House of Lords. In this letter he asserts, "I holde with the old saying, No Bishop, No King."

It is needless to say that coins with these inscriptions would have proved neither popular or safe during the Commonwealth and Protectorate. So soon as Cromwell died, the widow of Briot made a claim for £2806 stated to be due to her. We do not know the particulars of her claim. Evidently she demanded compensation for something she did not dare to ask for so long as Cromwell ruled.

If the solution now offered to account for the origin of this coinage be accepted, it would explain the secrecy and mystery surrounding its early history; it offers also a reasonable suggestion to account for its occurrence being limited to the cities of Kilkenny and Dublin, both of which were visited by Glamorgan in pursuance of his plans, and for the large amount of coin that must have been originally minted, for its total disappearance during the Commonwealth, and for its remaining useless as a circulating medium under Charles II., who would not be likely himself to issue coins with such compromising inscriptions or permit their circulation by others. There is no difficulty in explaining their subsequently passing into the possession of the London chandler, Mark Newbie, for persons of his trade, as well as vintners, were in constant need of quantities of copper coins of small value for business purposes, hence they would be applied to by those in whose hands they were lying (more or less concealed, and useless as coins) to purchase them. That he obtained possession of a very large amount of those coins is certain, and that he took them with him to New Jersey, where they became the Colonial currency.

Through the kindness of Dr. H. R. Storer of Newport, R.I., and other friends in the United States, I have obtained rubbings of "Newbie's Coppers," and find they represent both varieties of the coinage and most of the minor types which I have given, affording an additional proof that Mark Newbie carried with him what might be termed "a job-lot" of those tokens. We have no suggestion whatever that he imported a special coinage, made for himself in England. He was the last person to select the types of kneeling David and a mitred prelate with a "steeple house" for a coinage of his own, and it is manifest he never possessed the original dies or struck a solitary piece in America from them.

ON OGHAM-STONES SEEN IN KILKENNY COUNTY.

By the REV. E. BARRY, P.P., M.R.I.A., Fellow.

The Ogham stones seen in Kilkenny county by the writer of this Paper were: one in Gowran Church; one in the chancel-wall of Clara Church; one a head-stone in Tullaherin grave-yard; one at Ballyboodan; two in Lamogue grave-yard; one at Legan; and five in the Kilkenny Museum, of which five two were from Dunbell, county Kilkenny; one from Hook Point, county Wexford; and one from Topped Mountain, county Fermanagh. Of these twelve stones, those at Lamogue and Legan were the latest found to be inscribed, and have not hitherto been described in print. The rest are all described diffusely in Mr. Brash's "Ogham-inscribed Monuments of the Gaedhil in the British Islands," 1879; but neither there nor in Sir Samuel Ferguson's "Ogham Inscriptions in Ireland, Wales, and Scotland," 1887, are the inscriptions given accurately. In 1885 the writer of this Paper, Brash in hand, examined and made rubbings of all, except the Lamogue and Legan inscriptions, whose existence was then unsuspected. In September, 1892, for the first time he saw the Lamogue stones. In April, 1893, for the purposes of this Paper, he again saw all the stones except the Legan and Topped Mountain stones. In the autumn of 1895, he saw for the third time the Gowran and Ballyboodan stones, and saw the Legan stones three times. The Ogham inscription on the Ballyspellan Fibula is copied here from Brash.

The Gowran Stone.

Eight miles south-east by east of Kilkenny Bridge is the Abbey of Gowran in the town, the parish, and the barony of Gowran. According to Mr. John G. A. Prim, in this *Journal*, October, 1872, the Ogham stone, now lying within the Abbey, "was discovered in the earlier portion of the present century applied to the use of an ordinary building stone in the foundation of the ancient choir. The architecture of the ancient building showed it to have belonged to the early portion of the thirteenth century.

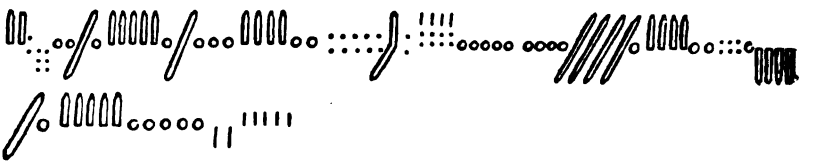
"The Ogham-inscribed stone," says Mr. Brash, "is a block of hard, compact clay-slate of irregular form, rough and undressed, and having portions of it knocked off, evidently by violence; it measures 4 feet 10 inches in length, 16 inches wide at centre, and from 9 inches to 11 inches thick. Upon the original base of this stone has been cut a cross of an

ancient type. It is formed by a broad head enclosed by a double incised line; the ends of the arms have rectangular cross-heads. The same type is to be found on the Dromkeare stone, county Kerry. The cross arms have been mutilated, a large piece having been knocked off the bottom of the stone. It is quite evident that the appropriation of this monument to Christian uses must have been long posterior to its adoption as the sepulchral memorial of a race who used the Ogham character. At a period when the knowledge of the Ogham had been lost, or when this memorial had ceased to command the veneration of succeeding generations, this pillar stone had been appropriated by a Christian people; a cross had been carved on the original bottom, or uninscribed end of the stone; it was then turned upside down; the original top with its Ogham was buried in the ground, being placed probably as a monument over some deceased Christian. This is the story of the stone as plain and palpable as if we were looking at the whole process. Subsequently we find that when the mediæval church was building by the Anglo-Norman settlers, they found this block convenient for building purposes; and not having much respect for the monuments of the mere Irish, they worked it into the foundation of their church, mutilating it in the process" (p. 281–2). Differing from Mr. Brash, Sir S. Ferguson says: "The crutched heads of the arms of the cross have been chipped off, as it would seem, to form the arrises on which the remains of the Ogham text are found, an apparent evidence of the prior existence of the cross quite contrary to what has often been advanced regarding the supposed earlier inscription of the Ogham in such cases" (p. 74).

Sir S. Ferguson could hardly have written so in full view of the stone itself, whose Ogham inscription does not extend to either of the crutched heads, and whose mutilation is the work of masons. To straighten the outer face of the stone, a part of the cross on the upper surface, and the beginning of the inscription on the top outer arris had to be punched off. Further on, that inscribed arris has been hammer-chipped. At the inner side, a long spall has been stricken off, having on its upper surface a part of the cross, and on its upper arris a part of the inscription. Further on, in sharpening tools, three Ogham notches have been effaced.

At present the shape of the cross, and the case-endings in the inscription, are the materials whence to judge whether the cross or the inscription be the older. Where, as on the Dromkeare Ogham stone, case-endings are discarded, the cross and the inscription are presumably coeval; but where, as at Gowran, s is a case-ending, while the cross is such as that at Dromkeare, the inscription is presumably the older. However, whether as foreign captives, returned exiles, traders, or missionaries, stray Christians must have reached Ireland before St. Patrick in 432; and some of these, to the memory of others, may have erected headstones signed with the cross. In that way it is possible, though not

probable, that on the Gowran stone the cross and the incription are coeval. The inscription is :—



D[AL]O MAQA MUCOI M[A]QI[1] ERACIAS MAQI LI

On this, as on most stones having three inscribed arrises, the inscription begins on the middle arris, is resumed on the arris to the onlooker's left, and is continued across the head of the stone, and down the arris to the right. The first name begins with D, ends with two enlarged vowel-notches, and has three middle inches vacant to the left, and defaced on the arris and to the right. Here DOO, DI, DAU, DABU, DLU, DOBO, or DALO, is possible, but only DALO is probable. Ogham vowels are not doubled; I is a genitive ending, U is a dative ending; and DOBO would be something new; while DALO is a well-known name that has to be supplied also in No. 1, Dunbell inscription. The next word MAQA is nearly perfect, in all its scores. The I of the third word MUCOI has been chipped off. On the left arris the first score is an M character, wanting its upper side to the left, and followed by nearly five inches vacant to the right, and defaced on the arris and to the left, wherein the characters for AQ would fit, and wherein is nearly half of the fifth score of the Q character. Next comes I to complete MAQI. The next word was ERACIAS; but a rounded depression, made in sharpening tools, now holds the place of the last three scores of the I character, and only a little of the following A notch remains. Four and a-half inches after the S of ERACIAS is the top of the stone where diagonally across is the word MAQI, all complete, and followed by a natural fissure, mistaken for a G score by Mr. Brash. After MAQI on the top of the stone, comes LI in faint and uncertain characters down the back arris. The ridge between the two L scores is much worn.

Nominative singular MAQA, a "son," is found in one other Ogham inscription, TRIA MAQA MAILAGNI . . . . . CURCITTI, Ballintaggart. Nowhere in Ogham is found the prior form *MAQAS, or any nom. sing. mas. in *-as* or *-os*, the presumed primitive Irish equivalents of Greek -ă, -ας, -ης, -ος, and Latin *-a*, and *-us*; though masculine and feminine genitives in *-s* abound in the older inscriptions. In the loss of a final *-s*, MAQA is on a par with such Latin words as nauta = Gr. *ναύτης*; and MOCO with Cornelio, Furio, &c., of old Latin inscriptions, and MAGU and MACU with Philarguru, Secundu, of later, chiefly imperial, inscriptions. Perhaps the best comparison of MAQA is with Caesar's Belga, Volca, from which words we may conclude that forms like MAQA were current in Celtic both in the north and in the south of Gaul, fifty years before the Christian era.

[1] A fifth faint Q-score has accidentally been omitted here in the Plate.

In Ogham, for MAQA are found MAGU once, MACU once, MAQ six times, and MAC three times. The Old-Irish form was macc, the Middle-Irish macc, and mac, the Modern-Irish mac and, rarely, maȝ. In Ogham inscriptions the genitive singular of MAQA is MAQI over one hundred and thirty times, MAQQI twenty-one times, MMAQI once, MACUI once, MACI twice, and MAIC once. In Old-Irish it is maicc, in Middle-Irish maicc, maic, meic, and meiȝ, and in Modern-Irish mic.

Muco and moco are variants of MAQA. Ogham inscriptions have nom. sg. MUCO once, and MOCO once; gen. sg. MUCOI forty-two times, MUCCOI thrice, MUCCOE (for MUCCOI) once, MOCOI four times, MOCCOI once, and MOQOI once; and gen.-pl., MOCO N once; MOCO apparently being equivalent to MAQA, and MOQOI to MAQI; but MOCOI being for MUCOI. In texts of the Old-Irish period moccu-, mocu-, and maccu-, in the sense of remote descendant, are found in compound family-names, thus: nom. sg. Maccu-Lugir in an Irish text in the "Book of Armagh," A.D. 807; and nom. sg. Maccu-Machteni, Maccu-Lugil, and Maccu-Boin, and gen. sg. Moccu-Echach, Maccu-Lugir, Maccu-Greccae, and Maccu-Chor in Latin texts in the "Book of Armagh." St. Adamnan's "Vita Sancti Columbae" has nominative or genitive indifferently Mocu- in Mocu-Alti, -Aridi, -Blai, and fourteen other family-names. The Acta Sancti Fintani Cluana Ethnich has nom. Maccu-Edagur. Maccu-, Moccu-, and Mocu- are undeclined in those Latin texts, through perhaps a traditional following of the Latin rendering of Gaelic words in Great Britain towards the fall of the Roman Empire, as in TRENEGUSSI FILI MACUTRENI, for Ogham, TRENAGUSU MAQI, MAQI-TRENI, Cilgeran; and in SABINI FILI MACCO DECHETI, Buckland Monachorum. In texts of the Middle-Irish period, this Maccu-, or Macu-, &c., is sometimes written Maccui in Irish, and translated "filius nepotis" in Latin, as if it were a compound of mac "son" and ui the genitive sg. of ua or ó, grandson, thus: "Miliuc maccu-Boin" of Tirechan's collections in the "Book of Armagh," is the "Miluc, filius nepotis Buain" of Marianus Scotus, and the Miliuc mac hui Bhuain of the Lismore "Life of St. Patrick," but more correctly the "Miliuc mac Buain" of the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick. For Moccu-, Mocu-, Maccu-, Macco-, or Macu-, Modern-Irish family-names have nom. Mac-, gen. Mic-, and Anglicised Irish family-names have an invariable Mac-: thus Modern-Irish, nom. Mac Cárthaigh, and gen. Mic-Chárthaigh, are both in English Mac Carthy; and nom. Mac Domhnaill, and gen. Mic-Dhomhnaill are both in English Mac Donnell, or Mac Donald.

In Ogham inscriptions MUCOI is never a member of a compound proper name; but, like Middle-Irish maic, MAQI is often the fore-part and sometimes the hind-part of such names. Where MAQI, with or without an intervening proper name, follows another MAQI, one of the two is a common noun denoting a step in the pedigree, and the other is a member of a compound proper name. In perfect inscriptions, MUCOI, with or without an intervening proper name, is ever preceded by a MAQI, and denotes one

step in the pedigree beyond that denoted by the MAQI, a further step being denoted by another MAQI, or double step by AFI.

The formula MAQI MUCOI, "of a son of a son," seems to be used where father and son are allonymous; and the formula AFI, "of a grandson," where they are homonymous; for the father's name, when inserted between MAQI and MUCOI, is different from the son's name; and father and son are homonymous where AFI is used in the Tralong bilingual :—

Lat. CUNOCENNI FILI CUNOCENI, Ogh. CUNACENNI[A]FI ILFETO,
"Of Conchenn son of Conchenn," "Of Conchen grandson of Ilfeth."

That rule makes the following inscriptions the more likely to be those of father and son :—

Ballinrannig, CUNAMAQQI CORBBI MAQQ[I MUCOI DOFINI(?)]AS.
Ballintaggart, CUNAMAQQI AFI CORBI.
"Of Conmac [son] of Corb son of [Duibne's son]."
"Of Conmac grandson of Corb."

On the whole then it seems best to take MUCOI everywhere as a secondary form of MAQI, taken as a common noun. The Rev. D. Haigh's idea that, as MAQI meant "of a son," MUCOI might mean "of a daughter" is untenable, as OI is not a feminine genitive case-ending.

The "Book of Leinster" has nom. Dalo, Dala, Dula, and Dail; gen. Dalo, Dala, Daula, and Dula; and dat. Dalo. It mentions Dalo of Slige Dala 155[b], 169[b], and of Mag Dala 46[b], of great antiquity; Dala mac Ferdomuin, of the third century 205[a]; Dail, 326[e], al. Dula 381[a], al. Dila 312[a], son of Laider, charioteer of Cuchorb, king of Leinster, early in the second century; Brec mac Dula, whose father was fourth from Colla Fochrich, who flourished A.D. 330, 383[b]; Diarmait mac Dala, 338[b], and Findlaith mac Dala, 350[d], whose fathers were ninth and eleventh from Ailill Olom, king of Munster, early in the third century; the very ancient Leinster family, the Hui Deccair Dala; Dalan mac Rosa Falgi, a grandson of Cathair Mor, king of Ireland (*circ.* A.D. 177); Dalach mac Úmóir, at the beginning of the Christian era, 152[a]; many a later Dalach, and O Dalaigh, now Daly; gen. Dalann, in a pedigree of St. Cainnech of Achad bo in Upper Ossory 348[i]; and Dál, a female, 36[a].

From the nearness of Gowran to Dunbell, and the somewhat similar antiquity of the Gowran inscription, and No. 1 Dunbell, it may be that Dalo, whose monument is at Gowran, is the Deccair Dala, whose son's monument was at Dunbell, and whose posterity were the Hui Deccair Dala. Another Ossorian Dalo of great antiquity was Dalo of Mag Dala, "Dalo's plain," and of Slige Dala, "Dalo's way," called Slige Dhala meic Umoir, in the Agallamh, "Silva Gadelica," 109, and called by the Four Masters Bealach-mor-muige-dala, A.D. 1580, 1600, "the great road of Dalo's plain," but, by Dr. O'Donovan, contrary to all authority,

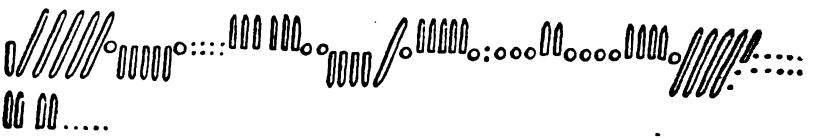
translated "the great road of the plain of the meeting." In the Agallamh, Dalo of Slige Dala is son to Umor, but in the Dindshenchas he is Dalo Glas, son or son-in-law of one Fedlicu, or son of Tait, fifth from Gaedel Glas; and the Slige was named from him, because he was guide to Setna Seccderg in making it for the druids of East Munster (= Ossory) visiting Tara, or because he and Setna made it [to connect the churches] of East Munster, or because he frequented it for highway robbery.

Gen. MAQI-ERACIAS, "of Erachia's son," or "of Erche's son," is a compound metronymic like MAQI-ERCIAS, Dunmore; MAQI-DDUMILEAS, Dunloe; MAQI-RITEAS, Dunloe; which names the Middle-Irish Manuscript, the "Book of Leinster" (*circ.* 1150), has in the forms Maic-Eirce, Maic-Duimle, and Maic-Ritte. Similarly MAQI-ERACIAS should appear in Middle-Irish as Maic-Eirche, or Maic-Erge; but is not so found, being either wholly absent or there confounded with Maic-Eirce. A genitive masculine corresponding to genitive feminine ERACIAS is ERAGI in Ogham at St. Florence in Wales, according to the Rev. D. H. Haigh's reading MAQU ERAGI. The "Book of Leinster" has nom. sg. mas. Erach 324^{f}; gen. sg. mas. Ergi 253^{b}, &c.; nom. sg. mas. Eirrge, gen. Eirrgi 99^{b}; and nom. sg. mas. Erech, or Herech, 12^{b}, 336^{f}, &c.; Erech, Erge, and Eirrge may be Middle-Irish masculine forms corresponding to nom. fem. Erachia, and be with it derivatives of Erach. In Loch Irche 373^{b}, Irche may have come from Eracias. Gen. LI is found as gen. sg. Lí in the "Book of Leinster," 189^{c}. Its accusative is Lia 204^{b}. In a poem ascribed to Find Mac Cumaill, Lia is said to have been slain by the Clanna Mornai. If that Lia were he of the Gowran inscription, his great-grandson D[AL]o of that inscription should have died in or before the middle of the fourth century of the Christian era. The story called Feis Tige Lí, LL. 189^{e}, is lost, and its Lia is unknown.

The Dunbell Stones.

Four miles east-south-east of Kilkenny is Dunbell, in the parish of Dunbell, in the barony of Gowran. Half a century ago Dunbell had a remarkable group of six raths with two inscribed pillar-stones standing three or four feet apart, with only their tops visible above the surface in the inner fosse of one of the raths. Five of these raths were on the farm of a Mr. Michael White, who levelled most of them, and smashed the inscribed stones. An inscribed fragment having attracted the attention of Mr. John G. Prim, then Hon. Secretary of this Society, he searched out nearly all the inscribed parts of these stones, and removed them to the Museum of this Society at Kilkenny. No. 1 stone made up of forty-four parts is 6 ft. 2 inches long, and is 13 inches by 11 inches at the centre. No. 2, made up of six pieces, is 5 ft. 3½ inches long, and 12 inches by 6½ in. at centre. Both stones are hard, compact sandstone, of a purplish grey colour, of which sandstone the bed nearest to Dunbell is at Thomastown, seven miles from Dunbell.

Stone No. 1, on one arris, has an inscription which is 4 ft. 4 inches long, begins 1 ft. 9 inches from the bottom, and ends imperfectly 4 inches from the top.



BRAN[I]TTOS MAQI DECAR[I] DD[ALOS]

The lost scores are the first I's last four notches, for which there is just space; the second I's second notch; the third I's five notches for which there is ample space; and the characters that followed DD, and that could only have been of the vowel group and of the BLFSN group. The much-injured, but not to be mistaken, scores are the first notch of the first, and that of the second, I character. The half, or less than half, destroyed scores are the second o notch, the second r's third notch, the first T score and the last R score.

Gen. BRANITTOS. "With stems ending in an explosive consonant, the genitive singular case-ending is regularly *-es, -os*, ... In Primitive Celtic **-os*," Brugmann's "Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Germanic Language," vol. ii. 236. The asterisk signifies that no actual example of a Primitive Celtic genitive singular in *-os* was known to Professor Brugmann in 1890. Our Ogham inscriptions, however, yield these examples: BRANITTOS, BRANOS, BRUSCOS, CUNAGUSOS, CUNAGUSSOS, DEAGOS, DUCOFAROS, FEDDONOS, GALIATOS, ISACATTOS, NETA-TTRENA-LUGOS, SAGARETTOS, SUFALOS, and UFANOS. In Ogham inscriptions no nominative singular corresponding to such genitives has yet been found. In eighth or ninth century Irish called Old-Irish, and in twelfth-century Irish called Middle-Irish, gen. sg. BRANITTOS should appear as Braneda, from nom. sg. Branid or Branith. It is a derivative of nom. bran, gen. BRANOS, brain, and braen, a "raven," to be distinguished from nom. broen, broin, braen, or braen, "a rain-drop," or "tear-drop," whence BROINIENAS Monataggart, BROINIONAS Ballinrannig, in Middle-Irish Brenaind, for Broen-ian "a tear-vessel," *i.e.* "a tearful child" (?). Of derivatives similar to BRANITTOS, the Ogham inscriptions have GALIATOS, SAGARETTOS, CASSITTAS, LABRIATT . . . and GLUNLEGETT. The Middle-Irish "Book of Leinster" has nominative and genitive *Baccid, -eda, -edo; Cunnid, -eda; Feidilmid, -eda; Fennid, -eda; Garbith, -ida; Naennid, -eda; Nannid, -eda; Ninnid, -eda*, &c. The Old-Irish "Book of Armagh" has nominatives Braccaid, Echuid, Naindid, and Fedelmid, or Fedilmid; and genitives Fedeilmtheo, Fedelmedo, Fedelmtheo, and Feidilmedo.

The name Bran occurs about a hundred times in the "Book of Leinster," where too are its compounds Brancind, Branfind, Brancon, Brandub, Branduban, Brangal; and its diminutives Branán, and Branagáin. The

Ballyknock inscription, which, at pages 524–525 of this *Journal* for 1891, I read in a puzzled way, as either BRANAN MAQI OQOLI contrary to grammar, or as BRAN ANM MAQI OQOLI with one M doing duty for both the last letter of one word and the first letter of the next word, is, I find, BRANOS MAQI OQOLI. What I formerly took for the first score of an N is a second O notch, followed by a cavity, the two roughly forming something like a score not quite parallel to the original four, = S. Also I find that the inscription discovered by me at Rathgobbane is not LOLA MAQI SDANBI but LOGA MAQI SDANBI. The G scores still extend to the left too far for L scores. Genitive LOGA is found in other inscriptions as, LUGOS, LUGG[O], LOGGO, and LOGO. In Middle-Irish it is nom. Lug, gen. Logo, a name formerly very common in Ireland.

Gen. DECAR[I] DD[ALAS]. Decair means "difficult," "reluctant." The "Book of Leinster" has gen. sg. Dechraig 329d, the name of a man fifth in descent from Tadg mac Cein, of the battle of Crinna, A.D. 226; gen. sg. Deccraig 154b, the name of a quasi-historical king of Srub Brain in Innishowen; nom. sg. Deccair 201, the name of one of the nine queens buried at Kilcorbain, near Naas; and the family name Hui Deccair Dala 316b, given also at 133b "Book of Ballymote," and given as Hui Dercair at 388a LL. The Hui Deccair Dála were said by some to be descended from Illan mac Dunlaing, a king of Leinster, who died A.D. 506. Do fil Illaind Doib ut alii dicunt, LL. 316b, BB. 133b. Unfortunately neither the "Book of Leinster" nor the "Book of Ballymote" states what was the other origin ascribed to the Hui Deccair Dala. If, as looks likely, the Decara (or Decaria) D[ali] (or D[alas]) of the Dunbell inscription were the eponymous ancestor of the Hui Deccair Dala, that family, in the male line, was not descended, unless by adoption, from Illand mac Dunlaing, who flourished centuries after the disuse of Irish genitives, such as BRANITTOS in the Dunbell inscription.

No. 2 stone has an inscription nearly five feet long on what remains of one arris. Originally the inscription extended further both ways, being now short a part of one score at the beginning, and one or two characters at the end.

NAFFALLO AFFI GENITTAC[CI]

The first score of the first N is certain, for three-quarters of its inner side, and nearly an inch of its smooth bottom remain. The last word certainly ended in I, and had most likely a second C. The third and fourth notches of the E character are much abraded. All the other characters are not only certain but perfect, or nearly perfect.

AFFI, "of a grandson," is the key-word of this inscription, just as MAQI, "of a son," is the key-word of most inscriptions. As far as I know, the first to read and render AFI aright was Professor John Rhys, p. 174, "Lectures on Welsh Philology," A.D. 1877. According to Mr. Brash, p. 53, the first in modern times to read and render MAQI aright was the Rev. Mat. Horgan in 1845. But independently of him, the same discovery was made by the Right Rev. Dr. Graves, who established it in a Paper read before the Royal Irish Academy in February, 1848.

In Ogham inscriptions AFFI is found at Dunbell and at Llanwinio; and AFI at Ballintaggart, Ballycrovane, Coolineagh, Kilgrovan, Killeen Cormac, Kinard, Roovesmore, and Stradbally, and imperfectly at Tralong, and three other places. The Old-Irish, and the corresponding later forms, of this word are :—Nom. sg. *Auae*, LL. 119^b, where it is the proper name of Labarcham's father; *haue*, "nepos," St. Gall Priscian 29^d; *aue* v. carmina St. Paul's, Carinthia; later *óa*, *ua*, *ó*, and *ú*; nom. pl., *haui* and *aui*, St. Gall Priscian 30^b; later *hui*, *úi*, *í*; dat. pl. *auib*, St. Gall Priscian 28^a; later forms *uib*, *uibh*; acc. pl., *auu*, "Book of Armagh," fo. 18^a; later *ú*. Other Old-Irish cases can be reconstructed, thus: gen. sg., same as nom. pl., dat. sg. same as acc. pl., with this difference, that the dat. sg., aspirates, and the accusative plural does not; the former being for **afu* and the latter for **afus*. Acc. sg., and gen. pl., same as nom. sg., with only *-n*, or *n-*, added. As the accusative plural is not *auiu*, but *auu*, the nom. sg. *aue* is not for **afia*, *auia*; but for **afa*, through *auae*, LL. 119^b. Nom. sg. **afa* leads up to **afas* = Lat. *avus*. Viewed one way, Lat. *avus* means grandfather; viewed the opposite way, Irish *aue* means grandson.

The Ogham character Fern ᚃ corresponds regularly to the Indo-European *u* consonant, and in Ogham inscriptions accurately exemplifies Prof. Brugmann's conclusions regarding Indo-European *u* in old Irish, vol. i. sect. 173–176. For that reason ᚃ is now transliterated V English, instead of F Irish, English, German, and Latin, by some leading Celtists. German V would not matter as it has the sound of F. But unless as part of a general plan for substituting one ideal Indo-European language for all existing ones, it is not fair to declare a character's sound not to be what that character was invented to express, and still principally expresses in the language for which it was invented, but to be that sound's reputed parent-sound in primitive Indo-European, a language dissipated a thousand years before this character's invention. Who would speak English with C, T, and P, instead of H, TH, and F, wherever these last correspond to Latin and Indo-European C, T, and P? And yet there is less reason for giving the sound of English V to initial ᚃ in Ogham inscriptions; for the sound of Primitive Indo-European U consonant may not have been precisely that of English V, and Latin V is and was variously pronounced; being, for instance, pronounced F in Germany,

and having been so pronounced in Ireland, whence, according to Zeuss, that pronunciation spread to Germany.

The true sound of the character ᚃ is indicated by Hiberno-Roman F, which is the initial letter of all that character's ancient Irish names, Fern, Forand, &c.; and which is that character's value in Irish Grammars, from O'Donovan's in 1845 back to the "Ogham Treatise," and the Auraicept nan Eges in the "Book of Ballymote," *circ.* 1400. Proper names that begin with that character in Ogham inscriptions begin with F in Old-, Middle-, Modern-, and Anglicised-Irish, thus: gen. FORGOS, Dunloe; gen. Forgo, LL. 330[b,c]; FALAMNI, Roovesmore, Hui Fallamain, LL. 313[a], Ua Follamhain, "Four Masters," A.D. 1158, now O'Fallon; gen. FIRAGOSO, Monataggart; Fergosso, "Book of Armagh," fol. 166[l]; Fergusa, LL. 23[a]; Ua Fearghusa, FM., A.D. 1362, now Farressy, Ferris, and Fergus. Already in Old-Irish the sound of that character in other positions was represented by a *b*, which is *bh* in Modern-Irish, or by *u*, or was merged in vowels, or had vanished; but such alterations do not justify the universal or principal transliteration of that character by *v*, or by *u*, or by nought, in inscriptions many centuries older than the oldest of Old-Irish manuscripts.

Gen. NAFFALLO, from an earlier *NAFFALLOS, like DEGO from DEAGOS, and BRUSCO from BRUSCOS, is an Irish form of what in Latin is *navalis*, whence *naval* in English. Nabal LL. 190[c], the name of a woman of Partholan's colony, if only its *b* be for *bh*, is a feminine form of NAFFALLO; and Noele LL. 356[e], the name of a saint of the sixth century, is a Middle-Irish form or derivative of it. Old-Irish Naue and Middle-Irish Noe correspond to Lat. navis, "a ship." The "Vita Sancti Columbae" says that Mac Noe, the name of St. Columba's maternal grandfather, "Latine Filius Navis dici potest, Scotica vero lingua Mac Nave," p. 9, Reeves's ed. The "Book of Leinster" mentions that Mac Nave as Noe, 372[a], 345[c]; a saint Noe, 356[b]; the Hui Noe of Leinster, 317[a]; and four other Noes at 325[c], 328[c], 347[c], and 351[b], respectively. In Ogham inscriptions the other genitives in -o are: ACTO, AGGO, ALATTO, ALOTTO, BIRACO, BRUSCO, DEGO, FIRAGOSO, ILFFETO, LOGGO, LOGO, MAILAGURO, MATO (?), MEDALO, NO, and TRENO. Possibly, Nuallain in the name O Nuallain (Nolan) is a diminutive of NAFFALLO.

Gen. GENITTAC[CI] is reduced in Middle-Irish to gen. Gentich, 347[i], 341[a], and Gentig, 341[a], from nom. Geintech 339[a]. Geintech is there fourth in descent from Oengus Osfrithe, eponymous ancestor of the men of Ossory, and twelve generations before Cucherca, a King of Ossory, who died in or about A.D. 710. Grandsons of that Geintech, as such, gave their name to a territory called Tir Hon-Gentich, "the territory of the grandsons of Geintech," but their personal names are not recorded in the Ossorian pedigrees, as their posterity failed or became obscure. ᚇᚓ ᚷᚓᚅᚓᚃᚓᚳᚺ ᚱᚭᚃ ᚇᚑᚌᚔᚋᚔ ᚔ ᚳᚔᚹ ᚺᚑᚅ-ᚷᚓᚅᚳᚔᚷ, ocuᚱ ᚇᚑᚅᚭᚔᚃᚐᚳᚐᚱ ᚺᚭ[ᚔ] ᚷᚓᚅᚳᚔᚳᚺ nisi pauci, eᚇᚭᚅ, ᚺᚭᚔ Chuᚅᚅe, ocuᚱ ᚺui ᚷᚭᚃᚃᚭᚋ, LL. 341, "On the

genealogy of the Sil Daimini in the territory of the Hui Gentich, and the Hui Gentich became extinct except a few, that is, the Hui Churre and the Hui Gobbain." Tir Hon-Gentich is mentioned again in St. Fechan's Pedigree 347[l].

In "Loca Patriciana," without stating his authority, the Rev. J. F. Shearman says: "The church of St. Phaan, or Mophi-og at Kilfane was in the cantred of Ogenty" (p. 228). Now, from the cross-roads of Dunbell to the church of Kilfane is only five miles; and from the boundary of the parish of Dunbell (2578 acres) to that of the parish of Kilfane (3971 acres) is only two miles and a quarter. As Dunbell, therefore, was either included in, or close to, Tir Hon-Gentich, a presumption arises that the Naval Ogentich buried at Dunbell was one of those Hui Gentich from whom Tir Hon-Gentich had its name; a presumption little short of certainty as of the thousands of ancient Irishmen named in the "Book of Leinster," only he of Tir Hon-Gentich is named Geintech. Then, too, as the name NAFFALLO is in the same -o, not -os, stage, as words of its declension in the Ogham inscriptions of South-West Britain, it suits the beginning of the fifth century, about which date the grandsons of Geintech of Tir Hon-Gentich should have died.

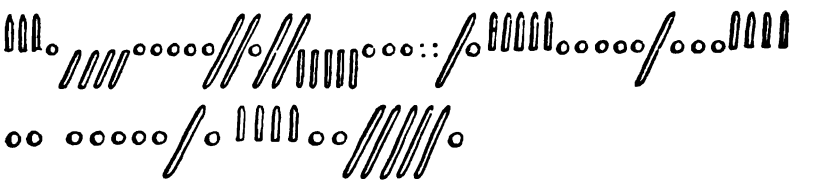
In "Loca Patriciana," Father Shearman gives a copious genealogy of the royal race of Ossory, in ancient matters taking as his authorities the "Book of Leccan," and Mac Firbis's "Book of Genealogies." A more ancient and in part a more accurate source is the imperfect copy of Ossorian pedigrees in the "Book of Leinster," 339[a]–341. Of the sixty-five regular pedigrees there given, one ends at the eleventh generation after Gentech's grandfather Buan, two at the twelfth, twelve at the thirteenth, thirteen at the fourteenth, and nine at the fifteenth, one at sixteenth, one at the seventeenth, one at the eighteenth, two at the nineteenth, and one, that of the Fitzpatricks, the Royal family of Ossory, at the twenty-eighth. Of the remaining twenty-two pedigrees all have for *stirps* the final name in some one of four of the older pedigrees, and they end, two at the sixteenth generation after Buan, six at the seventeenth, two each at the eighteenth, twentieth, and twenty-second, three at the twenty-third, four at the twenty-fourth, and one at the twenty-sixth. Evidently the tract took shape while the fourteenth generation, with much of the thirteenth and of the fifteenth, flourished; and the tract afterwards in transcription was added to for flourishing branches, and was copied unchanged, or was curtailed for decayed branches. In the fourteenth generation after Buan was Cucherca, who reigned nineteen years according to the list of Christian kings of Ossory, LL. 40[a], and whose death is entered at the years 710 and 711 in the "Annals of the Four Masters," and at 708 in the "Chronicon Scotorum." As grandson of Geintech of Tir Hon-Gentich, Naval was ten generations senior to Cucherca, and at thirty-one years to a generation should have died about

A.D. 400. Father Shearman would allow nearly thirty-two years to an average generation in the main pedigree. "From the Hon. B. E. Fitzpatrick to his ancestor Colman Mor, King of Ossory, who died A.D. 574, we find forty-one generations in about the thirteen hundred years that intervene between A.D. 574 and A.D. 1876. This allows less than thirty-two years to each generation," Loc. Pat., 291. Were the calculation made in 1895, thirty-two years to a generation would be exceeded, for as Lord Castletown, the Hon. B. E. Fitzpatrick, happily still lives.

Before leaving this subject I would note that the Fitzpatrick pedigree in "Loca Patriciana," Mac Firbis, Keating's "History," the "Book of Leccan," and even in the "Book of Leinster," at 337[b], is vitiated by the substitution of a part of the pedigree of St. Ciaran Saigri, LL, 352[b], BB. 222[f], LB. 20[c], for a corresponding part of the Fitzpatrick pedigree, LL. 339[a], through confounding Luaigne, the saint's father, with Lagnech Faelad. The saint's pedigree, however, has preserved two or three generations skipped in the royal pedigree between Buan and Loegaire Birn Buadach.

The Clara Stone.

Four miles east of Kilkenny is the ancient Church of Clara in ruins, in the townland of Clara Upper, in the parish of Clara, in the barony of Gowran. When seen by me in July, 1885, and again in April, 1893, the Ogham stone was in the east gable immediately under the sill of the chancel window, but in the interval was reset, so as to expose more of the inscription, all of which, however, I made out in 1885, after I had picked out some mortar, principally at the head of the stone, a sandstone block, 5 ft. 2 in. long, and 9 in. broad. A continuous inscription occupies the side arrises, and the head arris of the exposed face of the stone, beginning on the lower side arris, which would be at the onlooker's left if the stone stood erect.



TAMIGAGNI MAQI MUCOI MACOHA

In this inscription all the characters are certain, and all are perfect except the I and the O characters. The first I character has lost half its first notch, and nearly all its fifth notch; the second I character retains nothing of its fourth and fifth notches, only a trace of its first and third notches, and but little of its second notch; and the third and fourth I characters have each its first notch imperfect. The first O character has

lost the upper or left half of its first notch, and the second o character has lost the inner half of each of its notches, together with the knob that had separated them.

Gen. TASIGAGNI. In addition to the remarks on the termination -AGNI, at p. 522, of this *Journal* for July, 1891, it may be noted that in some Ogham inscriptions in Kerry, not only is -ANN, or -AGN, a nominative ending; but even -AGN, and -ANN for -AGN are genitive endings intermediate between -AGNI of nearly twenty early Ogham inscriptions, and -áin of Old-, Middle-, and Modern-Irish; and are curious as showing an interval between the disappearance of *i* as a final vowel, and its reappearance as an internal vowel in genitives masculine of the *o* or *a* declension. Those Kerry inscriptions are: CORBAGN MAQI MUCOI C . . . . Rockfield; ANM COLOMBAAGN ALILTIR, Kilcolman; ANM TEGANN MAC DEGLANN, Tinnahally; ANM MAILE INABIRI MACI BROCANN, Kilmalkedar; QRIMTER RONANN MAQ COMOGANN, Brandon Hill.

From ᚛ᚑᚒᚏ᚜, or ᚛ᚑᚏ᚜, a "beginning," come ᚛ᚑᚔᚏᚓᚉᚺ᚜, ᚛ᚑᚔᚏᚓᚉᚺ᚜, ᚛ᚑᚔᚏᚓᚉᚺ᚜, or ᚛ᚑᚑᚔᚏᚓᚉᚺ᚜, "first," a "leader"; ᚛ᚑᚏᚑᚉᚺ᚜, a "beginning"; the comparative ᚛ᚑᚔᚏᚓᚉᚺᚑ᚜, ᚛ᚑᚏᚉᚑ᚜, ᚛ᚑᚏᚷᚑ᚜, and with us, ᚛ᚑᚔᚏᚷᚓ᚜, "sooner"; and the proper names Tassach, and Toisechan. One of St. Patrick's household was St. Tassach, LA. fol. 8, *a*, and LL. 353[a], 358[g], 365[d]. Ailill Tassach, a Munster prince, and father-in-law of Loegaire MacNeill, sovereign of Ireland, A.D. 429–462, is mentioned in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, p. 46 (Rolls ed.), and in LL. 46[a], 139[b], 321[e], 351[c]. The "Book of Leinster" has the family name Hui Toesechain, 315[b], = ᚛ᚑᚏᚔᚓᚉᚺᚑᚔᚅ᚜, BB. 131[b], where carelessly before T. Hui is omitted, and after T. an *s* is inserted. TASIGAGNI of the Clara inscription is a primitive form of Toisechain.

MAQI MUCOI. This formula meaning "of a son's son," is found twenty-six times; and is discussed at page 352.

MACORA. In Ogham inscriptions one other name begins with MA-, MACORBI, Ballyboodan, MACORB . . . , Dromloghan, and Aghacarrible. MACORA and MACORBI may be explained as compounds of MA, = ᚛ᚋᚑᚔᚉᚺ᚜, = ᚛ᚋᚑᚏ᚜, = ᚛ᚋᚑᚏ᚜, = ᚛ᚋᚑᚔᚏᚓᚉᚺ᚜, "good," "excellent," "handsome"; and *as*, *or*, *or as*, forerunners of the hundred and more alternative Old-Irish saints' names with Mo- prefixed. "The Irish," says the Rev. Dr. Todd, "used the diminutive of the names of saints as a mark of affection, and prefixed mo, my, as an expression of devotion; as we still say Our Lord, Our Lady." Thus, *Beo*, diminutive *Beo-an*, or *Beo-occ*, and prefixing *mo*, *Mobeocc*, "my Beocc," or "my little Beo," &c.,—"Martyrology of Donegal," p. xliii. In Molua, *alias* Lugaid, Munda, *alias* Fintan, &c., *mo* is prefixed not to a diminutive, but to a fragment of the saint's name. That MA- does not mean "my," but is a short form of ᚛ᚋᚑᚏ᚜ is manifest in the case of MACORBI, and follows by analogy in that, at least, of MACORA. One of the sons of Ailill Olom, a famous king of Munster in the third century, is named Maccorp, LL. 319[b]; Mogcorb,

146[a]; Modhcorb, BB. 172[a], "Maccorb of whom are the Dal Mascorb in Leinster," Maccorb diata Dal Marcorb a Laidhnibh, BB. 179[b]; which family is named Dál Moscorp, LL. 16[a]; and Dal Moscorb, LL. 319[b]. Other names with Mas- prefixed are Mas-Crimthand, LL. 339[a]; Mas-Lethair, LL. 68[b], and Mas-Lir, LL. 68[b]. That the MA- is detachable is seen in Mac Corb, the name of a king of Ireland, LL. 226, *bis*, which is Mog Corb, LL. 22[b], 128[b], 319[a]; and Modh Corb, BB. being Corbb Cliach, LL. 48[b], without the prefix. That the MA- is not a part of Mac, 'a son,' or of Mog, a 'slave,' is evident in MACORBI, and MACORA. That it is not for *mo*, or *mu*, 'my' is evident from the forms Mascorb, Moscorb, and Moscorp. O'Clery's "Glossary" and O'Davoren's "Glossary" explain mar by mairech. "O'Reilly's Dictionary" has ma, 'good,' *i. e.* maith; old glossary, mairech, 'beautiful, graceful, handsome'; mar, 'excellent, handsome, comely'; mur, 'pleasant, agreeable, handsome.'

The old name of Mount Uniacke, in the county Cork, was Cúil O g-Corra. The Four Masters record the death of a Cairbre O'Corra, at the year 972. The three Hui Chorra are mentioned at LL. 189[c], 373[d]. A son of Mac Iair, son of Corc mac Lugdech, King of Munster, is named, nom. Corr, gen. Corre, LL. 326[f]; nom. Corr, gen. Corrae, BB. 175[d]. The Fothart Maic Chindaeda pedigree has gen. Curre, LL. 337. A section of the Ossorian pedigree is headed:—"On the genealogy of the seed of Damine in the territory of the O'Gentys, and the O'Gentys became extinct except a few, that is the O'Corras and the O'Gobbains." De genelech fil Daimini i cir hua nGentig ocus dorosbatar hú[i] Gentich nisi pauci, eadón húi Chuirre ocus hui Gobbain, LL. 341. In the "Book of Leccan" that passage is given with a notable addition, thus: "Genealogy of the Hui Daimini in the territory of the O'Gentys, and the O'Gentys became extinct except a few, that is the Hui Chuirri and the Hui Gobbain of Tech Laidgille." Genelach hua nDaimini i cir hua nGeintich, occus dorsaebadar hui Gentig nisi pauci, hui Cuirri occus hui Gobbain Tigi Laidgille, fol. 99[b], col. 4.

Under the heading, Forrointe hua nEnechglar comes: Sil Fuamnaige, edón, hui Thoesechain ó Druim Laigil, LL. 315[b]; Sil Uamnaigi eadón, Croiseachain o Druim Laidgil, BB. 131[b]; Sil Fuainbaichi, eadón, hui Thoiseagain o Druim Laigil, L. Leccain.

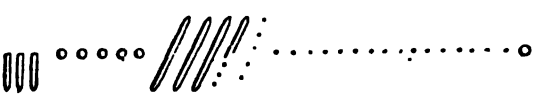
"Alien family names of the Hui Enechglais: the Seed of Fuamnacha, that is, the Hui Thoisechain from Druim Laidgille." In other words, a family named Sil Fuamnaige from an ancestress, and named Hui Thoisechain from an ancestor, had migrated from Druim Laidgille to the territory of the Hui Enechglais, of which territory the greater part is now comprised in the barony of Arklow, forty miles from Clara. Tech, a "house," often designated a church and its parish; druim is a ridge

of hills such as rises from the plain, a field or two from Clara church; Laidgil and Laidgille are forms of the same name; and Druim Laigil and Tech Laidgille may well have been the one, the civil, and the other the ecclesiastical name of the same tuath or parish.

Probably, then, (1) Ma-Cor of the Ogham stone, at Clara church, seven miles from Kilfane, in Tir On Gentíg, was the eponymous ancestor of the Hui Chuirre branch of the Hui Gentig, *alias* the Hui Chuirri of Tech Laidgille; (2) Ma-Cor's grandson, Tasigagna, was the eponymous ancestor of the Hui Thoisechain from Druim Laidgil; and (3) Tech Laidgille was the original name of Clara church, or, to be more accurate, of an ancient church in the cemetery where stood the tombstone of Tasigagna, son of the son of Ma-Cor, before its insertion into the eastern gable of the Clara church now in ruins. As grandson of Corr, and great-grandson of Gentech, Tasigagna, buried in, or near, Clara graveyard, should have died *circ.* A.D. 430.

Tullaherin.

Six miles south-east of Kilkenny, in Tullaherin graveyard, in the barony of Gowran, an Ogham-inscribed headstone stands close to the south wall of the ruined parish church, and nine paces from the Round Tower. Its discovery was announced at a meeting of this Society in March, 1852, by the then Hon. Secretary, Mr. John G. Prim. The stone is 1 foot 6 inches wide, and 9 inches thick, and is now about 4 feet long, but when whole it may have been seven feet long. Two arrises are inscribed, that to the left for 16½ inches, and that to the right for 1 inch. On the left are the first word's first three characters; and on the right is the last notch of the inscription. The rest of the inscription was on the lost top of the stone.

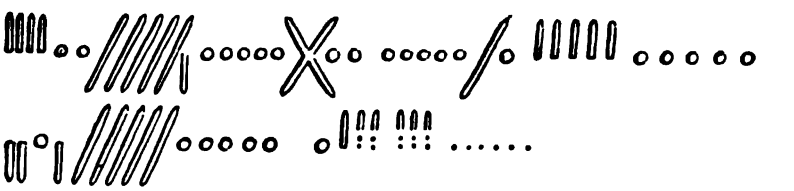


F I R . . . . . .

In 1885 the FI scores and the first two scores of the R character were perfect, and there remained more than the left arm of the third R score, and the left end of the fourth. In April, 1893, the stone had recently been uprooted and the F character injured almost past recognition. The inscription may have commemorated Naval O'Gentig's third cousin, Fercorbb Mac Cormaic. FIRIQORBOI is in Ogham at Ballyquin, FIRAGOSO at Monataggart, and FIRR at Kilcolaght. In the "Book of Leinster" a multitude of men's names begin with nom. sg. Fer for FIRA, and gen. sg. Fir for FIRI = Lat. *vir*, *viri*, a "man"; and a few as Fírfalid begin with Fír, cognate with Latin *verus*, "true."

Ballyboodan.

Twelve miles south of Kilkenny, in a field at Ballyboodan, in the parish and in the barony of Knocktopher, is an Ogham stone of unusual shape and size. It is a flag of purple clay-slate 9 feet long, 5 feet 8 inches broad, and averaging 1 foot 6 inches in thickness. On one arris an inscription, 46 inches long, ends imperfectly at the top of the stone. In 1849 the inscription was copied, but inaccurately, by Mr. Hitchcock. It is—



CORBI XOI MAQI LABRIATT[AS]

The inscription is perfect up to the fourth I's fourth and fifth notches, which are damaged. Next, after the usual double interval between vowels, is an A notch not quite perfect but yet quite evident, and, next, two imperfect T's ending close to the top of the stone; the final A or AS of the inscription having been, I suspect, to the right, on the head of the stone, where a piece is lost. A shallower spall took away the edge-ends of the T-scores, leaving ¾ inch of the first score, ¼ inch of the third, and ½ inch of each of the other four with traces of the remainder of the first. The inscription, therefore, is CORBI XOI MAQI LABRIATT[AS]. In Ogham inscriptions are MACORB . . . . Dromloghan; MACORB$\frac{I}{O\ldots}$, Aghacarrible; CORBI, Rockfield, Ballintaggart, and Ballinrannig; CORB . . Sescnan; FIRIQORBOI, Ballyquin; CORBAGNI, Ballyhank, Rockfield, and Aghalisky; CORBAGN, Rockfield; CORBAGGNI, Ballyhank; CORBI, or MACORBI, Garranmillion. CORBAGNI and CORBALENGI appear in Latin inscriptions in Wales.

In Middle-Irish the names resembling MACORBI are: Mac Corb, son of the son of Labtaid [presumed to be for Rectaid, but very like Labraid] from Munster, sovereign of Ireland, and slain and succeeded by Oengus Ollam, grandson of Labraid Loinsech, LL. 22^b, *bis*, = Corb Cliach, 48^b, = Mog Corb, 22^b, 128^b, 319^a, = Modh Corb, BB. 47^a, 171^a; 172^b; Mac Corp, son of Ailill Olom, LL. 319^b, = Mog Corb, 146^a, = Mos Corp ut quidam putant, 14^a, = Mac Corb, BB. 179^b, = Mas Corb, 179^b, = Modh Corb, 172^a, 179^a; Mac Corb, son of Magach, LL. 55^a; Múg Corb, King of Leinster, LL. 36^b, 44^b, 48^b, 311^a, 382^a, and 384^b; Mog Corb, son of Cormac Cas, 336^b, 351^c. Mac Orbba, of the Hui Tellain, LL. 316^a, may be a nom. form of MACORBI, or be, like Dithorba, a compound of Orba, Orb, an inheritor.

Of Corb the "Book of Leinster" has the forms: nom. sg. Corba, Corb, Corbb, and Corp; and gen. sg. Coirbb, Cuirb, Cuirbb, and Cuirp. It mentions: Corba, son of Ailill Olom, 146[a], 319[b]; Corbb Cliach, sovereign of Ireland, 48[b]; Corbb, son of Nia Chorb in the Ossorian pedigree, 339[a]; Corb, son of Eochaid Liathan, 331[e,h]; Corb, son of Cett in the Corco-Bascind pedigree, 324[g], 325[b], 336[g]; Corb, son of Lugaid in the same pedigree, 324[g], 336[g], 350[f], 351[b]; Corb, son of Fergus Leabdearg of Dál Messin Corbb, 385[a], 351[e]; Corb, son of Fothad of the same, 385[a]; Corbb, son of Coirpre Rigroin of the Decies, 327[g,h]; Corb, son of Fergus Mac Roig, 332[a]; Corbb, son of Aed-gnoe, descended from the same Fergus, 349[a]; Corp Cliath, an Ulsterman, mentioned in the Táin bo Cualgne, 94[b]; Corbb, son of Cian, 193[b]; Corb, 51[b]; H[ui] Chuirp of the Muscraide of Airer Femen, 324[d]. The "Book of Leinster" has also the names Corban, Corbat, Corpthe, Cormac (for Corbmac), Corb Chacht, Art-, Cú-, Dí-, Fer-, Mac-, Mada-, Messin-, Mog-, Mos-, Mas-, Nia-, Corb, &c.

Many derivations suggest themselves for MACORBI, the best being, as suggested in treating of MACORA, to derive it from ma, = maith, = mas, = mos, = maisech, "excellent," "handsome," and Corb, a "human body" or "the body of a chariot," and to identify it with Mac-Corb, = Mog-Corb, = Mas-Corb, = Mos-Corb, = Corb.

In O'Reilly's "Irish-English Dictionary" copp means "a body"; and copb, a "coach," a "waggon," in which sense "Cormac's Glossary" has "copb cappac, corb, a chariot." Like Latin *corpus*, corp more particularly means the trunk, as distinguished from the head or limbs of the body; "rem chorp is rem chend," Windisch's "Woerterbuch," *sub voce* corp; Christus as chend, ind noib as chorp, "Codex Wirziburgensis," fol. 21[a]; copp ꝑcaipe, copp ꝑiach, O'Donovan's "Supplement to O'Reilly's Dictionary." Similarly corb, more particularly, means the "coach's body": "Cu-Corb ꝺiꝺiu eꝺon coipp in cappaiꝺ ꝺoꝛiġne ip ꝺe ꝓoḃil Cu-Corb ꝺe," "Cuchorb, secondly, that is, he made the corp of the chariot; thence it is that [the name] Cu-Chorb stuck to him," LL. 384[b]. "Corp a corpore" in "Cormac's Glossary" means that, in Irish, corp, a "body," is a Latin loan-word shortened from Lat. *corpus*, *corporis*, "a body"; but, in Irish proper names, nom. corb or corp, gen. cuirp and cuirb, is anterior to all Latin loan-words, and has its closest analogy with Latin *corbis*, *corbes*, *corbus*, *corba*, *corbum*, whence *corbula*, *corbecula*, and perhaps *corpus*. *Corbis* means a "wicker basket," a "corn-measure," &c.; *corbes*, a "palanquin," "Advehitur humeris hominum in quodam vasculo quod corbes dicitur quaedam femina &c." Ducange's "Glossary," *corbecula*, the same, "videres aliquos carrucis corbeculis, sellis gestatoriis atque scalis advehi," Ducange; but a *corbula* meant a "back basket," as used by Nero in cutting through the Isthmus of Corinth, "Primus rastello humum effodit, et corbulae congestam humeris extulit," C. Suetonii Tranquilli *Opera*, p. 741, Valpy, 1826.

LABRIATT$^{A}_{AS}$ is of the same class as GALIATOS, CASSITTAS, BRANITTOS, SAGARETTOS, GLUNLEGGET, and SEFFERIT. Its Old- and Middle-Irish form should be Labreda from nom. sg. Labrid or Labrith, like Baccid, Bacceda; Feidilmid -eda, Fennid -eda, Garbith -eda, Naennid -eda, Ninnid -eda, and Nannid -eda, but invariably we find Labraid -ada, in all about one hundred and eighty times in the "Book of Leinster": Labraid Loinsech, sovereign of Ireland, 22[a], &c.; L., son of Bresal Belach, and king of Leinster, 299[b], 315[c], &c.; L., son of Carthach in the Ossorian pedigree, 337[h], 339[a], 351[h]; L., son of Brian, 351[d], 352[b]; L., son of Colgu, 314[c]; L., son of Imchad, 312[a,b,c], 352[a], &c.; L., grandson of Ollam Fodla, 349[c], 346[d], 329[d]; L., grandson of Oengus Turmech, 338[a]; L., Mog Ruith's son, 331[e], but great-grandson, 326[e]; L., son of Colla Fochrich, 336[b]; L., of the Hui Maic Broc, 326[d]; L., father-in-law of Boind, drowned in the Boyne, 144[a], 191[a]; L., Lesbrecc, husband of Ruadh, drowned at Esruaidh, 165[a]; L., Luchta, 167[a]; L., Lamderg, and another, 198[a]; L., in the place-name Leirg-Labrada, 48[b]. The Labraid Loingsech, general to Slange, first Firbolg King of Ireland, is not mentioned in the "Book of Leinster." The family name O'Labrada, in Modern-Irish, O'Labhradha is Anglicised O'Lowry and Lowry.

It does not appear that any of the foregoing Labraids had a son named Corb, or Mac Corb; nor independently of the Ballyboodan inscription, that any Corb was son to a Labraid; still grounds are not wholly wanting for identifying Corba of the Ballyboodan inscription, and Corb, *alias* Mac Corb, *alias* Mog Corb, &c., sovereign of Ireland, A.C. 241–235, according to O'Flaherty's "Chronology." Firstly, there are indications that Corba, of Ballyboodan, was a king defeated and slain in an enemy's country: his grave-stone, in size, is kingly, needing twenty men merely to turn it for Mr. Hitchcock; but instead of being a pillar-stone, meant to stand proudly erect, it is a flag, meant humbly to lie prostrate, and, until disturbed by Mr. Hitchcock's men, it had its inscribed arris turned down. In similar circumstances the inscribed end of King Eochaid Airgthech's monument was set in the ground, LU. 134[a]. Secondly, Corba, of Ballyboodan, could be surnamed Cliach, for "the barony of Knocktopher," wherein is Ballyboodan, "represents a territory called Cliu, genitive Cliach," *Loc. Pat.*, p. 331; and anciently in Ireland, those who met tragic deaths, not unfrequently afterwards were surnamed from their place of death, as Niall Caille, ingin of Ringrone, and John of Callan.

On the other hand, in a poem on Leinster victories, LL. 48[b], occurs the passage "Oengus ollam ord cuman romarb Corbb Cliach Muman," "Oengus the ready, in the order of memorable events, slew Corbb Cliach of Munster." Here "of Munster," strictly "of Munsters," qualifies not Cliach, but Corbb, it being more to the poet's purpose that Corbb was a Munsterman than that he was slain in Munster; besides, "Cliu of Munster" would be an ambiguous designation, as in addition

to Cliu Mail in the county Limerick and the county Tipperary, the Knocktopher Cliu was in Munster in the poet's own time, *circ.* A.D. 800, and back at least to the reign of Conaire the great, at the commencement of the Christian era.

Corbb Cliach, of Munster, a sovereign of Ireland, who is called Mac-, or Mog-Corb, out of Munster, in the Lebar Gabala and in Gilla Coemain's poem, was slain by a Leinster King, Oengus Ollam, or the "Ready," which surname may indicate that Oengus was met ready for battle on the borders of his native province, and so, not at Cliu Mail in the heart of Munster, nor at Cliu On-Dronai in the heart of Leinster, but at the Knocktopher Cliu in Ossory, the border-land of the two provinces. It will be objected that Mac Corb, sovereign of Ireland in the third century before Christ, was too early to have an Ogham monument; but in the Book of Leinster's main Munster pedigree, an ancient note says of Ced Cumnach, there put fifteen generations before where Mac Corb appears in other pedigrees: "contemporary with him, the aforesaid, records were made in Oghams for the first time in Ireland," "Cet cumnig las cetna denta chumni in Ogmaib ar tus in Herind," 320[c]. In the corresponding part of the "Book of Ballymote," a note says of Ced Cumnach's son, Failbe Ilcorach, there put seventeenth before Mod Corb: "contemporary with him, the aforesaid, pillar-stones were begun [to be erected]," "lasa cedna gabtha corthaig," BB. 173[a]; no doubt, Ogham-inscribed pillar-stones.

Again it will be objected that, at Ballyboodan, Corba's father is Labraid, but King Mog Corb's father was Cobthach Caemh according to the Four Masters, Keating, and the pedigree, BB. 172[b]–173[a]. First, however, in the much older authority, the "Book of Leinster," the Lebar Gabala's Fer Corb, son of Mog Corb, and Mac Corb, son of the son of Labtaid, and Gilla Coemain's Fer Corb, son of Mog Corb, son of the son of Rechtaid, give no clear support to the statement of later writers that Mac-, or Mog-Corb's father, was Cobthach Caem; much less does the main Munster pedigree in which Fer Corb is son of Cobthach Caem, son of Coilbat Coar, son of Rechtaid Rigderg, 320[b], 346[d]. Neither does Mog Corb appear in the metrical Munster pedigree, manifestly composed in the seventh century, and found in the "Book of Ballymote," 173[b].

Sometimes, through notes being copied as text, wrong names are inserted in the pedigrees, as in the main Ossorian pedigree, wherein the "Book of Leinster," 337[b], contrary to 339[a], 340[c], inserts "Scandlain Moir Maic Cinnfaelad," a king of quite a different race. Again, in the main Munster pedigree, LL. 320[b], between Nia Segamon and his father Fercorb, a note is inserted thus:

> "*Maic* Niad Segamain
> lasa mbligtis diabul buar, edon, bai ocus elti Flidis Folt chain
> a māthair diambtar bae [occus] elti
> Maic Firchirb."

"Son of Niad Segamain,
in whose time they used to milk double herds, that is cows and does. Hair-beautiful Flidis
his mother [was she] whose were cows [and] does.
Son of Fercorb."

Two dots under the name Nia Segamain, and two over the word mathair, indicate that Nia Segamain was he whose mother was Flidais. The Lebar Gabala, however, and all works founded on it, have taken a mathair, "his mother," to be the proper name of a King of Ireland that intervened between Fercorb and Nia Segamain, and was son of the one and father of the other! Again, in the pedigrees one or more names at a time are often accidentally omitted. And between Rechtaid and Mac Corb there is room for more names than Coilbat, or Cobthach, or both, for, according to Gilla Coemain, followed by the Four Masters, 148 years, or according to Keating 153, or according to O'Flaherty 98, intervened between the accessions of Rechtaid and Mog Corb. On the whole, Mac Corb, = Mog Corb, = Corb Cliach, may not have been of the main Munster line at all, or, being of it, may, for all that appears, have been the son of a Labraid, as is Corba on the tombstone at Ballyboodan.

The word XOI in the Ballyboodan inscription is a puzzle. In the "Book of Leinster," 28[b], and in the "Book of Ballymote," 312, 325[a], and in most Irish grammars the Ogham character X stands for diphthongs and triphthongs beginning with E, and in half a dozen late inscriptions it does mean E. In a dozen old inscriptions, however, it seems to stand for a consonant which most probably was C. 1. "The Ogham Tract," BB. 312, l. 13, makes CAI the syllabic value of X, and ACH that of , thus connecting X, single and treble, with the sound of C. 2. X seems to stand for C in the name ROICAXI at Dunloe.

The inscriptions containing the word XOI are:—

NETA-TALAMINACCA XOI MAQQI MUCOI DOFFINIAS, Ballintaggart.
MAQI-IARI XOI MAQQI MUCOE DOFFINIAS, do.
BROINIENAS XOI NETA-TTRENA-LUGOS, Monataggart.
CORBI XOI MAQI LABRIATT$^{A}_{AS}$, Ballyboodan.
LOBB[I] XOI MAQQI MOCCOI, &c, Legan.

In all five inscriptions XOI is a word distinct from the preceding and from the following. Those who read X as P, read XOI as POI = BOI, some tense of the verb "to be" in Irish, but do not explain its position as such between genitives. For XOI = COI, a dozen different meanings may be assigned, each probable enough, till overborne by the accumulated probability of the rest.

1. Gen. Coi may be a proper name, such as Latin *Caius*, in Irish nom. Cae, gen. Cai: Cae Cainbrethach, author of the "Bretha Cai,"

"Ancient Laws of Ireland," VI., 275, and Cormac's "Glossary." Cell cai, LL. 335[c]; Cluain cae, 356, = cluain Caoi, "Martyrology of Donegal"; Ecca Mac hui chae, LL. 356[d].

2. Coi may be the gen. of Coios, found in one of a group of Gallic coin inscriptions: ORCITIRIX-COIOS, ORGETIRIX-EDUIS, ORGETIRIX ATPILLIF., OR ETIR. ATPILLIF., ORGET.—*Revue Celtique*, ix. 33. Assuming that all are of the same reign, Coios should be the title of Orgetirix, Atpillius being his father's name, and his country being the state of the Edui.

3. Coi means "weeping," Atkinson's "Passions and Homilies"; *lamentum*, "Ir. Glosses"; *lamentatio*, Cormac's "Glossary." 4. Ca, Cormac's "Glossary"; cai or ca, O'Clery's "Glossary," means "a house" (a tomb ?). 5. Coi, "flesh," "O'Reilly," (a dead body ?). 6. Coi, a "poem," "O'Reilly," (an inscription ?). 7. Coi, compare Latin *-que*, Greek *και*, "and"; and Latin *cum*, Ir. co n-, "with." 8. Coi, compare *qui* in Latin, *quiesco*, *qui-evi*, *requies*, *requiei*.

(*To be continued.*)

THE ANCIENT CHURCHES OF THE TOWN OF WEXFORD.

By JOHN B. CULLEN.

The student of history must always realise the advantages those enjoy who happen to live in the neighbourhood of historic scenes and monuments. To have seen the homes, the foundations or the tombs of illustrious men, or the spots where great events have happened, is next to being present at those events themselves, or witnessing them with our own eyes. In this respect few places are more highly favoured than Wexford. In a way its associations would seem for many centuries to link more with those of the sister isle than with the affairs of home, and to share more closely than those of any other town in Ireland the common history of the two countries. This arose mainly from the natural position of Wexford, its sandy haven being a favourite landing place for adventurers from the days of the Phœnicians till the completion of the English conquest.

The ecclesiastical remains which are plentifully scattered through the town possess a singular interest; since in their dedications and nomenclature many local traditions have been preserved which have survived the more valuable evidences of history.

From such reliable records as we have, we gather that the number of churches formerly existing on the present site of Wexford, were eleven in number. The greater part of these stood outside the mural defences of the town.

The abbey of SS. Peter and Paul, better known as Selskar Abbey, was the most important of these foundations, and from an historical point of view, it must be considered one of the most interesting remains in Ireland. Tradition strongly asserts that it was originally founded by the Danes—who, when they embraced Christianity in the ninth century, raised its walls on the site of the temple of Woden. However, in the Norman period, the patronage of the abbey was vested in the family of Sir Alexander des Roches, of Artramont, whose son, the crusader knight, was the subject of the well-known and romantic legend of Selskar.[1]

[1] "It is told that in the days of the Crusaders a Wexford knight set out for Jerusalem. He was engaged to be married, but at the call of arms he durst not tarry, and with many a sigh and many a tear bade his *adieux* to his affianced bride. Those were the days of chivalry, when valour, gallantry, and religion were strangely blended. Laurels won on foreign plains—especially under the banner of the Cross—had a military fascination which we can nowadays ill understand. However, our young knight set out, foreboding gladly his quick return, covered with glory, and, perhaps, a few scars, from the holy fields. He assuaged the sorrows of his bride by promises

The Des Roches were foremost among the Poitevin favourites brought over by the young king—who bestowed large grants of Irish lands upon them in counties of Cork and Wexford. Their kinsman, Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, was for a time guardian of the youthful king and shared the administration of the kingdom with De Burgh during his minority. Through the influence of this churchman, his relatives received unlimited favours from the hands of the sovereign, a fact which caused much jealousy among the English barons, and eventually brought about many of the troubles of the reign of Henry III.

The most imposing portion of the abbey now standing, is the square battlemented tower, which rises to a height of some seventy or eighty feet. Attached to it are the remains of the church, which is unusual in its construction. It consists of two naves, supported by a central row of four arches. The pillars are square, save one, which is octagonal. In both naves are western windows, inserted seemingly at a date much later than that which marks the main portions of the building. In style the windows are different, that of the south gable being early pointed architecture, while the other is of more obtuse or depressed Gothic. The latter must have been the more beautiful of the two, since the fragments of its mouldings show that it once contained five geometrical traceries,

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of costly textures and roseate gems from the East—with precious relics from the Holy Sepulchre. Time passed on. Reports, few and far between, came, bearing news as in our own rapid days of the lights and shadows of the war. At last a fatal rumour came, crushing to the bridal heart. It was said the Wexford knight had fallen, when or where it was not told, but boding silence seemed to seal the news. Months passed on, and yet a year; no gladdening tidings came. Hope began to die within the maiden's heart, and in her saddened soul she vowed that if another cycle passed untold—

> 'Her hopes, her fears, her joys, her all,
> To hide within the cloister wall,
> And there to give her ample dower
> To raise some convent's eastern tower,
> And shroud within the sacred gloom
> Her blasted hopes and withered bloom.'

"The boding year came and passed, and with it no hopeful tidings from the Holy Land. In fulfilment of her vow the lady entered a convent and became a nun. When the wars of Palestine were over, legion after legion returned to Europe, and unexpectedly among the bronzed Crusaders the knight of Wexford reached his castle safe and sound. On his arrival he hastened to the home of his bride, but only to find his treasure flown, and to learn that the hand whereon he had hoped to clasp his gems had sought a nobler Spouse. It is hardly needful to dwell upon his disappointment. In his anguish he sought the solace of religion, and, following the example of his betrothed, entered the cloister of Selskar, exchanging the mailed trappings of a soldier for the habit of a monk. Beside the abbey church he built a votive chapel, and here within a costly shrine were deposited the gifts of the Crusader, the relics of the Holy Sepulchre. Hither came pilgrims from many parts. The Abbey of Wexford became a centre of faith, famous throughout the land. From the veneration paid at its glittering shrine the Danish Abbey of SS. Peter and Paul began to be more commonly known as that of the Holy Sepulchre, which name is echoed in the 'Selskar' of to-day."—*Leaves from a Sketch-book.*

which recall the lines of many of Wykeham's windows in Winchester Cathedral. The want of harmony in the details of pillars, arches, and windows of this church is a question of architectural taste, but to the historian it supplies a valuable interest, inasmuch as it bespeaks the various periods—of changes and vicissitude—which fill the annals of the abbey.

Almost every event of civil or ecclesiastical importance connected with the early history of Wexford was associated with, or had its scene in Selskar Abbey. Its first walls were, as tradition says, erected by the Danish founders of Wexford—a monument it may have been of their conversion and repentance.

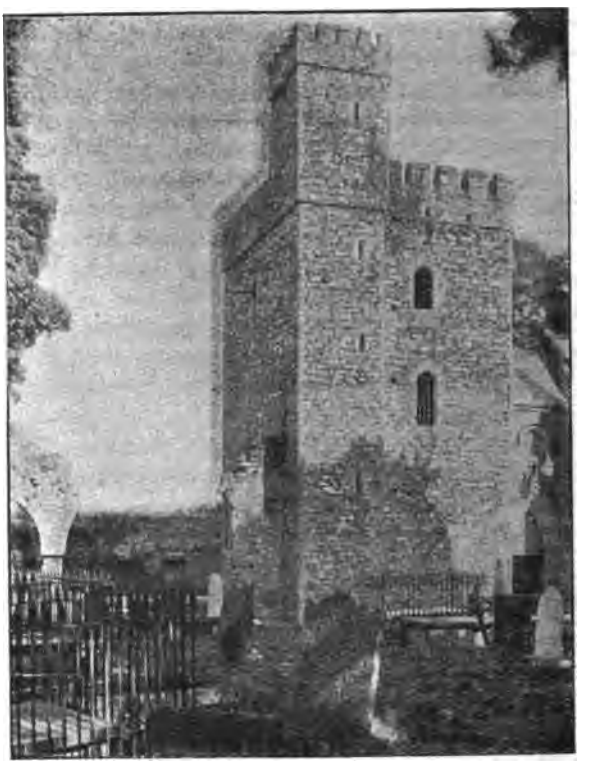
Here the first treaty concluded between Ireland and the English was signed at the invasion, surrendering the town of Wexford to Dermod M'Murrogh and his allies. In 1172, on the occasion of his lenten sojourn in Wexford, Henry II. lodged within the abbey, whence he sailed on Easter Tuesday for Normandy to make his submission to the Papal legate in the cathedral of Avranches, after the martyrdom of Becket. The marriage of Raymond le Gros with Basilia de Clare was solemnised with great splendour in Selskar, A.D. 1174. From the burning of Ferns, in 1166, till 1224, the abbey was the residence successively of the bishops, Joseph O'Hethe and Albinus O'Mulloy, who played so remarkable a part in the first chapters of the conquest. Hence, they are styled on records of the time, "bishops of Wexford." Both prelates are said to be interred here.

John St. John, first Norman prelate of Ferns, held a synod in Selskar, in 1240, and having obtained many privileges for his diocese, framed new constitutions, which he promulgated on that occasion. Many of the events of the episcopate of Patrick Barrett, bishop of Ferns (1404), and Lord Chancellor of Ireland are associated with Selskar. In the reign of Henry IV., 1404, John Talbot, the great Earl of Shrewsbury, bestowed the Norman Mariner church of St. Nicholas at Carrig on the Abbot of SS. Peter and Paul. Sixty years later, when Desmond had besieged Wexford in the Yorkist cause, seized the Castle, and assumed the government, he held a Parliament in the Chapter House of the Abbey, he being then Lord Deputy of Ireland. One of the statutes of this Parliament is still extant. It provided for the repairs and condition of the walls of Wexford.

At the suppression of religious houses, in the 31st of Henry VIII., the appurtenances of the abbey were granted to John Parker, and later passed to Philip Devereux, as recorded in the 26th year of Elizabeth's reign. In the reign of James I., in the official records, we find that a deed dated June 8th, 1612, conveyed the rectories of Selskar, and St. Dulogue to Sir Henry Wallop, Knight, "for ever," with all the tithes and lands belonging thereto. By his descendants they are still possessed.

The buildings of this historic foundation were wholly wrecked by the soldiers of Cromwell in 1649, and left much as we see them to-day.

The bells which were considered very fine, however, escaped in the demolition of the church. By order of the Protector they were shipped to the arsenal of Chester, probably with the intention of having them



Tower of Abbey Church of SS. Peter and Paul, Selskar.

recast for gun metal. The Dean of Liverpool, by some chance, having heard of their fame, secured them by purchase. They may now be heard at the city of the Mersey in River-street church.

None of the tombs, and they must have been many, of famous prelates, abbots, and heroes, who sleep in Selskar, escaped the destruction of Cromwell, save one or two mutilated slabs. The quartered arms of Stafford and Sutton, which appear with the inscription on one of these form a subject of heraldic interest. From the devices, it would seem the

epitaph commemorates descendants of the two ill-fated houses—Buckingham of Maxstoke, and De Someri, of Dudley Castle.[1]

In the documents enacting its suppression as well as all the subsequent deeds of assignment relating to it the names of the churches of St. Dulogue and St. Patrick are invariably coupled with that of Selskar; they were part of its belongings.

St. Patrick's Church, Wexford.

Beyond tradition, the strongest evidence of the Danish associations of the abbey lies perhaps in this connexion of its name with that of St. Dulogue. This saint was the titular patron of the Norsemen. In various sea ports occupied by them—Dublin, Waterford, Carrickfergus, &c., are churches or parishes dedicated to St. Olave or Dulogue. In Wexford

[1] Stafford and De Someri (Sutton), from whom the Wexford families of the names were descended.

nothing remains of this dedication; but the Danish parish bounded by the stream of Bishop's water is well known.

The sister church of St. Dulogue's, St. Patrick's, situate in the east end of the town, is the best preserved of the ruins of Wexford. To the antiquarian, historical evidence is scarcely needed to tell that this church once belonged to the abbey of SS. Peter and Paul. Its buildings are in miniature those of the latter church. Here we again find the double naves, supported by the centre row of pillars, the diverse windows, one pointed, the other of later Gothic, filling the eastern gables. There was, however, no tower.

St. Mary's Church, Wexford.

Two eyelet belfries, set east and west respectively, are a peculiar feature of St. Patrick's. One of these, which stood above the altar, contained the "Sanctus Bell" which was rung from the sanctuary at the more solemn parts of service. The chancel arch is worthy of admiration.

St. Mary's Church stands farther east of St. Patrick's; very little of its remains may now be seen. There are in existence many fine illustrations of its ruins as they stood in the beginning of this century. In design it was much more beautiful than any of the mediaeval churches of the town. The capitals of its pillars, mouldings of its arches, and tracery of its windows were of late decorated work. It is interesting to note that

the bell of St. Mary's is still preserved in Wexford. It escaped the vandalism of Cromwell's followers, and after an eventful series of peregrinations found its way to the Christian Brothers' schools, Joseph-street, where it is now used.

No traces remain of the pre-Patrician church of St. Iberius, the Celtic patron of Wexford. The present parish church dedicated to the saint possibly stands close to its site.

Of the religious establishments which had their sites outside the walls of Wexford, much interest is centered in the Hospital of St. John, now marked by the graveyard in John-street. It was founded by William Earl Marshal, about the year 1211. It is one of the many foundations of this family of famous builders so intimately associated with the palatinate of Leinster at the period of the Conquest. A chapter of the Knights of the Order was held here in 1234, in the hope of making peace between De Burgh and Richard Earl Marshal. The effort however was ineffectual. Shortly afterwards the ill-fated Earl fell a victim to the treachery of his enemies, on the Curragh of Kildare, whence he was borne to Kilkenny Castle, where he died from his wounds.

The Convent and Church of the Franciscans date from 1230. On the same site a church and hospital dedicated to SS. Bridget and John had been previously erected for the Knights Templars by William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke and Lord of Wexford. This church, with its property and endowments, passed to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem shortly afterwards, and, at the request of William Marshal, the younger, was given by them to the Fransciscans. In the 35th year of the reign of Henry VIII. this convent met the common fate of suppression. However, the church was again restored to the Order, and in that period of religious toleration accorded through the measures of Falkland, the Divine Mysteries were permitted to be celebrated there, the church being *outside* the walls of the town. In 1649, on Wexford being invested by Cromwell, ruin fell upon the home of the Franciscans. Forty years later the site was once more restored, and the present edifice erected partly on the walls of the old Church of SS. Bridget and John.

Amongst the mediæval foundations of Wexford around which a sympathetic interest clings is that of St. Mary Magdalen, at Maudlinstown. It was a leper hospital, and is supposed to have been founded about 1170, and endowed by Ferrand, the friend and companion in arms of Raymond le Gros. Ferrand was one of the bravest of the Norman adventurers. His valour was intensified by the fact that he was a victim of the terrible disease, leprosy. He is said to have courted death in battle in preference to the slow but certain death which awaited him from his loathsome malady.

Not far from Maudlinstown, at Kerlogue, was a church of the Military Order of the Templars. It was also one of the Pembroke

foundations, and was attached to the Commandery of Wexford. On the suppression of the Templars, when their possessions passed to the Knights of St. John, many of their churches were abandoned. Though rooflees for centuries, the altar at Kerlogue remained intact, and a few years since it was removed and re-erected in the grounds of the modern church of Bride-street, where it may be seen.

St. Peter's, St. Michael's, and St. Brigid's, complete the list of the ancient churches of Wexford. Of St. Peter's Church there are little traces except the foundations, and the graveyard that surrounds it has been forsaken for more than a century. This parish was of considerable area. It extended from the south-west part of the town to the mountain of Forth. It was bounded on the north by the parish of Carrick, and on the east by the parish of St. Michael, and Maudlinstown, and on the south by the parish of Rathaspeck. The dedication of the old church is described as "St. Peter ye minor."

St. Brigid's Church, save in its dedication to the national patroness, seems to have few traditions. On the occasion of the building of the magnificent convent of St. Bride, a coign from the last vestiges of old St. Brigid's was used as the foundation stone of the new building.

"St. Michael's in the Fields," outside the walls of Wexford, was a Danish church. The cemetery which marks its site in the Faythe is still much used. The Norsemen were the merchants of their time—traders of the deep. When they became Christians, in all their commercial transactions they invoked St. Michael. He was besought to preside over all their worldly affairs. His church was the last spot they visited when embarking on their perilous voyages, the first to which they repaired to make thanksgiving on their return. Their crops, their homes, their domestic cares, were also placed in his keeping. The festival of Michaelmas was the pay time in money or kind which dated their engagements. This usage became by custom part of the common English constitution, which survives as the fixed period for settlement of rents, insurance premiums, &c., to which we adhere to this day. We seldom meet an old Danish church of St. Michael that does not command a view of the sea. The Danes invariably built a tower beside the church, which was used as a beacon tower. In this custom, to a large extent, they followed the traditions of their old religion. Like the Irish themselves previous to their conversion, the Danes were ardent fire worshippers. Of the forms of paganism which prevailed in most parts of the world in the Mythic Ages, that of fire worship was the most ideal. The inclination, in its still clouded reason, of the human heart towards the worship of a Supreme Being, was attracted to that mysterious luminary, the sun. Earthly fire, so suggestive of its brightness, became sacred in the eyes of almost all the cultured nations of antiquity. The Egyptians kept a perpetual flame burning within every temple. The Greeks, the Latins, and the Persians, in addition to the flames in their temples, had in all their cities and

towns public fire-houses, whence every household hearth was daily lighted. The congenial attractions of the fire, round which the sympathies of life were exchanged, soon begot so many weird and mysterious associations that the hearth came to be revered as an altar. So with the Danes, the veneration to the traditions of their old faith was, on their conversion, in some manner transferred to the honour of St. Michael. St. Michael's Tower, whether by night or day, was the first object that greeted these mariners when homeward bound, the last speck that faded from their view when their vessels sank beneath the distant horizon.

To most of the old churches of Wexford were attached Holy Wells. The Church of the Blessed Trinity, which no longer exists, has its site very conspicuously marked on the maps of the Ordnance Survey as that of the well of the Blessed Trinity.

These fragments of interest, connected with the ancient shrines of Wexford, can hardly fail to suggest what a remarkable ecclesiastical history the town has. If we sum up the churches, note their sites, and calculate the probable area of the graveyards surrounding each, many of which have been curtailed in their extent or wholly blotted out, we shall find that from Selskar to the Faythe almost every pace of the town is consecrated ground.

This closes our notes of the ancient churches of Wexford. Few visitors lingering in their grass-grown aisles, or viewing their broken arches, can help feeling disappointment and regret that monuments of such remarkable interest should have been almost entirely forgotten and suffered to decay. Happily we live in times when a desire to cherish memorials of the past, and keep before us vestiges of times that are no more, is spreading in a degree hitherto unprecedented. Former generations cared little for these relics of antiquity. Many precious recollections were left unrecorded, and in the county of Wexford the abundance in which they existed seems to have begotten indifference towards them. It is with the hopes of reviving a deeper affection and a warmer interest in the remaining links that attach the present to a noble and heroic past that we submit this Paper on the occasion of the first visit of the Society of Antiquaries to the ancient town of Wexford.

Miscellanea.

Report of Hon. Local Secretary, Limerick City.—Since my last communication I have nothing of importance to notice except the restoration, or rather renewal, of the fine Romanesque west door of St. Mary's Cathedral, which is now completed. The removal of the unsightly porch exposed this ancient doorway, which, unfortunately, had suffered much injury, both from time, and the vandalism of the Williamite soldiery at the siege of 1691. The four orders of recessed concentric arches and decorated pillars have been, I may say, entirely renewed by the insertion

Glenogra Church—East Window.

of new stonework, and, I regret to say, the most remarkable feature of this doorway, one which distinguished it from several of the same order, has been omitted, I mean the keystone which was common to the third and fourth concentric circles. I append a rough sketch of this stone, which is now among the *débris* in the churchyard. I am sure antiquaries will regret the loss of this ancient doorway, and the omission of this unique feature in the new door which has sprung from the ruins.

The Board of Works have at length completed the necessary repairs to Manister Abbey (*Monasteranenagh*). I regret to report that it was

found impossible to restore the east window, as few of the stones could be found. I learned that they had been utilised by a local gentleman some years ago for building purposes.

The cutting of the ivy brought to light many interesting architectural features which were before hidden.

I forward some photographs of the east and west windows of an interesting church situated in the adjoining parish to Manister, viz. Glenogra. The west window is evidently of an early date. The peculiarity I wish to draw attention to is the appearance of a very rude arched window over the existing one.

In the east gable there are three round-headed lights with wide splays. Each of these lights is of different length. This feature I find a difficulty in accounting for, as there is no structural reason in connexion with the church, as far as I could observe, to account for the peculiarity. There is not much known of this church. The parish, from an early date, has been annexed to Fedamore, in the same diocese of Limerick. The church is said to have been built by the De Lacy family, whose thirteenth-century castle is situated close by on the banks of the Camogue river. However, it is clear that this church is of more ancient date, to judge from the west gable. The present building is cruciform, the transepts being of later date than the original structure. Lewis asserts that at the Dissolution it was governed by a prior, and had nine endowed chantries, containing 29¼ acres. According to the Down Survey, it had eight detached pieces of glebe, containing 15¼ Irish acres. Lewis's "Topographical Dictionary" states that Glenogra is a vicarage joined to Fedamore, and has five glebes, containing 29¼ acres, which were originally endowed for chantries; that four chantries could be traced in the ruins even then (A.D. 1836), and that it contained the tombs of the De Lacys, Roches, Bourkes, Fitzgeralds, and O'Grady families. If, as alleged, it was a religious foundation, suppressed at the Reformation, I should be glad of any further information in connexion with this church.—JAMES G. BARRY, Limerick.

Clare Island Fresco.—In the account of the visit to Clare Island, in last number of the *Journal* (p. 243), the writer says that "nothing can be distinguished of its design." As I recollect it, the design for the most part consists of small grotesque figures of animals, isolated from one another. It is much to be wished that an accurate copy of this fresco should be drawn and published, in the proper colour—fresco painting is so extremely rare in Ireland, that such fragments as we have ought to be put on permanent record.—R. A. S. MACALISTER, F.S.A.

Crosses at Kilbrecan, Aran.—The stone bearing an inscription read (on Petrie's authority) *Capiti Brecani*, cannot have been carried away by the nameless "antiquary" (p. 251, *ante*, *ad fin.*), for it still remains in

the cemetery. Perhaps it was the missing corner which was thus removed. It will be found in an enclosure, or Leaba, on the western side of the cemetery, a few paces to the south of the Leaba an Spioraid Naoimh, which latter is to the west of the principal church. I made a careful examination of this inscription, and satisfied myself that Sir Samuel Ferguson was right in reading not *capiti*, but the much more satisfactory ꝑc̄i (Sancti) bpecani. (See *Proceedings R.I.A.*, Ser. 2, vol. i., p. 257.) Even were there no direct evidence of the existence of the ꝑ, this reading would, I think, command acceptance: but this evidence is to be found, for though most of the ꝑ is gone with the lost fragment, part of the loop remains.

The inscription on the cross, figured on p. 253, I read, Comaꝑ ā̄ꝑ (apostolus), not Comaꝑ ā̄ꝑ.—R. A. S. Macalister, F.S.A.

Killeen Cormac Inscribed Stones.—My friend, Mr. Goddard Orpen, has urged me to write about an Ogham stone, of which a friend of mine (Robert Mitchell, Esq., of Ballynure, county Wicklow) and myself found some fragments in the old burying-ground of Killeen Cormac, near Colbinstown, in this neighbourhood. We first found them in January, 1893, Mr. Mitchell discovering the first bit with marks of Ogham on it lying on the top of the low boundary wall of (at that time) loose unmortared stones which surrounded the Killeen. We then searched, and found three fragments, plainly of the same stone, with Ogham on their edges; and a number of other bits, apparently of the same stone, amounting to about a dozen altogether. We spent an hour or two, till darkness set in, in searching and piecing the fragments together: three or four of them I succeeded, on that and a subsequent visit, in getting to fit together so perfectly along the fractures that they plainly had formed one stone at one time; and the fractures did not seem worn or old. I send you a rather rough drawing of the three bits which had Ogham marks perfectly plainly on them, with measurements which I made at the time with a steel tape rule. One or two of the Ogham scores were too indistinct or battered to be absolutely certain of them; but much the most of them were quite plain and unmistakable.

On a visit with another friend to the Killeen, some months after, I found the fragments which I had left carefully pieced together, all scattered about. My friend and I gathered them together again, and left them in a small cavity or hole in the side of the Killeen, where we thought they would be hidden and undisturbed.

But on a visit quite lately, which I made in company with Mr. Arthur Vicars, Ulster King of Arms, we found the fragments had disappeared, and that the low wall round the Killeen had lately been repaired, and mortared, and pointed. We ascertained that this had recently been done by order of the Board of Guardians: and after careful search we found one of the fragments which I recognised (with marks of Ogham on it),

firmly embedded in mortar, and built into the wall. It is to be presumed the other bits have been built into the wall too; but we could not find any visible of which we could be quite certain. I have myself no doubt that these fragments are broken bits of a stone which certainly formerly stood in Killeen Cormac. It is described and figured by Father Shearman (in his "Loca Patriciana" *Journal* 1873, p. 545), and by Brash,[1] in his book on Ogham Monuments. Colonel John Bonham, J.P., of Ballintaggart, Colbinstown, county Kildare, had informed me that he had several times searched for this stone, and that it had certainly disappeared. I have not been able to obtain any information as to how it could have been broken up, or who did it, or when. It must have been done, I think, within the last twelve or fourteen years, at all events. The stone which disappeared was remarkable for the name "DECCEDDA" being inscribed in the Ogham upon it, the name occurring also in Oghams in the south-west of Ireland, and again in England. Killeen Cormac is the place where the famous bilingual stone (Latin and Ogham) is, about which Father Shearman has a long dissertation of a very learned, but rather nebulous character, making it out to be a burial spot and monument of Four Great Druids (so reading the inscription:—"IVVE RE DRVVIDES" on it.) The first R is, however, very dubious; it may be NE colligated, with the upper angle of the N broken so as to look like an R. And Father Shearman, to make out his very ingeniously worked case, reads some small marks, and one or two manifest scratches (which cannot by any possibility have formed part of the original Ogham inscription) as integral and original portions of the Ogham inscription round the edges of the stone. However, this is a digression from the "DECCEDDA" stone. To return to it. From the rough drawing I send, you will see what the letters on the fragments are (or were). They will, I believe, come into the inscriptions on the "DECCEDDA" stone, as given by Shearman and Brash. I don't know whether there exists any cast or rubbing of this stone in the Royal Irish Academy, or elsewhere. It would be very desirable that something should (if possible) be done to protect, or remove to safe keeping, these very interesting memorials at Killeen Cormac, and to preserve those that remain from following the fate of the poor "DECCEDDA" stone, if I am right in believing the broken fragments to belong to that stone. At all events, they certainly are the broken bits of *some* pretty large Ogham inscribed stone; and I have no doubt myself that they once formed the stone which has certainly disappeared, the "DECCEDDA" stone.

The bilingual "IVVENE DRVVIDES" stone has been slightly injured, too, of late. Part of one inscribed edge has been freshly scraped with some tool, though not so as to seriously injure the Ogham marks, so far.

[1] "Ogham-inscribed Monuments of the Gaedhil," p. 316, fig. No. 2, Killen Cormac, plate xl.

If anything can be done, it were well it were done soon. The Board of Guardians have now zealously built a very nice and compact wall round the Killeen, a quite excellent wall (I dare say) from a Board of Guardians', or mason's, point of view; but they don't show the discrimination that might be desired (though perhaps hardly reasonably expected) in the selection of their materials for their wall, from an archæological point of view: and their zeal and care to preserve seem to threaten to be as destructive to the monuments as they proved in another case I have heard of, where an archæologically disposed landlord left directions that a wall should be built round an old ruin on his estate, in order to preserve it, but found, on visiting the place some while after (to make sure that his orders had been carried out) that the wall had indeed been very carefully built, but that his men had used up every single stone of the ancient ruin to build the fence that was to preserve it. *There* was his wall, sure enough; but the *ruin* had vanished, and the fence enclosed an empty space. You must blame Mr. Orpen (if blame be due) for this long communication. But indeed I am glad of any opportunity of calling attention to the Killeen and its dangers.—WILLIAM FITZ GERALD, M.A., Ballynure, county Wicklow.

Ancient Irish Cott found at Maghery.—In his Paper on the above subject in the September issue of our *Journal*, Mr. Dugan makes the following statements:—"The use of one-piece canoes by the aborigines of Venezuela and North America, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, does not prove that people in other countries, using similar kinds of boats, were in a similarly barbarous state." Perhaps a modern instance of a dug out boat may be sufficiently interesting to record. I remember that when a boy, staying at Fleetwood, Lancashire, about the summer of 1877, there was on the shore opposite the coastguard station a boat some 16 feet long by 3 feet 6 inches in beam. It was formed of two pieces of wood joined longitudinally down the keel, and was in every way a serviceable boat, though somewhat clumsy, as in parts it was about 3 inches thick. It was said to have been picked up in the Irish sea by a fishing smack, and sold in Fleetwood for a trifle. It was supposed to have been lost by a Danish or Norwegian ship; but whatever its origin its builder in all probability was one of a civilised nation in the modern acceptance of the term.—C.M.S.

Some old Galway Laws.—I am induced to ask you to reprint a few of the old laws passed and enforced for the public benefit of the citizens of Galway. They give an insight into the history of their times, and show how jealous the townsmen were of any intrusion into their town. The most notable of these laws were the following:—In 1496 it was provided that every inhabitant shall have reasonable weapon according to his calling, under a penalty of 12*d*. In 1500 Richard Begge was

made free on condition of his keeping a common house or inn for victualling and lodging strangers; and at the request of Andrew Fallon, on behalf of his daughter who is married to Donnell Oge O'Vollaghan (O'Nolan), of this town, goldsmith, and for the better relief of said Andrew, who is old and impotent, the said Donnell was made free on condition of maintaining him.

In 1505 a very wholesome law was enacted as follows:—"If any outlandish man or enemy of the inhabitants shall take them for any discord of words between any brother or neighbour of Galway, so that one neighbour procure for evil will that his neighbour so be taken as aforesaid, that then he which procureth such taking shall ransom and restore again that person, rendering to him all his loss and damages, and the remainder of the goods to the prince and officers of the time being."

In 1508 some sanitary laws were passed:—"That whatever man, woman or child be found fowling the streets or walls, either by night or day, lose 2*d*. Also every dweller shall make clean before his door once a week, and that no dung heaps be made on the streets under pain of 12*d*." In 1509, "Whatsoever man or woman have any kine in town, shall keep them in their houses, both summer and winter, and if they be found in the streets, to pay 4*d*. and no swine or goat to be kept in town above fourteen days, on pain of killing."

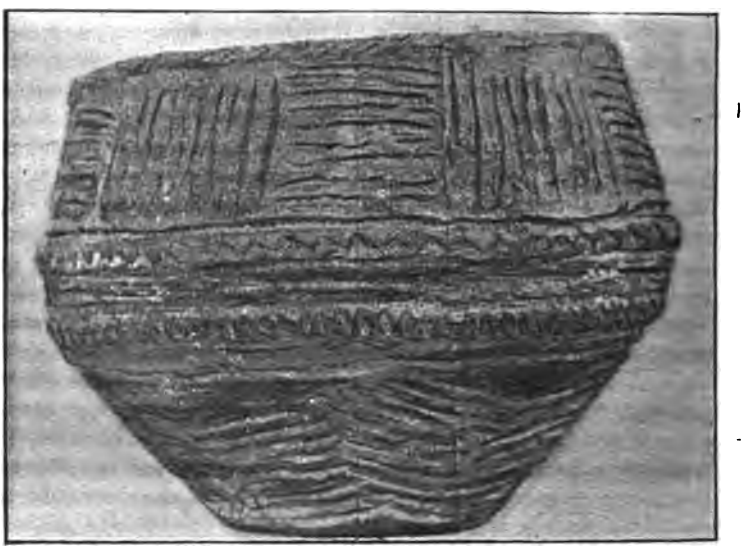
In 1511 we find laws regulating the prices of things thus:—"That no butter be sold above one penny a pound and no dearer, on pain to lose 12*d*. and his body to be put in prison that doth the contrary."

In 1514 and following years we find laws against the natives, showing the exclusiveness of the townspeople:—"That none of the town buy cattle out of the country, but only of true men. That the mayor, warden, and bailiffs shall be first served with all provisions at market, and then who first comes is first served." "That no man in the town shall lend or sell galley, boat, or bark to any Irishman." "That no person shall give or sell to the Irish any munition as hand povins, caliores, poulder, lead or salt petter, nor bows, long bowes, crossbow strings, nor yearn to make the same, nor no kind of weapon, on pain to forfeit the same and one hundred shillings. That every ship that cometh a fishing within the haven of Galway shall pay half tithes to the college of all such fish as they shall take within the said haven if they take fire, water and service within the said town or haven. Also that every top man pay 40*s*. and every small man 20*s*. and 4lb. of gunpowder to the town and corporation." "If any man shall bring any Irishman to brag or boast in the town, to forfeit 12*d*. That no man of this town shall host or receive into their houses at Christmas, Easter, or no feast else, any of the Burkes, M'Williams, the Kellies, nor no sept else without license of the Mayor and Council, on pain to forfeit £5. That neither Mac nor O shall strut nor swagger through the streets of Galway. That no freeman quit the town without the license of the Mayor, under a pain of 20*s*." "That no Irish judge shall plead in a man's cause or matter

within the town or country for it agreeth not with the King's laws, nay yet the Emperor's, in many places." "That no man be made free unless he speaks the English tongue and shave his upper lip."

In 1526 "no carpenter or mason shall have for his hire but two pence naturally every day, with meat and drink."—RICHARD J. KELLY, B.L., *Hon. Secretary for Galway.*

Cinerary Urn found near Wexford.—In 1884, when the breakwater, parallel to the Wexford Quay, on the opposite side of the river, was being constructed, a large cairn, on the south-west extremity of the mountain of Forth, was pulled down, and the stones brought in for that purpose. This cairn was not marked on the 6-inch Ordnance Maps. It stood a short distance from Skeater Rock, about 5½ English miles from



Urn found in Cairn on Forth Mountain, near Wexford.

Wexford. When removing the last of the stones an urn was found, and brought to Father O'Brien of Cleristown, who presented it to St. Peter's College, where it still lies. I had never heard of this cairn, but on hearing of the urn, I went over, on the 25th April, 1887, and saw Father O'Brien, and walked up to the site, on which I picked up a flat, oval stone, 5 × 3¾ and 1½ inches thick, with one end battered, and one face perfectly flat for 2½ × 1½ inches, as if it had been used as a polisher. In all respects it is similar to what are called "tracked stones," but no track marks are on it.

The diameter of site was about 32 yards. The urn is 5 inches in diameter at widest part, and 3¼ inches high. It was found by Daniel Cloney, and was about one month in Father O'Brien's possession before he presented it to the college.—J. J. Perceval, *Hon. Local Secretary.*

This nice specimen of a cinerary urn is of the clay-coloured variety, and bears but little mark of fire either within or without. In shape it comes between the vase and the bowl, and it much resembles one of those discovered in the tumulus in the Phœnix Park, which is now to be found in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy. The ornamentation is rude, and was probably made with a rough tool of bone or flint. The greater part of it consists of simple scorings, which could have been executed with a pointed stick; but the chief interest attached to this urn is due to the place where it was found, and the help which it gives us towards identifying the site of the far-famed Royal Cemetery and Fair of Carman, where the well-known funeral games and the great assemblies, which we have so graphically described for us in the "Book of Ballymote," and which are also mentioned in the "Book of Leinster," were held. This cemetery contained within it—

> "Twenty-one raths of enduring fame,
> In which hosts are under earth confined;
> A conspicuous cemetery of high renown
> By the side of delightful, noble Carman.
> Seven mounds without touching each other,
> Where the dead have often been lamented;
> Seven plains sacred, without a house,
> For the funeral games of Carman."

Here also the great fair was held, which is described as having—

> "Three markets in that auspicious country—
> A market of food, a market of live stock,
> And the great market of the foreign Greeks,
> Where gold and noble clothes were wont to be."

This great fair and place of assembly was founded by the "Tuatha De Danann" (the reputed observers of interment by cremation). It was revived A.D 718, by Dunchadh, King of Leinster, and it was last celebrated in A.D. 1023, by Donagh Mac Gillapatrick.

If our Wexford Members would take the cairn where this urn was found as a starting-point, and try and map out the twenty-one raths, and the seven mounds of the ancient regal cemetery, they would place us in their debt, and provide us with much interesting and useful antiquarian matter.

It might be objected that this cairn was rather far distant from Lough Carman, or Wexford Harbour, to have formed part of the ground covered by the fair, but when we know that the stones which formed it were sufficiently near to be drawn to help to make the breakwater, this

can hardly be the case, and the assemblies were so great, that they must have covered a very large extent of country. The stone that Mr. Perceval mentions seems to have been one of those "hammer-stones" that are so often found near remains which date from a very early period.—Rev. J. F. M. ffrench, M.R.I.A., *Fellow.*

Gold Fibulæ discovered in Ireland.—During the past summer five large-sized gold fibulæ were discovered in the bed of a stream either in the county of Wexford or Waterford. As usual the exact locality will not be easily discovered. They were sold by the finder to a jeweller in the city of Waterford, and purchased from him by W. G. D. Goff, Esq., Glenville, Waterford. By his permission, Dr. Frazer exhibited and described these fibulæ at a meeting of the Royal Irish Academy, and Mr. Edmund Johnston, of Grafton-street, Dublin, contributed a valuable statement of the art processes employed in the manufacture of these and similar gold ornaments, tracing all the stages of the process. These indicate no mean effort of early art, as one of the fibula weighed near 18 ounces of gold, and the entire weight of the five fibulæ amounted to 28 ounces. The largest fibula was solid; others were made with hollow handles, requiring special treatment in forging and bending the bow-shaped portions of such ornaments. Mr. Goff has deposited this find in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy for the present, and it is to be hoped he may permit its permanent acquisition by this national collection, which is far the richest in Europe, of gold prehistoric finds.

Subjoined are the weights of these fibulæ. They are all made of gold of high standard:—

	oz.	dwt.	gr.
A (solid),	17	8	22
B,	4	11	2
C,	2	4	16
D,	2	1	9
E,	1	7	22

"**Archæologia Cambrensis**" for October, 1895, contains a Paper, by Prof. Rhys, on "Goidelic Words in Brythonic," which should be of great interest to students of the Gaedhilic languages. Professor Rhys gives a number of examples, and discusses their philological relation to forms in Irish and other languages of the Gaedhil family. He regards these words not as borrowed from the languages with which he connects them, but as part of the evidence of the existence of a Gaedhilic people residing in Wales, overcome by later Celtic migrations, and merging with them in the Welsh nation.

This number also contains a further discussion of the Fethard and Baginbun inscriptions in county Wexford.

Report on Photographic Survey.—The present time seems suitable to lay before the Society a condensed list of the localities represented in our Photographic Survey, enabling our Members to know what work has been done, and, we may hope, encouraging the completion of that work in the numerous important districts as yet unrepresented in the series. The collection at present nearly fills ten large volumes, with interchangeable leaves. Only permanent photographs are added. The books are arranged alphabetically according to counties.

ANTRIM.—*Antrim*, round tower (3) and bullaun. *Armoy*, round tower (2). *Ballintoy*, cross. *Ballygally*, castle. *Ballygilbert*, cromlech. *Ballymena*, well. *Ballyruddell*, cromlech. *Belfast*, antiquities in museums. *Bonamargy*, abbey (3) and Macnaghten tomb, 1630. *Cairngrane*, cromlech. *Carnanmore*, chambered carn. *Carrickfergus*, castle, Donegall tomb, St. Nicholas' Church, &c. *Clegnagh*, *Cloghnaboghil* (near Ballintoy), cromlechs. *Corr Castle*. *Cushendall*, Layd castle and cottage. *Cushendun*, Cara castle. *Doagh*, hole-stone. *Dunluce*, castle (3). *Dunseverick*, castle. *Giant's Ring*, cromlech (near Belfast). *Glendun*, crucifix on old altar (open air). *Island Magee*, cromlech (2). *Kenbane*, castle. *MacArt's* fort and caves. *Mount Druid* (near Ballintoy), cromlech. *Red Bay*, castle and caves. *Shane's Castle* (2). *Templeastragh* (near Ballintoy), cross. *Tornamoney*, cashel. *Tycloy*, cromlech (Ballymena). *White Abbey*.

ARMAGH.—*Tynan*, crosses.

CAVAN.—*Blackburne*, cromlech. *Cloughoughter*, castle. *Dromlane*, church. *Killeshandra*, church. *Kilmore*, church door. *Sorneymore*, castle.

CLARE.—*Ballinalacken*, castle (near Lisdoonvarna). *Bunratty*, castle. *Clare*, abbey (3). *Corcomroe*, abbey (near Ballyvaughan) (4). *Dromcliff* (near Ennis), round tower and church. *Dysert O'Dea*, round tower, church, and cross (5); castle. *Ennis*, friary (12). *Fenloe or Tomfinlough*, oratory and old house of the Hickmans, 1710 (2). *Gleninagh* church (near Ballyvaughan). *Inchiquin* (near Corofin), castle. *Kilfenora*, cathedral and cross (4). *Killaloe*, cathedral and oratory (3). *Killone* (near Ennis), convent (5) and well of St. John. *Kilmacreehy*, church. *Lemeneagh* (near Corofin), castle (2). *Muckinish* (near Ballyvaughan), castle. *Oughtmama*, churches. *Quin*, friary (12). *Rath* (near Corofin), church, carved sill, and sheela. *Scattery Island*, round tower and cathedral. *Shanmuckinish* (near Ballyvaughan), castle. *Termon*, St. Cronan's church. *Tomgraney*, castle.

CORK.—*Ballyknock*, ogham (3). *Kilcrea*, friary (3). *Timoleague*, friary (4). *Youghal*, church; Earl of Cork's tomb.

DONEGAL.—*Bundrowes*, cross (2). *Cashelmore* (Malinmore), fort (3). *Cloughermore*, souterrain (2). *Coolmore* (near Ballyshannon), cromlech.

Doe Castle. *Donegal Castle* (2); friary (3). *Glencolumcille*, crosses, &c. (5). *Green Castle* (2). *Kilbarron*, castle. *Knockeen*, cromlech. *Malinmore*, cromlech. *Mevagh* (near Rosapenna), cross (2). *Moville*, pillar. *Pettigoe*, Macgrath's castle. *Portsalon*, well; *Rathmullan*, friary. *Tory Island*, round tower and village.

Down.—*Ardglas*, Jordan's Castle (2). *Ardtole*, souterrain and church; *Audley's Castle*. *Bloody Bridge*. *Burren*, cromlech (Warrenpoint) (2). *Castleward*. *Donaghadee*, tumulus. *Donoughmore* (near Newry), church and well. *Downpatrick*, well. *Drumbo*, round tower (2). *Dundonald*, Kempe stone. *Dundrum Castle* (5). *Goward*, cromlech (2). *Green Castle*, castle and church (4). *Grey Abbey*, Cistercian abbey (7). *Holywood*, Ballymaghan cromlech. *Inch Abbey*. *Kilbroney*, church and cross. *Kilclief*, castle. *Kilkeel*, cromlech. *Knock*, tumulus (Belfast). *Legananny* (Castlewellan), cromlech. *Loughbrickland*, circle (2). *Loughmoney*, cromlech. *Movilla*, friary (2). "or do berrad" slab (2). *Mountstewart*, cromlech. *Narrowwater*, castle. *Newry*, Bagnall monument, 1578. *Newtownards*, church (3); cross, 1636. *Portaferry*, castle. *Queen's Castle*, castle and church. *Quoyle*, castle (2). *Raholp* (near Templepatrick), church. *Rostrevor*, cross and bell. *Sketrick Island*, castle. *Slidderyford* (near Dundrum), cromlech (2). *Slieve na greidle*, circle (2). *Struell*, well. *Templecarney*, church.

Dublin.—*Baldungan* (near Skerries), castle. *Ballybrack*, cromlech. *Clondalkin*, round tower. *Drimnagh* (near Dublin), castle. *Dublin*, castle; St. Patrick's; St. Audoen's, a fresco; city maces and collars. *Glendruid*, cromlech (2). *Howth*, collegiate church (2); castle from old painting; cromlech; St. Fintan's (2). *Killiney*, "druid's seat." *Leixlip*, St. Catherine's (4); mill (2); well. *Lusk*, round tower and church (3); Bermingham tomb. *Malahide*, castle; drawing-room. *Mulhuddart*, church and well (3). *Oldbawn* House (Tallaght) (2); carved chimneypiece, 1635. *Portrane* (near Malahide), castle (3); church. *Rathmichael* (near Shankill), round tower. *Swords*, castle. *Tully* (near Loughlinstown), church.

Fermanagh.—*Boho* (near Enniskillen), cross (2). *Devenish* (Lough Erne), round tower, &c., cross (5). *Enniskillen*, mace. *Monea*, castle and crannog (2). *Portora*, castle.

Galway.—*Annadown*, castle, window of church. *Aran Isles*, *Inishmore*, Dun Aenghus (3); natives spinning. *Inishmaan*, Dun Conor (2); Kilcananagh (3). *Inishere*, Tempul Coemhain (2). *Athenry*, friary (6). *Clare Galway*, friary (4); Burgo tomb (2); castle. *Dunmore*, church and castle (2). *Galway*, St. Nicholas' church (2); Joyce canopied tomb. *Inchagoil* (Lough Corrib), church (2); slab lie lugaoedon maccmenuch. *Kilmacduach*, round tower. *Knockmoy*, abbey (4). *Mac Dara's Island* (Connemara), church and cross. *Ross*, friary (3). *Tuam*, cathedral, cross (2).

Kerry.—*Ardfert*, Temple na hoe (2). *Muckross*, friary.

KILDARE.—*Ballymore Eustace*, cross near (2). *Castledermot*, round tower, church, and crosses (5).

KILKENNY.—*Callan*, friary (2). *Dunnamaggan*, cross. *Fertagh*, round tower (2). *Freshford*, church door (2). *Gowran* (4). *Jerpoint*, abbey (7). *Kilkenny*, castle (2); St. Canice's (2); round tower; Franciscan Friary; Black Abbey. *Kilkieran*, crosses (2). *Kilree*, round tower and cross. *Thomastown*, church. *Tullaherin*, round tower (2).

KING'S COUNTY.—*Clonmacnois*, "O'Rorke's" round tower; Temple Melaghlin (3); Temple Dermot (2); north cross; south cross; high cross; Temple Doolin; Temple Finghin (3); Nun's church (5); general views (3). *Durrow*, cross.

LEITRIM.—*Dromohan*, castle.

LIMERICK.—*Adare*, Franciscan Friary (8); Augustinian Friary; Trinitarian Friary; castle. *Askeaton*, friary (4); castle. *Carrigogunnell*, castle. *Dysert Aenghus* (near Croom), round tower. *Kilmallock*, friary (3); town, Blossom's gate. *Limerick*, old street, castle, and Thomond-bridge; St. Mary's cathedral.

LONDONDERRY.—*Londonderry*, bishop's gate, walls and guns (2).

LONGFORD.—None.

LOUTH.—*Ballymascanlan* (near Dundalk), cromlech (3). *Carlingford*, castle (5); friary (4). *Drogheda*, St. Mary's; St. Laurence gate (2); Magdalen tower. Kilnasaggart pillar (2). *Mellifont*, abbey (3). *Monasterboice*, round tower, crosses, &c. (4).

MAYO.—*Inisglora*, St. Brendan's cell and churches (3). *Mullet, Cross Abbey* (2).

MEATH.—*Bective*, abbey (5). *Donaghmore* (near Navan), round tower and church (2). *Dulane* (4). *Dunmoe* (near Navan), castle and church (3). *Kells*, round tower, crosses, and church (10). *Newgrange*, tumulus (2). *Newtown* (near Trim), cathedral, church, and priory (6). *Trim*, castle (3); Yellow steeple.

MONAGHAN.—*Clones*, round tower and cross (2). *Inishkeen*, round tower.

QUEEN'S COUNTY.—*Killeshin*, church.

ROSCOMMON.—*Ballintubber*, castle (4). *Boyle*, abbey (4). *Roscommon*, castle; friary (2); Felim O'Connor's tomb (3).

SLIGO.—*Ballymote*, castle. *Carrowmore*, Listoghil, cromlech (2); Kissing stone cromlech; deerpark trilithons (2). *Castle Buckley. Dromcliff*, cross (2).

TIPPERARY.—*Cashel*, round tower, cross, cathedral (4); Cormac's chapel (3). *Hore Abbey* (5). *Kilcooley*, abbey (3). *Roscrea*, St. Cronan's Church.

TYRONE.—*Arboe*, cross (3). *Donaghmore* (near Dungannon), church and cross (2). *Killynaught* (near Strabane), cromlech (2).

WATERFORD.—*Ardmore*, crannog, round tower, church. *Ballynagragh* (near Tramore), cromlech. *Faithlegg* (near Waterford), castle. *Knockeen*, cromlech. *Lismore*, inscriptions—op bo bonnchab; op bo Copmac . p; and benbachc por anmain colzene.

WESTMEATH.—None.

WEXFORD.—*Bannow*, church (3). *Clonmines* (near Bannow), abbey; *Dunbrody*, abbey (8). *Ferns*, castle, church (2), cross. *Glascarrig*, castle, wall.

WICKLOW.—*Glendalough*, Trinity Church, St. Saviour's (3), St. Kevin's and round tower, Temple Skellig (2).

MISCELLANEOUS.

Groups of Members of the Society at Belfast, Howth, Kilcooley, Larne, Malinmore, Timoleague, and Trim. Three ogham stones.

CONTRIBUTORS.

The following is a list of the contributors and number of views given by each so far as can be ascertained from the list of donations:—R. Welch (214). John L. Robinson (209). S. K. Kirker (53). T. J. Westropp (33). T. F. Geoghegan (20). O'Conor Don (16). R. McC. Dix (15). J. R. S. Crosthwaite (10). C. P. Bolton (9). G. F. Handcock (9). Rev. W. J. Gerrard (8). — Allon (4). Mrs. Shackleton (2). The following have also lent their negatives for the use of our Society:—Board of Public Works (3); F. E. Currey (*Fellow*) (16); Mrs. Stacpoole (*Member*), (19); Richard J. Stacpoole, D.L. (18). There are several views, the donors of which are not identified. In all there are some 674 views. A number of photographs of Inismurray and Sligo, given by Mr. Welch, were taken away at one of our meetings and not yet returned; and fifty-six views, chiefly in Clare, Cork, and Limerick, appear in our catalogue, but were lost before removal to the Society's rooms.—T. J. W.

Index of Archæological Papers published in 1894, under the direction of the Congress of Archæological Societies in connexion with the Society of Antiquaries.—The value of this Index to archæologists is now recognised. Every effort is made to keep its contents up to date and continuous. It forms a convenient reference-book to published Papers on all branches of antiquarian study, and should be in the hands of those interested in such work.

Single copies of the yearly Index may be obtained. For particulars of this and other works now being carried on by the societies in union, application should be made to the Honorary Secretary, RALPH NEVILL, F.S.A., 13, Addison Crescent, Kensington, W.

Notices of Books.

[NOTE.—*Those marked * are by Members of the Society.*]

* *Lough Ce and its Annals—North Roscommon and the Diocese of Elphin in Times of Old.* By the Very Rev. Francis Burke, M.A., Dean of Elphin. (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co., 1895.) Price 9*s*.

THE author, in his preface, states that the materials of the volume had already been partially made public in the form of two lectures given by him in Boyle and the neighbourhood, and the interest evinced in the subject induced him to publish the matter in book-form. He further states that he is indebted largely for the facts relating to the local antiquities to that work so well known to archæologists, "The Annals of Lough Ce," edited and translated by William M. Hennessy in 1871, the original MS. of which was compiled between the years 1585 and 1592, by Bryan Mac Dermot. A brief account of the MS. is given in Dean Burke's Introduction.

A chapter is devoted to Mac Dermot's Rock, an island in Lough Ce, and an excellent illustration of its ancient state is reproduced, as well as a modern view, the latter showing the stately castle which now surmounts it.

The Parish of Ardcarne, Church Island, and Trinity Island are dealt with in detail; and chapter v. is devoted to the Cistercian Monastery of Boyle. A ground-plan (or rather diagram without a scale) is given of the Abbey, but no attempt has been made to indicate on it what portion of the walls of the edifice are still standing, or what have disappeared. A good opportunity has been missed of showing on the plan the respective periods at which the different portions were erected, as the building presents a charming example of the transition from the round-headed arch of the Norman type in the south arcade of the nave, and in the western arch of the tower, to the early English pointed style, as shown in the eastern arch of the tower, and in the north arcade of nave. The illustration at page 56 shows both the round-headed and pointed arches of the tower, and the position of the two roofs—an earlier and a later—is also well indicated.

The three concluding chapters deal with the general state of affairs in North Roscommon throughout the Middle Ages, with an account of Clarus Mac Mailin, or O'Quillan, Archdeacon of Elphin, concluding

with descriptions of the ancient capitular organisation, and the importance and integrity of Elphin Diocese. Twelve full-page illustrations, well-executed, brighten the pages of a very readable book, which must prove of much local interest.

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* *The Parish of Taney: a History of Dundrum, near Dublin, and its Neighbourhood.* By Francis Elrington Ball and Everard Hamilton, B.A., M.R.S.A.I. (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co., 1895.) Price 3*s.* 6*d.*

THIS is a welcome addition to the local parish histories of the country, and the present volume is produced in a manner which compares favourably with similar compilations. The authors, it is evident, have the advantages of knowing their subject thoroughly from personal observation, as well as by intimate acquaintance with the various sources from which reliable information could be drawn, and much discrimination has been exercised in handling such ancient records as would best throw light on the history of the parish.

The name was spelled formerly in various ways, "Tanhy," "Tacheny," "Tathtoin," "Tawney," "Tanee," and "Tawny." In addition to being the name of a rural deanery and a parish, it was anciently the title of a prebendal stall in St. Patrick's Cathedral. Tanee appears also to have been the name of the townland now known as Churchtown.

There is an interesting and well-digested chapter on the "Antiquities" of the parish, and in it reference is made to the valuable Papers written by Mr. James Mills, M.R.I.A., on "The Manor of St. Sepulchre," and "The Norman Settlement in Leinster," both of which have appeared in the *Journal* of this Society. This chapter was revised, the authors state, by the Rev. Canon Stokes, D.D.

Not the least valuable portion of the work is the chapter on "The Graveyard," which contains the inscriptions, in full, from 80 of the inscribed stones, and about 150 extracts from others. This chapter commends itself particularly to the appreciative notice of the Editors of the "Journal of the Society for the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead." It is stated that in the space of twenty-one years, 1044 burials were entered in the Register during the period from the year 1814 to 1835.

A list of curates, under the Archdeacon of Dublin as rector, is given from 1615, and of rectors and curates from 1851, with biographical notice of each. Then follows a chronological list of churchwardens from 1791, with a good deal of information about them. Another chapter deals with a very full list of the more prominent, or remarkable persons, who have resided in the parish, which includes the names of many who, in their day, were well known citizens of Dublin, and whose families are still represented in the city. The work is of more than local interest, and the compilers are to be congratulated on the success of their labours.

* *Maynooth College: its Centenary History.* By the Most Rev. John Healy, D.D. (Dublin: Messrs. Browne and Nolan.)

THIS large and handsome volume has been compiled as a special memento of the celebration, in 1895, of the Centenary of Maynooth College. The publishers are to be congratulated on the style in which the work has been produced, the printing and paper being alike excellent. It is profusely illustrated, and the photographic reproductions of all the important portions of the College, with Maynooth Castle, and especially the large number of portraits of distinguished men, clerical and lay, greatly enhance its value. The work gives a full summary of all official documents relating to the history of Maynooth College; the Reports of Commissioners, and State Papers, debates in Parliament, the Journal of the Trustees, the Records and Calendars have all been put under contribution, and copious extracts given in a convenient form. These form a considerable portion of the volume, and to the future historian of this century they will prove of the greatest service and value. Appended is a list of works of reference, which shows that the author spared no pains in making the work worthy of his subject.

The history of a college of 100 years' standing would not, under ordinary circumstances, prove of sufficient interest and importance to warrant the production of such a work as this. But the history of Maynooth College is exceptional in the highest degree. Perhaps there is no other institution in these countries round which there raged for many weary years so fierce a controversy. The subject embraces the whole question of Roman Catholic education in Ireland, the Penal laws and their repeal; and hence the establishment of the right to receive from the State such a measure of support as would remove the discredit of sending youths designed for the priesthood abroad to receive that education which could not be obtained at home.

The beginning of the book deals with education in Ireland in early times; and as Dr. Healy's recent work, *Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars* has already been reviewed in these pages, we need not further refer to his summary here. On the subject of the Penal Laws and their effects on education, Dr. Healy deals. He briefly sketches the course of events to the end of the last century, and shows the growth of a more liberal and tolerant spirit among the rulers of our State, and which finally showed itself in concession to Catholic demands. The time was ripe for such, as the propagation at home and abroad of revolutionary ideas paved the way for a wide and more liberal policy.

The portion, however, which will prove of special interest to many of the readers of this *Journal* is the chapter devoted to the history of Old Maynooth. The name is derived from *Magh Nuadhat*, the Plain of Nuadhat, King of Leinster, who had a fortress near here. After the Anglo-Norman invasion the district round Maynooth, called Hy-Faelen,

went to Maurice Fitz Gerald. Within it was the Church of Laithreach Briuin, now Laraghbryan, which gives name to the parish in which Maynooth stands. Gerald, first Baron Offaly, son of Maurice, secured these lands, as we learn from the Earl of Kildare's Red Book (1503). Some doubt exists as to the date of the erection of the castle, but it was built probably in 1176, by Maurice the Invader. Maurice, second Baron of Offaly and Justiciary of Ireland, built the keep and chapel; and Luke, Archbishop of Dublin, made the chapel of Maynooth into a prebend of St. Patrick's Cathedral. In 1286, Edward I granted a patent for holding a market at Maynooth on the vigil, feast, and morrow of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the 7th, 8th, and 9th September. The castle, as it existed in the 14th century, is described as built of stone, having two gates, with garden extending to the fosse and river. It was then, and for some time afterwards, one of the border fortresses of the Pale. In 1426 it was greatly enlarged by John, the 6th Earl of Kildare: "It is most likely that, up to that time, the castle consisted of the great square keep, which is clearly the oldest, as it was also the strongest, of all the buildings within the castle walls. The flanking towers and noble arches that carried the vaulted floors of the upper chambers were probably built at this period, for the architecture is evidently of a later date than that of the great keep of the Castle." In connexion with the history of Maynooth an incident of special importance, to those interested more particularly in the college, is the founding of the Old College of Maynooth. This was due to the 8th and 9th Earls of Kildare. Gerald Mor, or the Great Earl, who was so conspicuous a figure in the reigns of the House of York and Henry VII., assigned lands for that purpose. In 1518, Gerald, 9th Earl, applied for a license to carry out his father's intentions, and that was granted. The College had appointed to it a master, five fellows, two clerks, and three boys, who were "to pray for the prosperity of the kings of England, for the good state of the Earl of Kildare, his wife, and their kindred while living, and for their souls after their death."

The rebellion of Silken Thomas brought ruin on his house, and on the Castle of Maynooth, which he intrusted to his foster-brother Christopher Paris, or Parese. It was said at the time that "nothing equal to it in strength had been seen in Ireland since the English first held rule in the land." It was attacked by Sir William Skeffington on the 13th March, 1535, and of its capture an account was written by Skeffington himself, which does not speak of the treachery of Paris. A fuller account, however, has been given by Holinshed, and the fate of the traitor. Stanihurst naively says that "the governor willed the money to be tolde to Paris, and presently caused him to be cut shorter by the head." Holinshed says that "great and rich was the spoile; suche store of beddes, so many goodly hangings, so rich a wardrob, suche brave furniture, as truely it was accompted for householde stuffe and

utensiles, one of the richest Earle his houses under the Crowne of England."

In 1538 the College was suppressed, the Castle became a Royal Castle, where Skeffington remained till he died, and here Lord Leonard Grey and Sir Anthony St. Leger also resided. In 1552 Gerald, 11th Earl, had the manor and Castle of Maynooth restored to him. The wars of the 17th century sealed its fate, however. It was taken and retaken several times; and in 1642 the library, which was of great value, was destroyed. In 1647, a strong detachment from the camp of Owen Roe O'Neill, at Trim, took the Castle and dismantled it.

The old Council House (which contained the Stone Table (1533) of the 9th Earl of Kildare, and now in the lawn at Carton) was taken down in 1780. On it was built Mr. Stoyte's house, who was steward to the Duke of Leinster. This house still forms the centre of the front range of the College buildings. The decision to make Maynooth the home of the new College was made at the first meeting of the trustees (1795); and the proposal of Mr. John Stoyte to dispose of his house and grounds was accepted. On the 9th of June, that year, Royal assent was given to the Bill, by which £8000 was granted by the Irish Parliament for the education of the Catholic clergy. "That day," as the author properly says, "marked the dawning of a new era in Ireland." On the subsequent history of the College it is needless to dwell. The main facts are well known to the readers of modern history. The Imperial Parliament continued the grant after the Union; and the College struggled on for forty years under great financial difficulties. In 1845 Peel, in the face of great opposition, carried his generous measure for relief, by which £30,000 was granted for building, and £26,300 annually from the Consolidated Fund. The Irish Church Act of 1869 was the last Imperial measure which affected the College. By it £369,040 was given as compensation for the cessation of the annual grant, and Maynooth entered on a new phase of its history, free and untrammelled by any Act of Parliament, and no longer the subject of strife and bitterness in legislative debates. Independent now, she addressed herself in her new conditions to carry on the great work which under past difficulties she had well performed. How far she has succeeded the success of her Centenary celebration in the summer of 1895, and the volume before us, amply shows.

Pagan Ireland: an Archæological Sketch. A Handbook of Pre-Christian Antiquities. By W. G. Wood-Martin, M.R.I.A. (London: Longmans, Green & Co.) Pages i-xxviii, 1-689: with 411 Illustrations.

THE title of this work should, perhaps, read "Ireland in the Earlier Ages," for several of the subjects treated of, such as Crannogs, or lake-dwellings, were used for habitations up to a comparatively recent period.

Querns also, for grinding corn, the employment of which has scarcely yet ceased in outlying districts of Ireland and Scotland; and Currachs, boats covered with skins, for which, in later times, tarred canvas is substituted, can yet be seen along our northern and western coasts. These and other survivals of the past are still employed, and belong alike to recent and pre-Christian times; indeed, it is impossible to draw the line, for many of our lingering superstitions and modes of thought, as well as strictly archæologic remains, are the outcome of former conditions of life in Ireland.

Numerous well-chosen illustrations (upwards of 400 in number) are of material advantage when reading the pages of this book, and ought to assist in popularising the prevalent interest taken in our earlier times, and augment the roll of those desirous of arriving at some knowledge of the way in which our Irish tribes managed to live in the dim past.

Beginning with the employment of rude weapons, made from stone and flint, and passing their existence as a race of wandering hunters and fishers, the earlier race was succeeded by men acquainted with copper and bronze. Gold, too, appears to date back a long time. At last warriors became acquainted with iron to form their swords and spears. All these successive changes are duly figured and described. A comparatively high state of organised society must have prevailed when the vast stone residences, or fortresses, known as "duns," were constructed, with their elaborate arrangements for defence and massive ramparts—see the representations on pp. 190, 191; or that cyclopean protecting wall, with its huge stones and enclosed bee-hive huts, of Cahernamactierich, erected across the neck of a Kerry headland; or Dun Aengus and similar constructions in the Islands of Aran, many of which, in the counties of Clare, Kerry, Mayo, and elsewhere still remain comparatively unknown, and as yet undescribed in an adequate manner. In the building of some of these, enormous blocks of stone were made use of; thus, to form a lintel to one of these duns in Kerry, a single block measuring upwards of 7 feet long, and of corresponding thickness, was laid across the doorway, a feat in construction of no mean difficulty.

Intended as a handbook for students of Irish antiquities, the incidental, and often interesting, information derivable for comparative investigation of prehistoric remains found in Britain and on the Continent, cannot be fairly expected to be treated of, at least in detail, although such studies are indispensable for more perfect comprehension of our own early archæology. Indeed, such discussion would have required far more room than a handbook could afford. Whilst therefore treated in a subsidiary and secondary manner, they have been pointed to so as to show their importance whenever an exhaustive investigation is designed.

Antiquaries are proverbially prone to differ, and each student of the past should be permitted to develop and ventilate his own theories,

which, in subjects dependent on a stratum, often limited, of investigation, and a wide superstructure of deductions is, at least, allowable, and ought to be expected. Hence each individual who reads the pages of this, or any similar work, will have to decide for himself how far he coincides with the author's opinions, and how far he considers himself possessed of superior information; indeed, there are few books published that the candid critic does not believe, and with perfect sincerity, he could have written more judiciously than the author, or at least could have largely augmented the information afforded. This must be conceded, that up to the present the work now published is far in advance of all others, and is the best handbook of Irish archæology that has appeared. It has the advantage of being concisely and clearly written, and contains an exceptional amount of detailed information, well put together.

The "Bibliography of Papers and Works on Irish Pre-Christian Archæology," which came under the author's notice, containing, as it does, upwards of 1000 classified references to Papers on various subjects by about 400 writers, which forms an Appendix to this volume, is a feature deserving of special remark and commendation, and must prove useful for reference to even advanced students of our past history, and still more so to the tyro commencing such pursuits, enabling him to ascertain, with trifling trouble, or loss of time, the views held by those who have devoted much research and thought to describe, illustrate, and elucidate our Irish prehistoric remains, and whose Papers are dispersed through the publications of different learned societies.

It is needless to say that, issued from the University Press, the work is a most creditable specimen of Irish typography.—W. F.

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* *The Reliquary and Illustrated Archæologist.* Edited by J. Romily Allen, F.S.A. (Scot.). Published quarterly. (London: Bemrose & Sons, October, 1895.)

THE last number of this periodical is before us. The number contains a church study in Venice, by Mr. Harold Hughes; Some Hebridean Antiquities, with views and descriptions of remarkable standing stones, and some curious early forts and earth dwellings, by Mr. MacRitchie, with other articles, well printed and profusely illustrated. Notices of new antiquarian publications form a prominent and interesting feature of the work. Among these notices is one which can hardly fail to attract the attention of Irish readers. It is a review of a recent book on "The Evil Eye." An illustration, reproduced from this book, shows a number

of silver Diana charms worn in Naples as a preservative from the dangers of this much-feared evil. Some of these figures bear a striking resemblance to the rude Shela-na-gig figures in Ireland, which, it is believed, are in some places connected with a memory of the same form of superstition.

Dated Book-Plates, a Treatise on their Origin and Development. By Walter Hamilton, Chairman of the Ex Libris Society, Vice-President of the Société Française des Collectionneurs d' Ex Libris. Part III. Price 7*s.* 6*d.*, net. (London: A. & C. Black, Soho-square, 1895.)

THE concluding part of this work comprises dated Book-plates from 1800 to 1895, and is illustrated with copper-plates by Mr. C. W. Sherborn and Mr. W. H. Foster, and thirty illustrations. Three excellent examples of modern date, we observe, are by an Irish firm, the designer being a Fellow of the R.S.A.I. The author possesses an unique position and special qualities for accomplishing such a task; he is in touch with all the great collectors, and their accumulations have been placed at his disposal, and being master of all previous lists he has been able to supplement them by his own researches, as few men could. The work is one which must be regarded as of great value in completing all the information up to the present on all dated Book-plates, and will form a standard work of reference on the subject.

Only those plates which are dated are referred to, being the sure reliance and guide to collectors. Dated plates are not only prime evidences of personal and historic value, but interesting as examples of contemporary art; and unless otherwise authenticated as to time and designer, Book-plates lack much of their interest. Mr. Hamilton's work shows an amazing amount of industry in the compilation, and the labour involved must have been very great. Collectors will appreciate the remark in the concluding portion of the prefatory article by the author:—"So long as the relics of distinguished men of the past are treasured, so long as history, genealogy, and heraldry are studied, so long will a good collection of Book-plates be worth possessing and preserving, a futurity which promises to stretch far into centuries yet to come."

Proceedings.

THE FOURTH GENERAL MEETING of the Society, for the year 1895, was held (by permission of the Mayor) in the Town Hall, Wexford, on Monday, 9th September, 1895, at 8 o'clock, p.m.;

THOMAS DREW, R.H.A., P.R.I.A.I., F.R.I.B.A., *President*, in the Chair.

The following took part in the proceedings:—

Fellows:—The Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., LL.D., M.R.I.A., *Vice-President;* Robert Cochrane, F.S.A., M.R.I.A., *Hon. General Secretary and Treasurer;* the Rev. J. F. M. ffrench, M.R.I.A.; James E. Mayler; James Mills, M.R.I.A.; W. R. Molloy, M.R.I.A.; John J. Perceval; the Rev. Patrick Power, C.C.; the Rev. Canon Stoney, D.D.; Colonel Philip D. Vigors; Robert Lloyd Woollcombe, LL.D., M.R.I.A.

Members:—The Rev. Arthur W. Ardagh, M.A.; Francis Joseph Bigger, M.R.I.A.; Jacob Bollinger, M.A., LL.D.; William Henning Corker; M. Edward Conway; John Cullin, J.P.; D. Griffith Davies, B.A.; the Rev. B. C. Davidson-Houston, M.A.; E. R. M'C. Dix; Mrs. Drew; Sir T. H. Grattan Esmonde, Bart., M.P.; Frederick Franklin, F.R.I.A.I.; Dr. Nicholas Furlong, M.R.I.A., J.P.; Major G. F. Gamble; Dr. G. E. J. Greene, M.R.I.A., F.L.S., J.P.; Mrs. J. Greene; Thomas Greene, LL.B., J.P.; Francis Guilbride, J.P.; Arthur Hade, C.E.; Philip Herbert Hore; Benjamin Hughes; Miss Helen Hughes; the Rev. H. Cameron Lyster, B.D.; Brian Mac Sheehy, LL.D.; Miss Manders; William M. Mitchell, R.H.A., F.R.I.A.I.; Goddard H. Orpen, B.A.; J. A. Parker; Festus K. Pounder, B.A.; S. A. Quan-Smith; George C. Roberts, J.P.; the Rev. J. J. Ryan; Mrs. J. F. Shackleton; the Rev. Canon Smith, D.D.; Victor E. Smyth; W. C. Stubbs, M.A.; F. P. Thunder; W. J. Grove-White, LL.B.; J. B. Cullen; Michael Andrew Ennis, J.P.; G. F. Handcock; W. Ross Lewin Lowe.

Associates:—The Mayor of Wexford; Mrs. W. M. Mitchell; Mrs. T. Greene; Miss Greene; Mrs. G. H. Orpen; Mrs. E. M. Richards; Mrs. H. C. Lyster; Miss Morton; Miss F. Morton; A. Roycroft; Miss Newton; Miss Aird; Mrs. Allen; Walter Eakins; Mrs. Ennis; Miss Ennis; John Hore; Harold Hughes, A.R.I.B.A.; the Rev. J. Lyng, C.C.; the Rev. Thomas O'Connor; Astle Ryan; Colonel H. Jervis White, J.P., High Sheriff of the County Wexford; John Walsh; Mrs. J. F. Walsh; F. C. Bigger; R. R. Belshaw.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following Candidates, recommended by the Council, were declared duly elected:—

FELLOWS.

George A. de M. Edwin Dagg, M.A., LL.B. (Dubl.), D.I., R.I.C. (*Member*, 1892), *Hon. Secretary, South Fermanagh*, Derryree House, Lisnaskea: proposed by G. D. Burtchaell, M.A., M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

The Rev. Hugh O'Reilly, St. Colman's Seminary, Newry: proposed by John F. Small.

MEMBERS.

Rev. Joseph Henry Bibby, Bishopscourt, Downpatrick: proposed by George W. O'Flaherty, L.R.C.P.E.

Davys Bowman, Chichester-street, Belfast: proposed by Seaton F. Milligan, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President.*

John Edward Burke, *Athlone Pursuivant*, Picton House, Kingston-on-Thames: proposed by G. D. Burtchaell, M.A., M.R.I.A., *Fellow.*

David Carlisle, 103, Franklin-street, New York, U.S.A.: proposed by Seaton F. Milligan, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President.*

James Caverhill, Merrion Lodge, Queenstown: proposed by P. J. Lynch, *Fellow, Hon. Provincial Secretary for Munster.*

The Rev. P. Colgan, P.P., St. Enda's, Aran Isles, Galway: proposed by Robert Cochrane, *Hon. General Secretary.*

The Rev. Martin Cummins, P.P., Clare Galway: proposed by Seaton F. Milligan, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President.*

Professor W. Boyd-Dawkins, F.S.A., F.K.S., F.G.S., &c., Woodhurst, Fallowfield, Manchester: proposed by Seaton F. Milligan, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President.*

Toler R. Garvey, J.P., Thornvale, Moneygall: proposed by the Rev. Sterling de Courcy Williams.

The Rev. D. Hallinan, D.D., P.P., St. Mary's, Limerick: proposed by P. J. Lynch, *Fellow, Hon. Provincial Secretary for Munster.*

W. J. Haslam, B.E., Rockview House, Rathcabbin, Parsonstown: proposed by P. J. Lynch, *Fellow, Hon. Provincial Secretary for Munster.*

Joseph Holland, Holland House, Knock, Co. Down: proposed by William Gray, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President.*

The Rev. P. A. Keating, O.S.F., Athlone: proposed by Mrs. Tarleton, *Hon. Local Secretary for King's County.*

John William Killeen, Solicitor, 32, Waterloo-road, Dublin: proposed by A. G. Ryder.

R. Alexander Stewart Macalister, B.A., F.S.A., 41, Torrington-square, London, W.C.: proposed by Seaton F. Milligan, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President.*

Arthur W. S. M'Comiskey, M.B., Killough, Co. Down: proposed by George W. O'Flaherty, L.R.C.P.E.

James M'Connell, Annadale House, Belfast: proposed by Seaton F. Milligan, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President.*

James S. Mahon, Solicitor, 28, High-street, Belfast: proposed by Seaton F. Milligan, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President.*

R. Grainger Nash, J.P., Finnstown House, Lucan: proposed by W. Grove White, LL.B.

James O'Connor, Wexford: proposed by J. J. Perceval, *Hon. Local Secretary, Wexford Town.*

Mrs. Power O'Donoghue, M.I.J., 2, Peter-place, Dublin: proposed by J. R. O'Connell, M.A., LL.D., *Fellow.*

Miss E. O'Connor-Morris, Gartnamona, Tullamore: proposed by Mrs. Tarleton, *Hon. Secretary for King's County.*

J. A. Parker, Postmaster, Wexford: proposed by Robert Cochrane, *Hon. General Secretary.*

Miss Anna H. Richardson, Craigentemple, Portrush: proposed by L. M. Ewart, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President.*

Mrs. A. G. Ryder, Portmahon Lodge, Inchicore: proposed by A. G. Ryder.

David Sherlock, D.L., Rahan Lodge, Tullamore: proposed by Mrs. Tarleton, *Hon. Local Secretary for King's County.*

Miss Mary J. Small, Hill-street, Newry: proposed by John F. Small.

Mrs. E. Weber Smyth, 6, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin: proposed by G. D. Burtchaell, M.A., M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

Miss Stokes, Victoria-place, Athlone: proposed by Robert Cochrane, *Hon. General Secretary*.

Hector R. Graham Toler, J.P., D.L., Durrow Abbey, Tullamore: proposed by the Rev. Sterling de Courcy Williams.

John Francis Walsh, Wexford: proposed by J. J. Perceval, *Hon. Local Secretary, Wexford Town*.

The Rev. Isaac Warren, M.A., 11, Trinity College, Dublin: proposed by S. W. P. Cowan, M.A., M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

R. H. Wilson, Bengal Civil Service (retired), 23, Cromwell Crescent, London, S.W.: proposed by Rev. S. A. Brenan, *Hon. Local Secretary for Mid Antrim*.

T. E. Lloyd, Manager of the National Bank, Enniscorthy: proposed by the Rev. J. F. M. ffrench, *Fellow, Hon. Local Secretary for South Wicklow*.

The following Papers were read, and referred to the Council:—

"Irish Art as exhibited in Early Celtic Crosses, and other objects," by the Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., LL.D., M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*.

"The Antiquities of Ferns," by Philip Herbert Hore.

The Meeting then adjourned to the following evening.

TUESDAY, 10*th September*, 1895.

The Society again met in the Town Hall, Wexford, at 8 o'clock, p.m.;

THOMAS DREW, R.H.A., P.R.I.A.I., F.R.I.B.A., *President*, in the Chair.

Mr. Hore concluded his Paper on "The Antiquities of Ferns."

Mr. F. J. Bigger, M.R.I.A., read a Paper on "The Ancient Church, Crosses, and Antiquities of St. Mac Dara's Island, off the Coast of Connamara."

(On the 11th of September, while the Members visited the ruins described, Mr. J. B. Cullen read a Paper on "The Ancient Churches of the Town of Wexford.")

The Papers were referred to the Council.

The remaining Papers on the list were taken as read, and also referred to the Council, viz.:—

"Some 17th-century Events, illustrated by Contemporary Documents," by Sir Thomas Grattan Esmonde, Bart.

"St. Ibar and his House," by Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., LL.D., M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*.

"Wexford in the Stone Age, illustrated by Stone Implements," by the Rev. James F. M. ffrench, M.R.I.A., *Honorary Local Secretary for Wicklow*.

"Dean Swift's Library," by T. P. Le Fanu, B.A.

It was Resolved unanimously—

"That the best thanks of the Society be given to the Members of the Local Committee, and especially to the Rev. J. F. M. FRENCH, Mr. PERCEVAL, and Dr. G. E. J. GREENE, for the arrangements made for the reception of the Society in the County Wexford."

It was Resolved unanimously—

"That the best thanks of the Society be given to the Mayor of Wexford for granting the Society the use of the Town Hall."

The following Notice of Motion was given, on behalf of Mr. P. M. Egan, *Fellow*:—

"That Rule 16 be amended by adding the following words after the words 'if elected':—

"In case the number of persons so nominated shall exceed the number of vacancies, a printed Balloting Paper, containing the names of all such Candidates, arranged in alphabetical order, shall be sent by post to every Fellow and Member whose name is on the Roll of the Society, directed to the address entered on the Roll, at least one week before the day of election. Each person voting shall mark with an asterisk the name of each Candidate for whom he, or she, votes. The voter shall then return the Balloting Paper to the Secretaries on or before the day preceding the election in an envelope, marked 'Balloting Paper,' and signed with the name of the voter, the Balloting Paper itself must not be signed. In case a voter signs the Balloting Paper, or votes for more Candidates than the number specified thereon, such vote shall be void. The Balloting Papers shall be scrutinized, on the day of election, by at least two Scrutineers, appointed by the Council, who shall report the result at the General Meeting held on the evening of that day. The Treasurer shall furnish the Scrutineers with a list of the Fellows and Members qualified to vote at such election. Those Candidates who obtain the greatest number of votes shall be declared elected, subject to the provisions of Rule 17, provided that when there appears an equality of votes for two or more Candidates, the Candidate who is senior on the books of the Society shall be declared elected."

The Society then adjourned to Tuesday, the 14th of January, 1896.

EXCURSIONS IN COUNTY WEXFORD,

9th, 10th, and 11th September, 1895.

The Excursions in connexion with the Wexford Meeting commenced on Monday, 9th September. The principal party left Dublin by the 10 a.m. train from Harcourt-street., the D. W. & W. Railway Company having kindly granted reduced fares and other facilities for the journey.

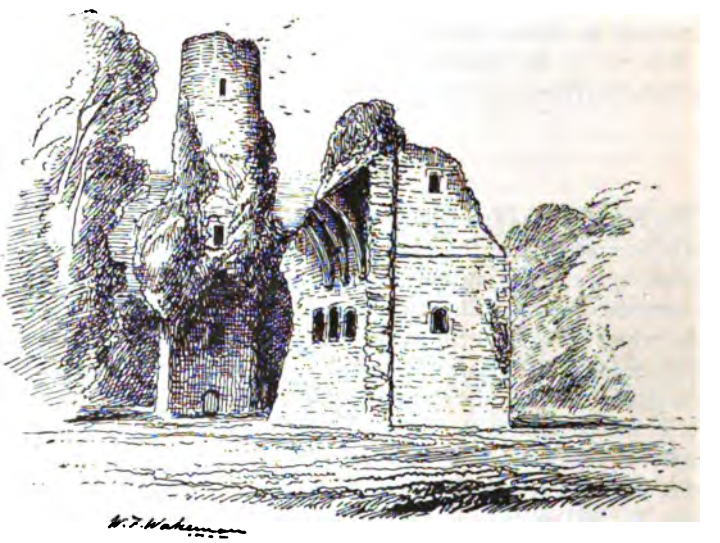
Arrived at Ferns station at 1 p.m., the party was received by the Rev. J. F. M. ffrench, Dr. G. Greene, J.P., and others. Cars were here provided, and the party was driven to

Ferns.[1]

The Romanesque and Gothic architecture of the ecclesiastical ruins, the Celtic crosses, and the noble remnant of an Anglo-Norman castle, all point to the important position which Ferns occupied in the past, and remind us that this ancient site was, for many centuries, the abode, when living, and the resting-place when dead, of the ecclesiastic and the soldier. Its name, Fearna, or the Alders, is a peaceful one, and it first rose into importance as the site of the ecclesiastical settlement of the far-famed St. Maodhog, the first Christian Bishop of this diocese, who died A.D. 632, and was buried here. The place where he erected his little cell, and gathered his followers around him, may, we believe, be still distinguished by the fence, partly circular or semi-circular, which surrounds the crowded churchyard, and which was probably constructed on the site of the walls, or rude earthen fence of the ecclesiastical rath, that he caused to be erected to protect his little settlement from danger. Of the ancient Celtic oratories that once existed at Ferns, there are now no remnants left; they probably remained until the time of the Normans, who constructed a handsome Anglo-Norman cathedral, which, in its turn, fell before the hands of the spoiler. The ruins of some graceful Gothic windows remain to show that, at one time, a building stood there that was worthy of the ancient reputation attached to such an honoured site; another portion of the

[1] Notes of the places visited, compiled by the Rev. J. F. M. ffrench, M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

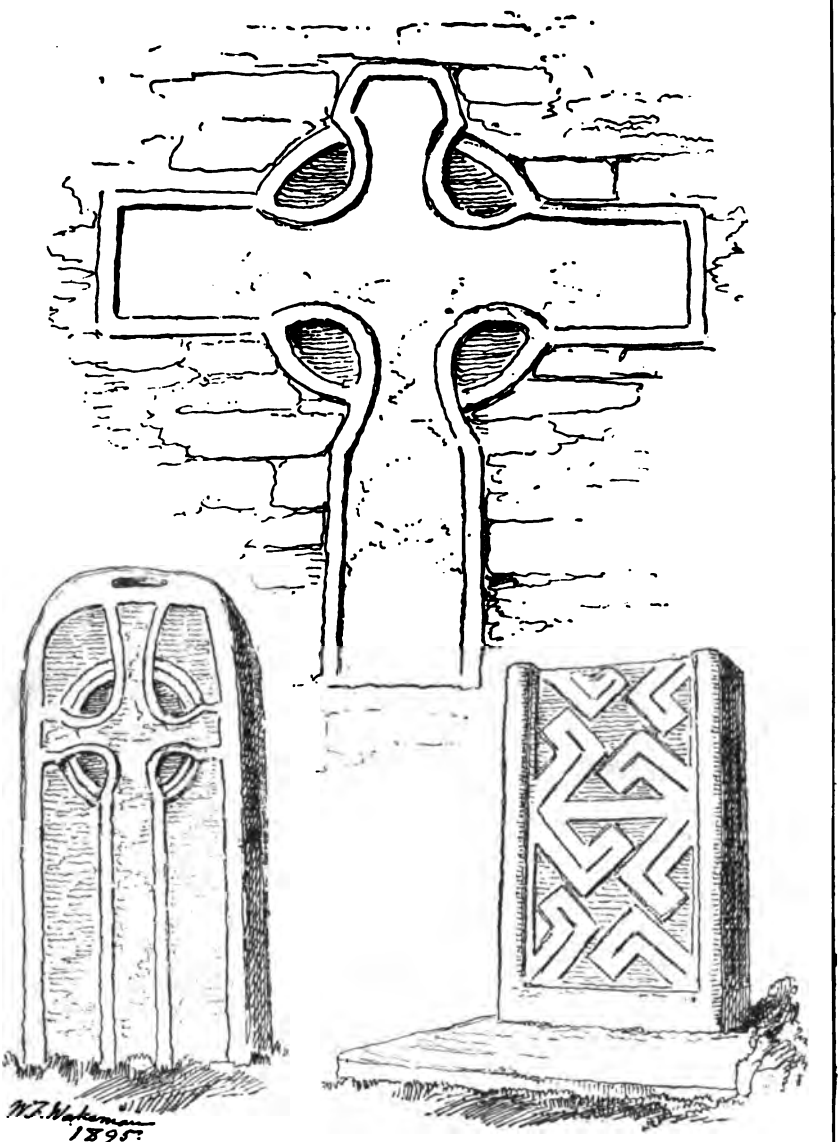
ancient cathedral has been reconstructed so as to form the present Protestant cathedral and parish church; and within these walls there is a full-length figure of an early bishop, popularly believed to rest over the grave of St. Maodhog (who is also known as St. Mogue and St. Aidan). S.E. of the cathedral are the remains of the Augustinian Monastery, founded by Dermot Mac Murrough, a narrow building, with windows of a rather transition type, and a tower, which seems to be intended as a kind of compromise between a square and a round one, the lower part being square, and the upper part round. It was in this monastery that King Dermot hid himself during one whole winter, while he was awaiting his Norman allies (he having previously burned down his own house).



Augustinian Monastery, Ferns.

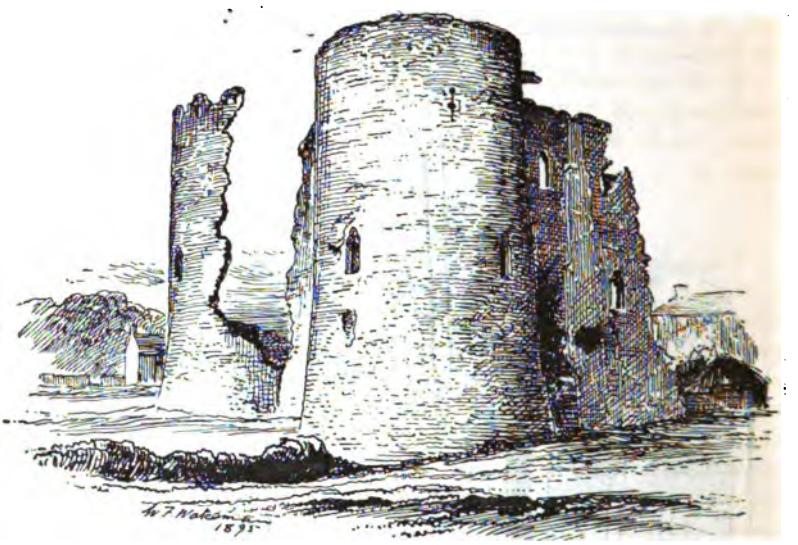
In the churchyard are crosses of late Celtic workmanship, which are here represented as sketched by Mr. Wakeman. They have no inscriptions, but one is said to have been erected over the grave of King Dermot Mac Murrough. It is covered all over with the pattern called the key-pattern, or Greek fret, and a wonderful ingenuity has been displayed in so altering that simple pattern, that while its identity is placed beyond dispute, yet each side of the cross exhibits a different design. It has been stated that the Irish were the only western nation who tried to cover a flat surface with Greek fret.

Some distance north of the church is a Holy Well, now be-



Crosses at Ferns.

neath the roadway, and reached by an arched passage. The stone-work covering the well is modern, and is decorated with stone heads abstracted from the ancient church at Clone. Further on is St. Peter's Church, stated to have been the old parish church of Ferns, situated in the present rectory lawn; its ruins present many features of interest to the antiquarian. The peculiar form of the chancel arch (consisting of a single sweep, without a sub-arch moulding or chamfer) marks it out as one of the earliest of its type. Here also we see a beautiful Romanesque round-arched window, enriched with chevron and pellet ornamentation, and within it inserted a Gothic window of the early English type.



Ferns Castle.

After luncheon at Lett's and Bolger's Hotels, the Castle was visited. This fine Anglo-Norman ruin appears to have been originally of great strength, of quadrangular form, and defended at the angles with round towers, one of which is still in a fair state of preservation, and contains a beautiful little chapel with a groined roof. A fortress seems to have been erected here as early as the time of Strongbow (probably on the site of the dun or fortress of the Irish king); subsequently the manor of Ferns is said to have been given by Henry II. to William Fitz Adelm, who, on the death of Maurice Fitz Gerald in 1176, seized on his Castle of Wicklow, and compelled his sons to take in exchange the ruined Castle of Ferns.

This they proceeded to rebuild, but they had not long restored it, when they were attacked by Walter L'Alemond, a nephew of Fitz Adelm's, who wrested the castle from them, and left it again in a ruined condition. After that it was rebuilt upon an enlarged plan, and was at different times the residence of various bishops of Ferns, who were glad to find refuge there from the disturbances that were often raging without. It ultimately became a royal castle, and the custodian, who was called the keeper, or constable, held directly from the Crown. In the time of Henry VIII. a chieftain of the Clan Kavanagh was constable. In the reigns of Edward VI. and Queen Mary, Richard, Viscount Mountgarret, held that office. In the 26th of Queen Elizabeth, Thomas Masterson, a Cheshire gentleman, was appointed constable, and his son afterwards held that office. After 1641 it was dismantled by Sir Charles Coote, the Parliamentary General.

In the graceful groined chamber, designed for a chapel, the party was entertained at tea by Mr. R. Donovan, D.L., and Mrs. Donovan. From the Castle the cars were again taken, and the first halt was made at

Clone.

Clone, or Cluain, is interpreted by Dr. Joyce to mean a fertile piece of land, with bog or marsh on one side and water on the other. Here there is one of those early churches erected in the style which preceded Irish Romanesque, with a strangely-shaped archaic doorway in the western gable. As we pass through this doorway we notice that the jambs are inclined, that the doorway is narrower at the top than at the bottom, and the entrance is covered by a horizontal lintel-stone. The jambs also rest on a stone of the same kind. On each side of the doorway there is a moulded, perpendicular architrave, and high up above it are protruding carved heads. Another object of interest to visitors is a curious relic of the past, which lies on a small mound adjoining the churchyard—an ancient sun-dial, which is believed to be almost unique. There was an old Irish cross lying alongside it some years since, which has now disappeared, but the socket still remains.

From Clone the drive was continued to

Enniscorthy.

The flourishing little town of Enniscorthy at one time boasted of many objects of antiquity, of which, with the exception of the Castl and the ruins of Templeshannon Church, but little remains. Up to the year 1889 the tower of the Franciscan Friary stood on its old site between the castle and the Slaney; in that year it was blown down.

This Friary, better known as the Abbey, was founded by Donald Cavanagh, surnamed the Brown, in 1460. Some years ago there was an ancient Missal belonging to it in existence, in which it was stated that the dedication of the Abbey took place on the 18th of October, and that Donald Fuscus, Prince of Leinster, died there on the 21st of April, 1476. The Enniscorthy branch of the Bank of Ireland is erected on the Abbey grounds. The Abbey of St. John's, close to Enniscorthy, was founded two centuries before the Franciscan house by Gerald de Prendergast, who died about the year 1250; he made it a cell of the Abbey of St. Thomas, in Dublin, and directed that it should be governed in accordance with the rules of St. Augustine and the custom of the Abbey of St. Thomas. The CHURCH OF TEMPLE-SHANNON, at the north entrance of the town, is much ruined, but shows, by its grouted masonry, that it is of early date. The chief object of interest at Enniscorthy is the CASTLE, which is one of the finest of the more important fortresses erected by the Anglo-Norman invaders. It is a massive square structure with a round tower at each corner, and, until quite lately, was inhabited, but it is now unroofed and rapidly going to decay. It is believed to have been founded by Raymond le Gros, the well known companion in arms of Earl Strongbow, and afterwards to have passed through the family of De Quincey to the De Prendergasts.

After visiting the Castle and other objects in the town, the visitors were entertained by the Enniscorthy Members at Bennet's Hotel. The train was then taken at Enniscorthy station for Wexford, which was reached at 7 o'clock.

WEXFORD.

The town of Wexford is one of the most ancient in Ireland; its history brings us back to the far-off past, when the Firbolgs first landed at the mouth of the river Slaney, from whose king it derives its name. Then we hear of it as Carman, the site of one of Ireland's most notable assemblies, the great fairs of Carman. Then, again, it comes before us as a Danish town, where the Ostmen, who were merchants and traders as well as pirates and sea-rovers, had fortified themselves against their Celtic neighbours, and to them it owes its name of Weisford, or Wexford (the West fiord); but of Celtic Wexford and Danish Wexford, little, if any, trace is now to be found. Not so Norman Wexford: the extensive remains and ecclesiastical structures, and the sites and ruins of its walls and castles, still testify to the importance in the past of one of the oldest towns in Ireland. Within this town, and in its immediate neighbourhood, there were formerly eleven parishes, each of which doubtless had its ecclesiastical

buildings. Of these, with the exception of the Abbey of St. Selskar and the Church of St. Patrick, but little remains are now to be found; both are in the early English or pointed style of architecture. The Castle, of which only the site remains, was at one time the largest and most considerable in the County. It is thus described in an inquisition taken in 1828:—"There is one stone castle in which are four towers roofed with slate, a great keep and four buildings at the back, thatched with straw, all in good condition." The site of the castle is now occupied by the soldiers' barracks.

This town was, from an early period, strongly fortified by walls twenty-two feet high, and towers, some of which were square and some round. The wall, much of which remains, was supported on the inside by a rampart of earth twenty-one feet thick.

At Wexford arrangements had been made for the accommodation of the party by an influential Local Committee, and especially through the exertions of Mr. J. J. Perceval, *Local Secretary*.

At 8 o'clock, p.m., the Society's Meeting was held in the Town Hall, as detailed on page 401.

On Tuesday morning, the 10th September, the party assembled at the railway station, and took train for Rosslare. Here the works on the new harbour and breakwater was visited, and cars were then taken. The first stop was at Ballytrent House, adjoining which is a large and well-preserved rath of very regular form. Its fosse has been planted, and laid out with walks, and the interior formed into a flower-garden. From thence we drove to Cloughreast Castle. This castle was formerly held by a junior branch of the important family of Codd, of Castletown, Carne. Osbert Codde, or Code, descended from a good family in Devonshire, held the "Castellane of Carne" in the time of Edward I.

Hence on towards Carnsore. Leaving the cars, and walking through a wild expanse of sand dunes, and along a rough boulder-strewn stretch of ocean shore, we reached St. Vogue's Church. An interesting account of this sixth-century church, from the pen of Miss Margaret Stokes, will be found in this *Journal*, Part 4, vol. ii., December, 1893. The erection of this church is attributed to St. Beoc, or Veoc, who died in Brittany on the 15th June, 585. Here there is a holy well and a huge boulder stone, just above tide-mark, on which a cross is incised.

On the return drive the first call was at Lady's Island. Rodolph, son of Milo de Lamporte, built a strong castle here. Here also there was a convent of Augustinian Friars, which existed until the time of Cromwell. The castle is situated on an island in the lake, now joined to the land by an artificially-formed roadway. At the point where this roadway reaches the island is an outwork of the castle, part of which

has been undermined by the water of the lake, and now leans over at a very considerable angle.

It had been intended to visit Butlerstown Castle next, but time pressing, this had to be omitted, and the drive continued to KILLIANE CASTLE. This was formerly the seat of the family of Hay, who derived from Richard de Hay, Lord of Hay, in Wales, and came to Ireland in 1196. It was subsequently held by a younger branch of the house of Chevers, of Ballyhally. Marcus and Richard Chevers represented the county and borough of Wexford in the Parliament of 1684. The castle consists of a square keep and an enclosed bawn, the walls of which are in a most unusually-good state of preservation.

Wexford was reached in time for the Society's dinner, which was served at 8 o'clock, in White's Hotel. After dinner an adjourned Meeting was held in the Town Hall.

Wednesday, the 11th September.—Immediately after breakfast the party started for a perambulation of the town, under the guidance of Mr. Perceval. The first place visited was the parish church and ABBEY OF ST. SELSKAR. This priory of regular canons, often called the Priory of St. Peter and St. Paul of Selskar, is situated within the ancient walls of the town of Wexford. It is said to have been founded by the Danes, but probably owed its origin to the family of Roche; and it is also probable that it derived its name of St. Selskar, or the Holy Sepulchre, from one of that family who was a crusader, and on his return from the wars became a regular canon of this house. John, Bishop of Ferns, held a Synod here in the year 1240. Sir John Talbot, Lord Talbot, Furnival and Weysford, in the year 1418, granted to this priory the chapel of St. Nicholas of Carrig. The Prior was a Lord of Parliament. The abbey tower still stands in good preservation, and the ruins of the west gable and north colonnade of the nave adjoin it.

Leaving St. Selskar's, the town walls were viewed at several points, and the ruins of the old city churches were examined. These are described in Mr. Cullen's Paper (pp. 869–877). A Priory of Knights Templars was situated at Kerlogue, without the walls, which was founded by William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke. This house, Archdall tells us, was the Grand Commandery of that Order.

Returning by the Bull Ring, the Members collected at the railway station, and left Wexford by the 12.30 train.

FERRY CARRIG CASTLE, on a narrow passage of the Slaney river, a few miles above Wexford, was seen from the train. It was probably an outwork of a larger castle at the other side of the river, called Shan-a-Court, in which King John is said to have at one time held his court. This was probably the first stronghold of the

Anglo-Normans in Ireland. Fitz Stephen stood a siege here in 1170.

Gorey station was reached at 2 p.m. Here the Members left the train in response to the invitation of Sir Thomas H. Grattan Esmonde, and Lady Esmonde. A drive of about two miles brought the party to the prettily-situated mansion of Ballinastragh. Here having examined some documents from the family muniments, and other objects of antiquarian interest, the Members were most hospitably entertained at an excellent luncheon, after which a train, at 4.30, brought them back to Dublin.

INDEX.

Abbey, use of term, 329.
Abbeys, Boyle, 391; Corcomroe, 280; abbeys dedicated to the B.V.M., 83.
Adare, Manor and Friary, 329.
Aghascribbagh Ogham, 104.
American Numismatic and Archæological Society, 342.
Anglo-Norman families, 317.
Annesley, Lord, 87.
Antiquities, Handbook of Irish Pre-Christian, 395.
——— from Kingstown to Dublin, 5.
Antrim County, photographs, 387.
Apostles, figures of, at Ennis, 148: Galway, 294.
Aran Islands, Galway, tour projected, 94; visited, 246; described, 250–278, 379; witchcraft in, 84.
"Archæologia Cambrensis," 229, 386.
Archæological Papers, Index to, 390.
Archæologist, Illustrated, 397.
Archæology, Irish Pre-Christian, Bibliography of, 397.
Ardillaun, or High Island, 245.
Ardfert Friary, 30, 329.
Argyllshire legends, 229.
Arkin Castle, Aran, 263.
Armagh, Ogham in Library, 102.
——— County, canoe found in, 224.
"Armorial Families" reviewed, 183.
Arms of Families, 245, 287, 295, 300, 301, 324.
Arrow-heads, flint, 41, 316; classification, 43–57; manufacture, 57; mode of attachment, 58; associated objects, 59; superstitions, 61; period of, 62.
Art, Irish, on Early Crosses, 401.
Athenry, visited, 248; described, 297; gates, 302.
Athlumney, 161.
Axtell, Col., at Kilkenny, 77.

Baginbun, Co. Wexford, inscription, 229, 386.
Baile-na-sean in Aran, 261; called Baile-na-mbocht, 275.
Balfour, B. R., 181,
Ball, Francis Elrington, 392.
Ballintubber, Co. Roscommon, visited, 249.
Ballot, notice of motion as to, 402.
Ballyboodan, Co. Kilkenny, Ogham inscription, 354.
Ballytrent rath, Co. Wexford, 409.
Banshees, superstitions about, 115; at Lough Rask, 279; at Loughcrew, 305.
Bardan, Patrick, 179.
Barry, Rev. E., on Oghams, 348.
——— James G., 379.
Basnet, form of, 332–3.
Belfast, Old, review of book on, 89.
Bellahill tumulus, Carrickfergus, 59.
Bells of Galway, 294; of S. Selskar Abbey, 372.
Belrath Ogham, 101.
Bermingham family, 297–300.
Bingham, Richard, Governor of Connaught, 141.
Bigger, F. J., Paper by, 401.
Blackrock, Co. Dublin, 8; funeral custom, 86.
Book Plates, dated, 398.
Books, notices, 90, 182–6, 232–4, 391–398.
Bourke of Brittas, 165–6.
Boyd Dawkins, Professor, 22.
Boyle Abbey, 391.
Boyne Obelisk, 180.
Brain Balls, 118.
Bran, note on name, 252.
Branittos, in Ogham inscription, 354.
Brannock rocks, Aran, 252.
Brecan, St., of Aran, 252, 255, 379.
Brigdale, Hugh, 138.
Briot coinages, 343–4.
Brittany, 70.
Bronze Age, approximate date, 211.
Browne family, tombs, 294, 301.
——— Dr. C. R., on Brain Balls, 108.
Bruce war, 183.
Brudin, Anthony, 138.
Buick, Rev. G. R., Paper by, 41.
Bullaun, 286.
Burke, tomb at Athenry, 301.
——— Very Rev. Francis, 391.
Burren, Co. Clare, 279.
Burtchaell, P., death, 93.

Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 182.
Calliagh Vera, legend of, 305.
Cambrian Archæological Association, 229.
Canoe, one piece wooden, 224, 382.
Carman, fair, 385.
Carpenters' wages, 384.
Carrick Castle, 232.
Carrig Castle, Co. Wexford, 410.
Cassiterides, identification, 19.
Castles: Aran Islands, 255, 263; Athenry, 302; Ballintober, 249; Carrick, 232; Clare Island, 244; Clare Galway, 289; Clonmore, Co. Louth, 318; Ferns, 406; Muckinish, 280; Roch Castle, Co. Louth, 320; Roscommon, 249.
Castle Richard, Co. Cork, 169.
Castlewellan cromlech, 87.
Cavan County, photographs, 387.
Cavancarragh Ogham, 103.
Charms, 61, 84, 398.
Churches: Aran Islands, 251–5, 259–73; Ardfert, 34; Athenry, 297; Clare Galway, 287; Clare Island, 243; Ennis, 135; Ferns, 403; Galway, 293; Glenogra, 378; Kilmacduagh, 85; Monkstown, 7; Navan, 156; Wexford, 369, 411.
Cistercian Abbey, Corcomroe, 248, 280.
Claddagh, Galway, 295.
Clara, Co. Kilkenny, Ogham, 359.
Clare county, 135; "finds" in, 176–9; churches in, 135, 252; photographs, 387; visit to, 280.
Clare Galway, visited, 247; described, 287.
Clare Island, visited, 243; frescoes in church, 379.
Cloghan-na-carraige, Aran, 256, 278.
Clone, Co. Wexford, church, 407.
Clonmore, Co. Louth, castle, 318.
Cloonglasnymore, 180.
Close, Rev. Maxwell, 252–3.
Clougheast Castle, Co. Wexford, 409.
Cock, legend of the, 153.
Coffey, George, 16, 195, 303; elected Member of Council, 100.
Coins, early British, 26; Queen Elizabeth, 230; St. Patrick or Floreat Rex, 338–47; Kilkenny Confederate, 341, 342–3; minting, 343–4.
Colgan, Nathaniel, 85.
Colman Mac Duach, St., 259.
Confederate (Kilkenny) coinage, 341.
Cong, cross of, 233.
Connell Abbey, tiles from, 172.
Constable of Ireland, 324–5.
Conwell, on Loughcrew, 306, 311.
Cooke, John, 275, 290; elected Member of Council, 100.
Coolasluasta lake, 179.
Coradh-mac-am-burion identified, 228.
Corb, Corbi, name in Oghams, 363–4.
Corcomroe Abbey, 248, 280.
Cork, goldsmiths of, 218.
Cork County, 163; photographs, 387.
Corofin, Co. Clare, legend, 227.
Cott found, 224.
Council, changes on, 94, 100.
Cow legends, 227.
Crannoges, Ardmore, 192; Roscommon, 180.
Creagh family in Clare, 145, 148.
——— Arthur Gethin, 179.
Croghan Kinshela, gold at, 24.
Cromlechs, 64, 87, 266, 270, 306.
Cromwell's Fort, Aran, 264; soldiers, 295.
Crosbie of Ardfert, 31.
Crosier, position of on tombs, 335.
Crosses, Aran, 254–5; Athenry, 298; Cong, 233; Ferns, 405; Tory island, 240; Art on early Celtic, 401.
Culeogory, Co. Cork, 166.
Cullen, John B., 369, 401.
Cup markings, 64–71.

Dagg, Geo. A. de M. Edwin, Fellow, 399.
Dalo, name in Ogham inscription, 350, 351–2.
Danes in Wexford, 371, 376.
Danish spearhead, 176.
Darcy tomb, Galway, 295.
Davies, D. Griffith, 253, 254.
Dawkins, Professor Boyd, 22, 400.
Day, Robert, 176.
De Burgh family, 287, 288, 294, 295, 299, 301.
De Verdon family, 317–28.
Digon, 36.
Discipline of Presbyterian Church, 133.
Documents illustrating 17th-century events, 401.
Dominic, St., 299.
Dominicans, 248, 295, 299.
Donegal County, photographs, 387.
Donnelly, Patrick J., elected Fellow, 92.
Donovan, R., 407.
Dorian tomb, 301.
Down County, photographs, 388.
Down Survey, 167.
Doyle, Charles F., elected Fellow, 92.
Dress of men, mediæval, 333; of women, 334.
Drew, Thomas, President, presides at meetings, 91, 399, 401.
Drumcreehy, Co. Clare, 280.
Dubh Cathair, 266.
Dublin, riding the bounds, 10; Castle, 185; king of, 179; church tiles, 172.
——— County, photographs, 388; sepulchral mound opened, 106; history of a parish in, 392.
Dugan, C. Winston, 224.
Dun Aengus, 256.
Dunbell Ogham, 353.
Dun Conor, 247, 267.

Dundalk, 318, 320; hospital of S. Leonard, 319; Franciscan Convent, 321.
Dundrum, Co. Dublin, history of, 392.
Dun Moher, 271.
Dun Ogbil, 260.
Dun Onaght, 255.
Du Noyer, G., sketches by, 263, 310.

Earthen vessels, 110.
"Ecce Homo," in Ennis Church, 153.
Echinus markings on stone, 64.
Effigies of Irish princes, Conor O'Brien, 282; Felim O'Conor, 248.
Egan, P. M., 72, 79, 90, 190.
Egyptian influence in early ornament, 197.
Election of office-bearers, 100; notice of motion as to, 402.
Elizabeth, Queen, coins of, 230.
Elphin Diocese, in times of old, 391.
Emly, Seal of Cathedral, 178.
Ennis Friary, described, 135, 191.
Enniscorthy visited, 407.
Erche, 353.
Esmonde, Sir T. Grattan, 401; entertains the Society, 410.
Evil Eye, 397.
Excursions: to Kilkenny and Waterford, 192–4; to Western Coast, Aran, Galway and Roscommon, 239–49; to Loughcrew, 303–4; to Wexford, 403–10.
Ex Libris, publication, 398.

F, pronunciation of letter in old Irish, 356–7.
Fahey, Rev. J., 86.
Fairholme, C. G., 230.
Fairy lore, 61, 84, 115.
Faughart, battle of, 325–6.
Fellows elected, 92, 187, 399.
Fermanagh County, photographs, 388.
Ferns, paper on antiquities of, 401; visit, 403; Cathedral, 403; Augustin Priory, 404; crosses, 405; castle, 406; diocese, 372.
Fethard, inscription at, 229, 386.
Fetherstonhaugh, Alfred J., death of, 97.
Fibulæ, gold, found, 386.
Finn MacCumhail, 228, 305.
Firbolg, 256, 259, 267, 274.
Firsidhe, 116.
Fitzgerald, Lord Edward, 9.
——— Lord Walter elected Vice-President, 100.
——— Rev. William, 382.
——— of Rostellane, family, 163.
——— Uniacke, R. G., 163.
Fitzmaurice, Sir Gerald, Prior of Templars, 334.
——— Thomas, first Lord Kerry, 30, 35.
——— family, 30–7.
Flint arrow-heads, classification of, 41; spear-head, 176.
Floreat Rex coinage, 338.
Foliage, carvings from nature, 151.
Folk-lore: connected with flint arrow-heads, 61; witchcraft in Aran, 84; funeral customs, 86; regarding Banshees and Fairies, 115; Cow legend, 227; Lough Raska, 279; Slieve-na-Caillighe, 305.
Font, in Galway, 294; Oughtmama, 283.
Forts, prehistoric: in Aran, 247, 255–61, 266–8, 271–2; Clare, 99, 279, 284; Tre-ceiri, 229.
Forth mountain, Co. Wexford, 384.
Fox-Davies, A. C., on abuse of Arms, 183.
Francis, St., carving of, 153.
Franciscan Order, 329; house at Ardfert, 329; Athenry, 298; Claregalway, 287; Ennis, 135; Galway, 294.
Fraternitas Beatæ Mariæ, 82.
Frazer, W., F.R.C.S.I., 64, 171, 230, 305, 338, 386, elected Vice-President, 100.
Fresco painting, Clare Island, 379.
ffrench, Rev. J. F. M., 212, 386, 401, 402–3.
Funeral customs, 86; entry, 166.
Furnival, Lord, 325.

Gaedhilic words, in Welsh, 386.
Galway, meeting at, 235, 248; town, 290; St. Nicholas' Church, 248, 293; friaries, 294–5; Claddagh, 296; town laws; 382.
——— County, photographs, 388.
Garlick, H. Stow, elected Fellow, 92.
Garovan, Catherine, tomb, 156.
Garstin, John Ribton, LL.B., B.D., elected Member of Council, 100.
Genittacci, in Ogham inscription, 357–359.
Giraldus Cambrensis, quoted, 319.
Glamorgan, Earl of, negotiation with Irish, 345–6.
Glasgeivnagh hill, legend, 227.
Glebe-houses, built in Meath, 158.
Glenogra Church, 378–9.
Goad spur found, 212.
Goble, Robert, goldsmith, of Cork, 218.
Goff, William G. D., elected Fellow, 92; secures find of gold ornaments, 386.
Gold ornament found, 386.
Goldsmiths of Cork, 218.
Gortatlea, Ogham, 1.
Grania Uaile, 243, 245.
Graves, Right Rev. Charles, 1.
Gray, De, Bishop of Norwich, 320.
Greene, Dr. G. E. J., 402–3.
Greer, Thomas, elected Fellow, 92.
Grene, manor, Co. Limerick, 323.

Hamilton, Alexander, diary of, 88.
——— Everard, 392.
——— Walter, 398.
Hammer-stones, 110.
Handbooks, antiquarian, 230, 232.
Harp, form of, on Irish coins, 344.
Healy, Most Rev. John, presides at meeting, 235, 248, 249; book by, 393.
——— Rev. John, LL.D., elected Member of Council, 100.
Heynes, tomb, 301.
Hickson, George, 34.
——— Miss Mary, 30, 329.
Hill, J., 93.
Holed-stones, 262, 286.
Holy well, 5, 261, 404.
Hore, Herbert, the late, 115.
——— Philip Herbert, 401.
Hospitallers, 335, 375.
Hui Gentich, 358.
Hungarian Swords, 205.
Hurley, M. J., elected Fellow, 187, 232.

Iararna, Aran, 264–5.
Illustrated Archaeologist, 397.
Incheneycranagh, Co. Cork, 169.
Inchiquin, tomb, Ennis, 150.
——— Lord, 168.
Index to Archæological Papers, 390.
Inishere, 273.
Inishmaan, 267.
Inismurray, 242.
Inn, provision for keeping, 383.
Irish, flint arrow-heads, 41–63.
——— harp, form of, on coins, 344.
——— judge, 383.
——— language, old and middle forms in Ogham inscriptions, 350–68.
——— men, Galway laws against, 383.
——— pavement tiles, 171.
——— prehistoric ornament, 16, 195.
——— superstitions of Banshees, 115.

Joyce, P. W., LL.D., elected Member of Council, 100.
Juggy's well, Co. Dublin, 5.

Kells, Co. Kilkenny, seal, 82.
Kelly, G. A. P., 180.
——— Richard J., 287, 384.
Kenerg, St., 269.
Keteller, monument, Kilkenny, 72, 79.
Kennedy, Rev. A., 130.
Kilbride, Rev. W., 277.
Kilcananagh, Aran, 269.
Kilgobnet, Aran, 272.
Kilkenny, meeting at, 187; monument found in, 71, 79; tiles found in, 174.
——— county, Ogham inscribed stones in, 348–68.
——— photographs, 389.
Killadysert, Co. Clare, 178.
Killeany, Aran, 263.
Killeen Cormac, inscribed stones, 380.
Killiane Castle, Co. Wexford, 409.
Kill of the Grange, 8.
Kilmacduagh, Church of St. Michael, 85.
Kilmallock, inscription in church, 326–7.
Kilnamanagh, Aran, 262.
Kilnaseaght Inghean, 272.
King, Deputy Surgeon-General, presides at meeting, 187.
Knocktow hill, 289.

Labriad, Labriattos, 365.
Lacy, Hugh de, 322.
Lady's Island, Co. Wexford, 401.
Langrishe, Richard, F.R.I.A.I., elected Member of Council, 100.
Latimer, Rev. W. T., 130.
Laws of Galway town, 382.
Leaf, carvings of, 151; shaped flints, 43; tile patterns, 171–4.
Le Fanu, T. P., 401.
Legends, 153, 227, 305.
Leighlin, seal, 82.
Lillis, T. Barry, elected Fellow, 187.
Limerick, Report of Hon. Sec. 378; Cathedral, restoration of door, 378.
——— Bishop of, 1.
——— Co., photographs, 389.
Lon, the smith, legend of, 227.
Lotus ornament, 202.
"Lough Ce and its Annals," 391.
Loughcrew, visited, 303; remains described, 305–16.
Lough Melvin, 64–5.
Lough Neagh, canoe found near, 224.
Louth county, photographs, 389.
Lynch family, Galway, 290, 293–5.

Macalister, R.A.S., 379–80.
MacCorb, name, 363–7.
MacDara's (St.) Island, 401.
MacMahon tomb, Ennis, 145.
MacNamara, Coveha, 150.
Macora, in Ogham inscription, 360–2.
MacQuinn, J. B., 1.
MacRitchie, David, 115.
Manister Abbey, Co. Limerick, 378.
Manning tomb, Navan, 156.
Maqa, meaning of, on Ogham inscriptions, 350–2.
March, Dr. Colley, on Dun Aengus, 259.
Maynooth, college, 393; history of, 394.
Meath lordship, 322.
——— Co., photographs, 389.
Meetings of the Society: Dublin, 91; Kilkenny, 191; Waterford, 193; Galway, 235; Wexford, 399.
Members elected, 92, 188, 236, 400; died, 95; resigned, 95, 96.
Metge tomb, 161.

Dundalk, 318, 320; hospital of S. Leonard, 319; Franciscan Convent, 321.
Dundrum, Co. Dublin, history of, 392.
Dun Moher, 271.
Dun Oghil, 260.
Dun Onaght, 255.
Du Noyer, G., sketches by, 263, 310.

Earthen vessels, 110.
"Ecce Homo," in Ennis Church, 153.
Echinus markings on stone, 64.
Effigies of Irish princes, Conor O'Brien, 282; Felim O'Conor, 248.
Egan, P. M., 72, 79, 90, 190.
Egyptian influence in early ornament, 197.
Election of office-bearers, 100; notice of motion as to, 402.
Elizabeth, Queen, coins of, 230.
Elphin Diocese, in times of old, 391.
Emly, Seal of Cathedral, 178.
Ennis Friary, described, 135, 191.
Enniscorthy visited, 407.
Erche, 353.
Esmonde, Sir T. Grattan, 401; entertains the Society, 410.
Evil Eye, 397.
Excursions: to Kilkenny and Waterford, 192–4; to Western Coast, Aran, Galway and Roscommon, 239–49; to Loughcrew, 303–4; to Wexford, 403–10.
Ex Libris, publication, 398.

F, pronunciation of letter in old Irish, 356–7.
Fahey, Rev. J., 86.
Fairholme, C. G., 230.
Fairy lore, 61, 84, 115.
Faughart, battle of, 325–6.
Fellows elected, 92, 187, 399.
Fermanagh County, photographs, 388.
Ferns, paper on antiquities of, 401; visit, 403; Cathedral, 403; Augustin Priory, 404; crosses, 405; castle, 406; diocese, 372.
Fethard, inscription at, 229, 386.
Fetherstonhaugh, Alfred J., death of, 97.
Fibulæ, gold, found, 386.
Finn MacCumhail, 228, 305.
Firbolg, 256, 259, 267, 274.
Firsidhe, 116.
Fitzgerald, Lord Edward, 9.
——— Lord Walter elected Vice-President, 100.
——— Rev. William, 382.
——— of Rostellane, family, 163.
——— Uniacke, R. G., 163.
Fitzmaurice, Sir Gerald, Prior of Templars, 334.
——— Thomas, first Lord Kerry, 30, 35.
——— family, 30–7.
Flint arrow-heads, classification of, 41; spear-head, 176.
Floreat Rex coinage, 338.
Foliage, carvings from nature, 151.
Folk-lore: connected with flint arrow-heads, 61; witchcraft in Aran, 84; funeral customs, 86; regarding Banshees and Fairies, 115; Cow legend, 227; Lough Raska, 279; Slieve-na-Caillighe, 305.
Font, in Galway, 294; Oughtmama, 283.
Forts, prehistoric: in Aran, 247, 255–61, 266–8, 271–2; Clare, 99, 279, 284; Tre-ceiri, 229.
Forth mountain, Co. Wexford, 384.
Fox-Davies, A. C., on abuse of Arms, 183.
Francis, St., carving of, 153.
Franciscan Order, 329; house at Ardfert, 329; Athenry, 298; Claregalway, 287; Ennis, 135; Galway, 294.
Fraternitas Beatæ Mariæ, 82.
Frazer, W., F.R.C.S.I., 64, 171, 230, 305, 338, 386, elected Vice-President, 100.
Fresco painting, Clare Island, 379.
ffrench, Rev. J. F. M., 212, 386, 401, 402–3.
Funeral customs, 86; entry, 166.
Furnival, Lord, 325.

Gaedhilic words, in Welsh, 386.
Galway, meeting at, 235, 248; town, 290; St. Nicholas' Church, 248, 293; friaries, 294–5; Claddagh, 296; town laws; 382.
——— County, photographs, 388.
Garlick, H. Stow, elected Fellow, 92.
Garovan, Catherine, tomb, 156.
Garstin, John Ribton, LL.B., B.D., elected Member of Council, 100.
Genittacci, in Ogham inscription, 357–359.
Giraldus Cambrensis, quoted, 319.
Glamorgan, Earl of, negotiation with Irish, 345–6.
Glasgeivnagh hill, legend, 227.
Glebe-houses, built in Meath, 158.
Glenogra Church, 378–9.
Goad spur found, 212.
Goble, Robert, goldsmith, of Cork, 218.
Goff, William G. D., elected Fellow, 92; secures find of gold ornaments, 386.
Gold ornament found, 386.
Goldsmiths of Cork, 218.
Gortatlea, Ogham, 1.
Grania Uaile, 243, 245.
Graves, Right Rev. Charles, 1.
Gray, De, Bishop of Norwich, 320.
Greene, Dr. G. E. J., 402–3.
Greer, Thomas, elected Fellow, 92.
Grene, manor, Co. Limerick, 323.

Roscommon, visited, 248.
——— Co., in old times, 391; photographs, 389.
Rotherham, E. C., 59, 311.
Round Towers: Aran, 263; Ardfert, 30: Roscam, 284; Tory island, 240; tower partially round, at Ferns, 404.
Royal Irish Academy, 114.
Rushe, D. R. C., 186.

Sabbath breaking, 133.
St. Dominic, 299.
St. Francis, 153, 329.
St. Ibar and his house, 401.
St. MacDara's Island, 401.
St. Patrick, coins, 338.
St. Vogue's Church, 409.
Sanitary Laws at Galway, 383.
Scarriff, Co. Clare, 176.
Screen, flamboyant, 153.
Seals: Dungarvan, 86; Emly, 176; used at Leighlin, 82.
Sean Caislean, Aran, 255.
Seapoint, Co. Dublin, 6.
Selskar Abbey, Wexford, 369–372, 410.
Semple, tomb, 302.
Seneschal of Ireland, 319, 324, 325.
Session Book of Templepatrick, 130.
"Seven Churches," a misnomer, 251.
Seven Streams of Teeskagh, 227.
Shamrock, 178.
Sheehan, Most Rev. Dr., presides at meeting, 193.
Shela-na-gig figures, 398.
Sidh hills, 117, 228.
Siudaine, 281.
Slieve-na-cailligh, 101, 303, 305, 311.
Sligo, Co., photographs, 389.
Smelting works, 230.
Smyth, tomb, Navan, 156.
Souterrains: Oldbridge, 86, 160; Mortyclough, 284; Loughcrew, 304.
Spear heads, 176–7.
Spurs, 212; dates of, 214; on effigies, 217.
Stemmed flint arrow-heads, 51.
Stillorgan, 8.
Stokes, Rev. G. T., 5, 88.
——— Miss Margaret, 233.
Suastica, late example, 146.
Sundial, 407.
Survey, photographic, 387.
Swift's (Dean) library, 401.
Swords: mould, 106; value of, 122; hilts, 207–8.

Taney, history of Parish, 392.
Tasigagni, name on Ogham inscription, 360.
Taylor tomb, Galway, 294.
Teampull Choemhain, Aran, 272.
Teeskagh, legend, 227.
Teglath Enda, Aran, 264.
Templars, 334, 375, 410.
Temple-an-cheatrair-aluinn, Aran, 261.
Temple-a-phoyle, Aran, 255.
Temple-Benen, Aran, 266.
Temple-Brecan, Aran, 251.
Temple-mac Duach, Aran, 259.
Templemurray, Aran, 269.
Templepatrick Session-Book, 130.
Templesachtmicrigh, Aran, 269.
Templescorney, Aran, 262.
Thomond, Earl of, 136, 170.
"Through the Green Isle," 232.
Tiles, pavement, 171.
Timolin, tomb, 214.
Tin trade, 18.
Tinahely, 212.
Tipperary, Co., photographs, 389.
Tory Island, visited, 240.
Tracked stone, 384.
Trade routes, ancient, 16.
Tre Ceiri, fort in Wales, 229.
Triangular flint arrow-heads, 47.
Trinitarian Order, 319, 323.
Tuatha De Danann, 121, 227.
Tullaherin, Ogham inscription, 362.
Tyrone, Co., photographs, 390.

Una the fairy, 125.
Uniacke family, 166, 169.
Upton family, 131.
Urn, from Crete, 204; Loughcrew, 313; Wexford, 384; superiority of Irish, 26.
Ussher, R. J., 192.

Vaughan tomb, Galway, 294.
Verdon, Bertram de, 317–9.
——— Theobald, senr., 323.
——— Theobald, jun., 323–5.
——— family, 317–28.
Verdon's game, 324.
Vigors, Col. P. D., 79, 80; elected Vice-President, 100.
Virgin, The Blessed, carvings of, 146, 152, 298; seal with figure of, 82; abbeys dedicated to, 83.

Wadding, Luke, 137.
Wages of Carpenters, 384.
Wakely tomb, Navan, 290.
Wakeman, W. F., 31, 106, 244, 250, 284, 292, 404.
Wales, Gaedhilic element in, 386.
Wall tomb, Athenry, 300.
Wardens of St. Nicholas, Galway, 237, 290.
Warren tomb, 156.
"Wars of Turlough" cited, 135, 231, 281.

Waterford, History and Guide, 91; meeting at, 192–3; churches of, 193.
——— Co., photographs, 390, gold fibulæ found, 386.
Wells, Holy, 5, 261, 404.
Welsh, Rev. Josias, 130.
Westropp, Thomas J., 135, 178, 227, 250, 279, 287, 297, 390.
Wexford, meeting at, 399; visit to, 408; ancient churches of, 369, 401, 410; fair of, 385; urn found near, 384–385.
——— Abbey of SS. Peter and Paul (Selskar), 369–72, 410.
——— Church of St. Mary, 374–5.
——— Church of St. Patrick, 373–374.
Wexford Co., photographs, 390; gold fibulæ found, 386; in the stone age, 401.
White of Navan, 156.
Wicklow, County, spur found in, 212.
Witchcraft in Aran, 84.
Woodkerne, 120.
Wood-Martin, W. G., M.R.I.A., book by, 395.
Woods, Cecil G., 218.
Works, Board of, and Ancient Monuments, 241, 247, 378.

Youghal, 165; charter, 218; smelting works, 230.
Young, R. M., on Belfast, 89.

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